

*MASTER  
NEGATIVE  
NO. 91-80425-4*

MICROFILMED 1991

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the  
“Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project”

Funded by the  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from  
Columbia University Library

## COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States -- Title 17, United States Code -- concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material...

Columbia University Library reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

*AUTHOR:*

SCHOMBERG, J. D. (JOHN  
DUFF)

*TITLE:*

THE THEOCRATIC  
PHILOSOPHY OF...

*PLACE:*

LONDON

*DATE:*

1842

Master Negative #

91-80425-4

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

942  
Sch6

Schomberg, John Duff.

The theocratic philosophy of English history; being an attempt to impress upon history its true genius and real character; and to present it, not as a disjointed series of facts, but as one grand whole: by the Rev. J. D. Schomberg ... London, Whittaker and co.; etc., etc., 1842.

2 v. 22<sup>cm</sup>.

CONTENTS.—v. 1. From the invasion of Julius Caesar to the death of Queen Elizabeth.—v. 2. From the accession of the house of Stuart to our own times (1820).

1. Gt. Brit.—Hist. 1. Title.

Library of Congress

DA30.S369

2—6737

(a22c1)

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35m  
IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB  
DATE FILMED: 1/13/92 INITIALS RD  
FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

# VOLUME 1

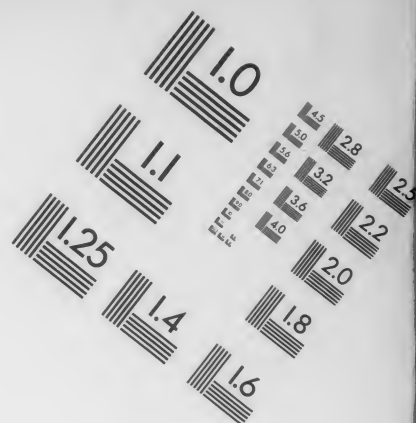
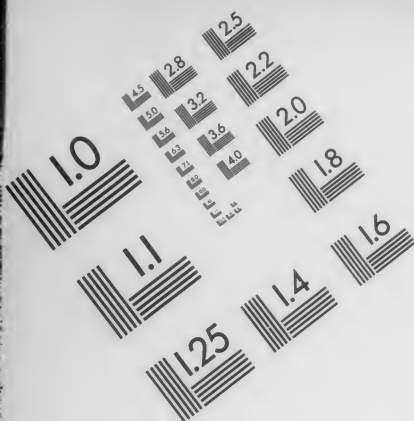


**AIMM**

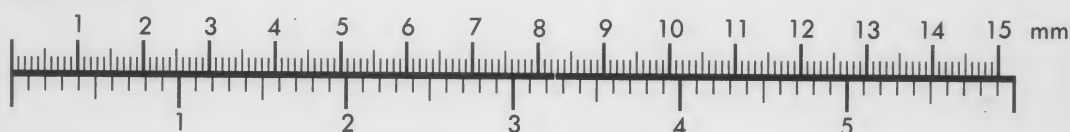
**Association for Information and Image Management**

1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100  
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

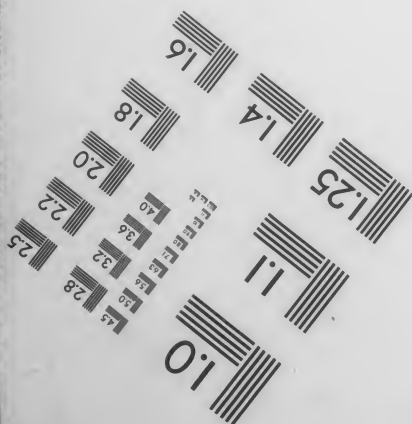
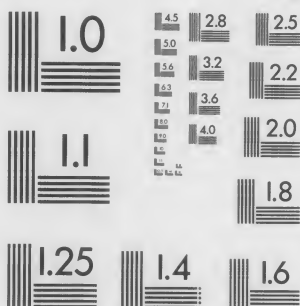
301/587-8202



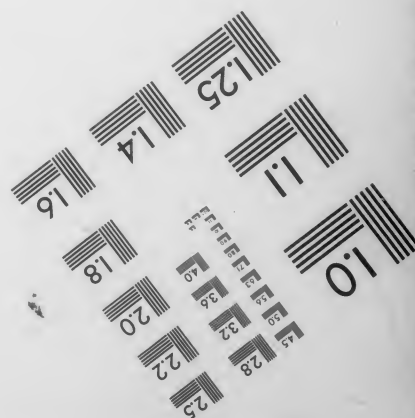
**Centimeter**



**Inches**



MANUFACTURED TO AIMM STANDARDS  
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.





Class 942

Book Sch 6

Columbia College Library

Madison Av. and 49th St. New York.

Bought with the A. A. Low Fund.

*Beside the main topic this book also treats of*

Subject No.

On page

Subject No.

On page

THE  
THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY;

(BEING AN ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS UPON HISTORY

ITS TRUE GENIUS AND REAL CHARACTER;

AND TO PRESENT IT,

NOT AS A DISJOINTED SERIES OF FACTS,

BUT

AS ONE GRAND WHOLE:

BY  
THE, REV. J. D. SCHOMBERG, B. A.,

OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Late Master of Stoke Grammar School, Leicestershire, and Vicar of Polesworth,

Warwickshire; Author of the Elements of the British Constitution;

Church of England its own Witness, &c.

---

VOL I.,

---

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO.—R GROOMBRIDGE.

LEICESTER:—J. G. AND T. C. BROWN, BIBLE AND CROWN,  
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXLII.

942  
Sch 6  
Vol-1

17 Je '86

17 Je '86

Bgs 2 v 70

17 Je '86

## CONTENTS.

### VOL. I.

SECTION I., p. 1, 138.—From the Invasion of Julius Cæsar  
to the end of the reign of Richard II.

SECTION II., p. 139.—From the Accession of the House  
of Lancaster to the death of Richard III.

SECTION III., p. 289.—From the union of the Houses  
of York and Lancaster to the death of Queen  
Elizabeth.

73179

## PREFACE.

---

THE design of the Author, in the following pages, is so fully opened to the Reader, in the commencement of the work itself, that it would be a repetition to enlarge upon that subject in the Preface. The Author will therefore content himself, with presenting to the Reader, a passage from *Blackwood's Magazine*, a copy of which was sent to him by a friend, after the first part of the work was ready for the press; and in which, the design of the Author will be found, clearly and remarkably anticipated.

“ If the world shall ever become virtuous enough  
“ to deserve a developement of the actual course  
“ of Providence in the affairs of nations, a new  
“ light may be thrown on the whole aspect of his-  
“ tory.—Events, remote, trivial and obscure, may  
“ be found to have been the origin to the greatest

“transactions. A chain of circumstances may be traceable round the globe, and while the short-sightedness of the worldly politician deems the catastrophe complete and closed, its operation may be but more secretly extending, to envelope a still larger space, and to explode with a more dazzling and tremendous ruin\*.”

This passage might, indeed, have been written for the Preface, and the Author cannot but rejoice to find himself supported, in the view of history which he has adopted, by a Writer, whose powerful and luminous writings, have raised him to the first rank of authors and benefactors to his country.

The title of the work is not so simple as the Author could have wished; but after due consideration, he determined upon its adoption, as the best he could find, briefly, to express the character of his undertaking.

It would be tedious to enumerate the Authors which have been consulted for this work.—Suffice it to say, that the Author is chiefly indebted to

\* Blackwood, April 1832, p. 606.

the laborious researches of Archdeacon Echard: and it will only be necessary to observe, that in the following work, will be found every fact *essentially* connected with the History of England, contained in the voluminous writings of Hall, Grafton, Polydore Virgil, Hollingshead, Speed, Camden, Bacon, &c.

The Author believes he is the first who has attempted this path of moral science, and he has pursued it with satisfaction and delight. The subject has brought him into the more frequent contemplation of the power and goodness of that Blessed Being, who is the source and essence of all moral excellency—the great and “ONLY POTENTATE, THE KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS\*.”

\* 1 Epis. Paul to Tim. vi. c. 15 v.

THE THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY.

---

CHAPTER I.

ABORIGINAL BRITONS—CÆSAR—CLAUDIUS—THE  
EXPULSION OF THE DRUIDS.

---

IT has always been considered, that nothing is more interesting or instructive to the human mind, than the study of those things, which affect the changes of states and empires. But however gratifying to our curiosity the perusal of History may be, yet it never can be attended with any solid advantage, unless we endeavour to connect the events of it in an unbroken series, and to trace them as the results of one great pervading cause. Unless in some measure, we can effect this, we reduce the study of History into a mere registry of facts, and degrade the historian's page

SECTION  
I.

CHAP. I.

Character of  
the work.

SECTION I. CHAP. I. to the multifarious chronicle of a newspaper.—We shall perceive nothing in History that connects us with it, but merely recount a number of insulated facts, which are interesting because they are varied. Under such circumstances, History affects us much in the same way as the Drama. The piece opens—the scene changes—new actors appear on the stage—the plot interests us—our feelings are excited, and we leave the representation disturbed and agitated, but not improved. To be improved, we must think.—We must form some idea of the design of the author; we must dive into the causes of the actions as they pass before us; we must be able to anticipate consequences, as the necessary results of certain causes; and thus, by contemplating the source of action, the mind is improved and the disposition ameliorated. In this view, the Philosophy of History, which searches into the motives and impulses of human actions, is of great importance. This study has been pursued, and by none with greater success, than Robertson, in those paths of History which he has attempted. But without losing sight of this, there is a still higher aim and study in History, namely—to trace the principles of the Divine Government; and to observe how second causes, with all their seeming disorder, unite to carry on the purposes of HIS BENEVOLENCE.

The History of our own country will afford ample materials for our research and admiration; and, if

SECTION I. CHAP. I. we give ourselves, with attention, to the study of this portion of the Almighty's works, we shall be more fitted to enter into a review of his universal dominion.

After the lapse of many centuries, during which time, the inhabitants of this island, had been left to the simple and unbiassed operations of their own nature, happily, a new revolution of circumstances was begun under the auspices of the Roman Empire. When I speak of the simple operations of nature, I mean that there does not appear to have been, during that period, any peculiar interposition of the divine power, to counteract the natural course of events—to correct the *deteriorating*, or, to give an impulse to the *recovering* powers of our nature.

The first settlers in Britain, no doubt, arrived under the most unfavorable circumstances. Immediately after the flood, the descendants of Noah began to spread themselves over the earth; and to recede further and further, from the Patriarchal Seat. The Emigrants from every new colony, as they advanced to the Western limit, would be composed of the bold and adventurous; and these, in general, would be the young and inexperienced. The older and wiser would remain stationary. Thus the line of progress would be marked by increasing ignorance; and when they reached the shores of Britain, every trace of primeval knowledge would be lost. We cannot,

SECTION I.  
CHAP. I.  
 at this point of advance, conceive any thing to exist, save the wildest ignorance and the most ferocious barbarism. Even, the primeval language could no longer remain. Every new emigration would impart a new dialect to the mother-tongue; till at length, degenerating with themselves, it would lose its original character, and take a form, more in unison with their habits and manners.

The knowledge, also, of the true God would long since have been effaced. Aware how little the minds of young persons are impressed with just ideas of God, however diligently inculcated, we shall not consider it matter of surprise, that the younger branches of uncultivated tribes, constantly emigrating to new settlements, should at length, become totally ignorant of the true character of the Supreme Being. Had Noah accompanied them to our shores, it might have been otherwise; or, had an Elder Chief been sent out with each migratory clan, things might have been in a better state; but there were, doubtless, many generations between Noah and the first adventurers, that reached our shores; and these, let it be remembered, were generations of the thoughtless, the irreligious, and the profane. The only possible conclusion is, that the True God was *utterly unknown*.

The settlers in Britain must have led, for a series of years, a savage and uncultivated life, till

SECTION I.  
CHAP. I.  
 new stragglers coming over from the Gallic continent, the country became better peopled; and having no longer power to emigrate, the inhabitants would form themselves into petty governments, which would continue to be better organized as emergencies arose. But whilst we are obliged to suppose a probability of improvement in their social state, arising from experience and necessity; yet we can by no train of reasoning, discover a principle of regeneration for the *mind*. We find, therefore, on opening the page of History, that the rudest and most degrading state of society existed; and, that they were the prey of the deadliest superstition. It is not however my province to detail the facts connected with this assertion. These may be consulted in numerous works. I shall only briefly advert to the source of their religious errors.

Ignorant and debased as we have seen, were the first settlers on the Coast of Britain; yet from the history of our species, it is ascertained that the idea of a superior Being or Beings, is universal. Hence superstition is an easy engrafture on our constitution. The Britons therefore, were ready for any impression of this kind; and it is not impossible that the Phœnicians conveyed to them the germ, if not more, of Druidism; and that the Greeks also, who visited their shores, left behind them some notices of their Gods. It was easy enough, to add to what they had thus

SECTION I. CHAP. I. received; and afterwards, to invent Gods of their own. It is related in some book of travels which I have lately seen, that near the site of the ancient Tyrus, has been discovered a remain resembling Stonehenge; and it would be more probable to suppose, that the rites of that superstition, travelled from thence, where there had been greater opportunities of corrupting religion, than that it should take its rise from Britain; where, it is improbable that there ever was any religion, till it was imported. What makes this still more probable is, that Britain became the head quarters of Druidism, and gave its laws to Europe.—For had it travelled from the *Continent*, as it has been conjectured, in all probability, its chief seat would have continued there.

But be this as it may, it does not in the slightest degree affect the argument contained in the following pages: I do not deny the interest of the enquiry, nor its importance—but too long a digression in pursuit of it, would divert me from my principal aim. It is but too obvious, that Druidism with all its inhuman appendages and sanguinary rites, held entire sway over the minds of our devoted ancestors, and rivetted fast upon them, the chains of the most degraded servitude.\* From such a yoke, it was impossible for the unhappy Britons to rescue themselves. The ministers of this horrid system held unlimited rule: they

\* Cæs. Com. de bello Gall.

SECTION I. CHAP. I. administered the rites of religion—they instructed the youth—they directed the affairs of the state—they enacted the laws and punished the offenders. To disclaim their authority was futile: to resist it was death: for they were not only armed with the fullest civil authority; but with the delegated power of the Gods. To be excluded from their sacrifices, was considered the heaviest misfortune: to be exposed to their curse, the deadliest punishment. Under this fatal bondage the Britons had no chance of making advances in civilization and knowledge. Their cruel oppressors designedly kept them in ignorance; and the EVIL POWER glutted himself with human blood and rioted in their destruction. But happily for us their descendants, the day was approaching, when the divine benevolence was to interfere, and to rescue our forefathers from their unhappy thralldom.

Two great events in the history of our Country, are now opening before us—the extirpation of the Druids, and the planting of Christianity—both of which bespeak a Divine hand, and will serve to illustrate the course of his beneficent purposes.—These are the beacons which must now direct our course.

JULIUS CÆSAR, the first Roman that opened a passage to our shores, and established a footing on our “sea-girt isle,” about half a century before the Christian Era, had fallen a victim to the jealousy of his countrymen; and Augustus was now

First invasion  
of Britain.  
B. C. 55.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. I. saluted Emperor of Rome. Not less magnificent in his projects than his uncle, he left Rome three several times, at the head of his army, with the design of invading Britain; but was as often prevented from putting his design into execution. In our ardent desire for the improvement and happiness of the ancient Britons, we are almost ready to regret the failure of his intention; especially when we call to mind the wisdom, courage and humanity of that great leader. A contemporary Poet thus alludes to the circumstance.

.....Præsens divus habebitur  
Augustus, adjectis Britannis  
Imperio.\* *Hor. lib. iii. od. 5.*

Notwithstanding, whether we can trace the causes of the divine interference or not, in the detention of Augustus; yet the circumstance itself, seems strongly marked. Probably, the Divine scheme was not yet fully ripe. During the century which elapsed, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to that of Claudius; there was a constant communication kept up with Rome. The arts of civilization and the knowledge of the sciences, could not fail to reach our shores; and during the latter part of that period, Christianity had become strong in the Roman Empire, and would necessarily, if not by direct mission, yet by varied

\* A present Divinity shall Augustus  
Be reckoned, the Britons being added  
To the Empire.

intercourse, be imported, together with other SECTION I.  
improvements.

The purposes of God often operate slowly, but always beneficially. By the means just alluded to, the fierceness of the British Character would be softened—their attachment to Druidism in some measure, weakened—and an opportunity afforded them of embracing the regenerating scheme of the Gospel.

It is certain that Claudius found the affairs of Britain in a very different state from that, in which they were left by Cæsar. The nation, for the time, had made prodigious advances. They were not like the same people. The Druids, however, were in power, and still retained vast hold on the minds of their disciples. Every step was now tending to their overthrow. As long as their rites continued in vigour, it was utterly impossible for the benign influence of Christianity to make its way. This holy religion, had, within a short period, spread itself over the Western Empire; it had even found its way into the palace of the Cæsars, and amongst the soldiers of the Legions; and it was now destined to bless our distant isle; whilst the great bulwark of Satanic influence, was to feel the power of the Roman sword.

In the midst of sublunary changes and moral disorders, the Divine purposes securely advance to their completion. Claudius is no more; and the Purple succeeds to the worst of men and of

Suetonius is  
made Governor  
and extermina-  
tes the Druids.  
A. D. 61.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. I. princes : but happily, the Province of Britain falls to the lot of a prudent and energetic Governor ; who, in order more firmly to secure the Roman Power, resolves upon the extermination of the Druids. He foresaw that, as long as these men maintained their power and influence, there never could be any dependence on the people, or security to the Roman Conquests. He therefore made considerable preparations, and determined on a decisive blow. He attacked the isle of Angesea, which was their chief seat ; broke down and destroyed their superstitions ; and, in short, utterly exterminated them.

It was far from the thoughts of Suetonius, that in the execution of this work, he was rendering essential service to TRUTH ; and laying the foundation for the future greatness of the British Empire. This was an act of policy in him, suited to the moment. It was intended to meet the present exigency ; and nothing could have been more wisely determined. But how fruitful was it in mighty events, of which he had no conception ! Christianity, the vital spring of every real and substantial blessing, is to be planted upon the ruins which he occasioned. No doubt, Christianity, which is another name for Truth, would have made its way in opposition to the rites of Druidism, as it did to those of Paganism ; but, whoever considers the strong prejudices of the human mind, in support of long favored and reve-

renced institutions ; and how slowly these prejudices are overcome, will perceive how much the course of Christianity would be accelerated by the sudden extinction of the ancient religion. We cannot, therefore, at this distance of time, contemplate an event so fraught with blessings to thousands, without the liveliest feelings of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of events ; who, in compassion to the human race, blotted out at once so horrid and detestable a system. We are to remember, that whilst the Divine goodness is seen extending itself, in an undeviating line of beneficence ; yet judgements are ever mingled with its advance. A wise law-giver duly apportioned his rewards and punishments ; and after all the controversies of Theologians on *Free will*, and *Necessity* ; when we come to facts, we discover this to be the ruling principle, in the economy of the Divine government. With respect to the Druids, whilst their extirpation was desirable for the happiness of mankind, their atrocious deeds rendered them fit subjects of the divine Vengeance. We lament, indeed, the destruction of so many individuals ; but we must rejoice in the event, which freed the world from their Superstition ; and “justify” the divine conduct in their overthrow.

## CHAPTER II.

AGRICOLA—CHRISTIANITY—PROSPEROUS STATE OF THE  
CHURCH—HONORED WITH MARTYRDOM—ARIANISM  
—DISSOLUTENESS OF MANNERS—INVASION OF THE  
SAXONS.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II.  
Roman  
Conquests.

GOLDSMITH in his Epitome of English History, has a remark to this effect, that the dominion of the Romans had a tendency to enslave and brutalize the minds of the conquered Provinces. In many respects, I am of a very different opinion. The Roman Empire, at that time, was the seat of civilization and the arts; and in spreading their conquests, they scattered with an unsparing hand every good, of which they were in possession. It is true, they levied exactions upon the tributary states, but, in return they bestowed more solid advantages. Those things, which are called the gifts of fortune, are utterly contemptible when compared with the gifts of the mind; and, however irksome the tributary states might feel the pecuniary levies of the Romans, yet they were immense gainers in the end: civilisation, agriculture, the arts, and even the sciences, followed in the train of their legions—blessings, even at the

point of the spear. I am not intending to plead SECTION I.  
for compulsory methods of instruction, especially, CHAP. II.  
where other means would be effectual. It seems a pity to make a man wise against his will; and yet, who sees not, in how many instances, this is necessary? Barbarous nations, like many children, require coercion. Knowledge with all its concomitants, is disdained by the ignorant. They have no relish for the delights of the understanding, and therefore despise them. Habits of indolence—corrupted morals and a roving spirit, are frightful barriers against improvement, and when to these, is added, the deep-rooted prejudice of a false religion, the difficulty is increased and strengthened. Under such circumstances, to effect any present substantial change, a sudden and decisive blow is necessary. A grand movement must be made, when it is intended to bring about an immediate revolution in manners, in morals, or in prejudices. The more barbarous a nation is, the greater resistance it will make to any inroad on its usages; and, on this very account, the power employed against it, if equal to the task, will become more efficient. It was so with the Britons: they made a long and determined resistance against their invaders; and from that circumstance, received a more signal overthrow. Not that I suppose the Roman usurpation is to be justified from any considerations of utility. In all certainty, the Romans pursued their conquests

SECTION for their own aggrandisement, without regard  
 I. to any ulterior benefit; and, that their policy in  
 CHAP. II. this respect was selfish and confined, is apparent  
 from the circumstance, that they did not allow the  
 legionary soldier to possess lands; or to settle in  
 the tributary states. Their invasion of Britain,  
 as far as the invaders were concerned, was unjust  
 and oppressive. But there was a Divine Power  
 directing their movements, who had a perfect right  
 to dispose of the Britons as He pleased; and who,  
 through a short chastisement by the Roman power,  
 was preparing for them the most exuberant bles-  
 sings.

It is an infallible principle in the divine econ-  
 omy, that the wicked are often constituted the  
 sword of the Almighty Governor; and, that  
 whilst left to follow their own unjust and ambi-  
 tious projects, they work out his sovereign and  
 gracious will. The Roman Invasion, is, in every  
 point of view, a striking instance of this position;  
 and the mighty chain of events which had prece-  
 ded and has succeeded upon it, manifests in the  
 most indubitable manner, a divine hand. Who-  
 ever, therefore, with an impartial mind, considers  
 the previous state of Britain--the motives which  
 inspired the Romans to invade its shores; and the  
 very peculiar and unpremeditated circumstances,  
 that arose from it, will not fail, with gratitude, to  
 acknowledge the effectual working of the Supreme  
 Being.

After the expulsion of the Druids and a variety SECTION  
 of afflicting incidents, we arrive in the affairs of I.  
 Britain, at an Epoch, which, though it centres in CHAP. II.  
 an individual, yet is too manifest a link in the  
 series of Providence to be overlooked.—I mean Agricola pre-  
 the Lieutenancy of AGRICOLA, a man of con- sides over the  
 summate wisdom, unspotted integrity, and invin- affairs of Bri-  
 cible courage. He was fitted by the Author of tain.  
 his being, for conducting great and dangerous A. D. 75.  
 enterprises; and one of the most critical and dif-  
 ficult was put into his hands. By his courage,  
 he extended the Roman arms to the utmost boun-  
 daries of the British Island.—By his integrity,  
 he softened the rigours of victory, and raised the  
 vanquished, with paternal solicitude, from the  
 ground.—By his wisdom, he administered to the  
 wants of the inhabitants; reconciled them to his  
 administration; induced them to forget their an-  
 cient habits, and instructed them in the arts of  
 civilization. It is impossible for us to form any  
 proper estimate of the influence he exerted, and  
 of the reforms he established in this Island. Suf-  
 fice it to say, that the peculiar character of his  
 administration, and the important Era, during  
 which it was exercised, and the almost incredible  
 improvement that attended it, mark incontestibly  
 another step in the Divine procedure. The words  
 of Tacitus, a contemporary historian, will very  
 properly conclude what we have said respecting  
 this great man.

SECTION I. "Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid  
I. "miratissimum, manet, mansurumque est in animis  
CHAP. II. "hominum in eternitate temporum, fama rerum.  
"Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobili-  
"les, oblivio obruet, Agricola, posteritati narratus  
"et traditus, superstes erit." \*

Establishment  
of Christianity.

Whatever may be the fate of insulated facts, with respect to the planting of Christianity in Britain; yet it is undoubted, that soon after the departure of Agricola, that inestimable boon of Heaven, made rapid progress in the island.—Whether or not, Lucius was the first British King that embraced Christianity; or Britain, the first Christian State, it is certain that the Christian religion spread itself wherever the Roman Arms prevailed in Britain. No doubt, Christianity had found its way to us very early. It was impossible, when we consider the constant and uninterrupted communication with the Roman Empire, that the zeal of the Apostolic days would allow the opportunity to pass by, unregarded. No doubt previous to the time of Claudius, and throughout the whole of that troublous period to the time of Agricola, much was attempted and much was accomplished.

\* Whatever of Agricola we have loved—whatever we have admired, remains, and by the fame of his deeds, will for ever remain in the minds of men. For dark forgetfulness shall overwhelm many of the ancients, as men undeserving of honor and esteem; but Agricola, spoken of, and handed down to posterity shall still survive.

But the true epocha of Christianity in this country, SECTION I.  
must be established in connexion with the latter I.  
period; after which time, it seems to have taken CHAP. II.  
deep root—and to have filled the land. The Roman Governors were too much occupied, to interfere with its progress; and for a long term of years it was left unmolested to pursue its benign and heavenly way.

From the time of Agricola to that of Dioclesian, including a space of about two hundred years, the triumphs of Christianity must be considered to have been in progress; and we cannot doubt but that many a Briton during that period, through the divine consolations of the Gospel, enjoyed "the peace of God which passeth understanding." The true medium of salvation was proclaimed; and the long benighted hills of Britain, were made vocal with the songs of the redeemed. The Church received enlargement on every side, and like a vigorous and fruitful tree, spread its boughs over the happy land, affording shelter and delight to multitudes. One undoubted fact, if there were no others, would be sufficient to substantiate the truth of these enlivening statements. I allude to the circumstance, that during the persecution that raged under the Emperor Dioclesian, and which extended itself to the remotest provinces of the empire, Britain was honored as the scene of MARTYRDOM; and many illustrious British names appear in the records of the Church, who sealed the truth of Chris-

Dioclesian  
Emperor of  
Rome,  
A. D. 283.  
persecutes the  
British Chris-  
tians.

SECTION I. CHAP. II. tianity with their blood.\* Brief may be the notices of their lives, and scanty the particulars of their deaths, but the fact is significant. There is sufficient in it to shew, that Christianity had made such progress in Britain, as to excite the jealousy of heathen Rome; and that it possessed so much of the vital spirit of that religion, as to lead its disciples to prefer Martyrdom to Apostacy. Thus, in a short space of time, we behold the idols of superstition banished—the arts of civilization introduced—the doctrines of Christianity promulgated, and Britain evangelized. And to what shall we attribute this mighty change?

The wide-spread and regenerating influence of the Gospel, was certainly the greatest and most signal advantage that followed the invasion of Cæsar. It is the most *prominent* event, and the most pregnant with blessing; and, therefore, the steps which preceded it, may be considered as preparatory to its establishment. But did Cæsar contemplate such a result to his enterprise? Did Claudius, or any of his successors? They were blind instruments in bringing about such a consummation. They laboured, for the most part, to gratify their own pride and ambition; but whilst they followed the dictates of their own breasts, their wayward and erring devices were made subservient to the great and comprehensive designs of the ETERNAL: And what is remarkable, whilst

\* Fuller's History.

we cannot avoid beholding a sovereign hand, constraining the *general* movement, yet there is no apparent constraint, no seeming interruption to the natural order of things. Every event seems to follow in proper order, after that which preceded it. We behold a suitable cause for every effect. Indeed the laws of the moral world appear to be conducted, on the same principle as those of the kingdom of nature. There is no appearance of confusion, none of constraint, none of violence—but every thing operates to its perfection, by slow and imperceptible degrees. Even when an interruption to these general principles is observed, yet the character of their operations is retained.

It is not, indeed, the province of reason to scan too minutely the things of God, or, to speculate on the mode in which the divine influence exerts itself on the affairs of men, but the fact is undoubted. In the case under review, it was not the effect of mere physical action; it was not a series of natural causes that can be supposed to have accomplished it. The planting of Christianity was designed either by God or man:—no simple physical cause could have brought it about.

The determination of Cæsar to invade Britain, was the beginning of the series:—what connexion had this determination with the establishment of Christianity? None whatever. Cæsar designed nothing of the kind, neither did his successors in

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. that line of circumstances, which followed the first suggestion in the mind of Cæsar; yet, every thing from that moment, prepared the way for it. It would be too absurd to suppose that such an event, involving such important consequences to the sons of men, could have been brought about, without design. The consequence therefore, inevitably follows, that the supreme Father of all, was the designer; and that He conducted every event to its accomplishment. And we are bound to adore the power, and to admire the goodness of that "blessed God," who out of the midst of such bitter evils, arising from the corrupt motives—the blind prejudices—the conflicting passions and jarring interests of men, evolved such real and substantial good; and blessed a portion, at least, of mankind, in spite of themselves.—But I must quit this delightful period of our history, to which the sublime prediction of Isaiah is eminently applicable. "The wilderness  
"and the solitary place shall be glad for them;  
"and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the  
"rose: it shall blossom abundantly and rejoice  
"with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon  
"shall be given unto it; the excellency of Carmel  
"and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the Lord  
"and the excellency of our God!"\*

Constantine  
Emperor of

Whether during the reign of Constantine, Christianity received any real accession, is dubious. It

\* Prophecy of Isaiah ch. xxxv. v. i.

is more probable, that it lost as much in real vitality, as it gained in outward splendour: but before this incorporation with secular power, it had attained to great strength and eminence; and thirty Bishops are numbered as presiding over the Christian Church in Britain. The names of three who attended the council of Arles, A. D. 314, are still preserved.\*

I cannot help in this place remarking, and it can scarcely be considered a digression, that, the important fact, of an Apostolic, independent church, established and perfectly organized, at such an early period, and long before the Bishop of Rome [pretended to universal Lordship, is an abundant refutation of the assertion of the Romanists, that the Church of England is *schismatic* from the Church of Rome. If there were not other sufficient reasons for her separation from that church, yet the undoubted fact which we have just narrated, with others, in the course of history, confirmatory of it, proves that the Church in England existed co-eval with the Church in Rome; and that the Church of England existed *prior* to the PAPAL Church of Rome. Hence it follows, that when in after ages, the church of Rome took possession of the church in Britain, it was an undue stretch of power; and in every sense, an usurpation. It never can be a crime to break a

\* Eborius, Bishop of York, Restitutius, Bishop of London, and Adolphus, Bishop of Colchester.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. tyrannic and oppressive yoke.—At the reformation, this was done, and the Church in this country assumed her ancient independence: and she may be called a Protestant Church, not only because she protests against the innovations of the Romanists in doctrine—but against their usurpation in power. Let this consideration suffice for those, who assert that the church of England is an apostate daughter of the church of Rome. She owns no such alliance: she is older in years than her self-constituted mother; and considers it as a misfortune that she was ever brought under her domination.\*

Fatal effects  
of Arianism.

But to return.—Christianity under Constantine, not only attained security and rest—not only received protection, but enjoyed opulence and ease. Yet these external advantages appear not to have forwarded her real interests. The church became the stepping-stone to power and fame; and the bold and the ambitious pressed into her service; and, in a very short time, the effects of such an unholy combination became apparent. “Philosophy and vain deceit” set themselves to work on the simple and unadulterated materials of Scripture; and quickly perverted its wholesome truths by their idle speculations. Slight at first, and, to all appearance, unimportant errors, were brought in—but error begets error; and at length, that monster was produced, which under the name of Arianism, devoured the vitals of the Church. It

\* “Church of England its own witness.” *Rivingtons.*

is not my province to enter into the detail of its SECTION I.  
devastating progress. It ravaged the whole of the Western Empire—but its attack on Britain CHAP. II. was, perhaps, more fatal and disastrous, than on any other portion of the Church.

The most ancient historians, record, that the Britons were proverbial for their fickleness and inconstancy; a fact which it is to be feared, every succeeding age has aided to verify. Amongst such a varying people, ready to be carried about with “every wind of doctrine”—the deadly heresy made rapid progress; and polluted the land. The most shameful profligacy of manners found an entrance with it; and vice, under every form, was tolerated, and even cherished. Our unhappy Countrymen were chastised on the north and west, by the Picts and Scots; who made frequent and cruel incursions amongst them, and the Roman power which had elevated and hitherto defended them, was now struck with the decrepitude of age; and being itself attacked by young and vigorous nations, could no longer afford them protection.

Britain was now left to her own resources. But alas! before the last of the legions had quit-  
ted her shores, her glory was departed. Christi-  
anity had declined under the baneful influence of  
Arianism. Ichobod was written on her numerous  
temples. No one arose to check the disorder:  
no remedy was found to stay the fatal contagion:  
the clergy and laity together, became degenerate

The Romans  
relinquish  
Britain.  
A. D. 448.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. and flagitious; and the whole nation fell into one common ruin. Thus, we have, lately, beheld our country happy in the favour of God; and raised by his providence from the lowest grade of wretchedness, to be exalted with glory; and we shall now be called to contemplate a striking change, to follow the divine judgments, and to enter upon a long and painful period of our history.

We have seen the end of one invasion, and the purposes of the Divine economy in its permission. A second invasion is now in preparation, and after a cruel struggle, is at length successful. The Pagan Saxons gain entire possession of the Christian soil of Britain; and whatever remained of Christianity is trodden under foot. Such a calamity as this, cannot be considered as amongst the common vicissitudes of nations. This barbarous people were called in, to aid the Britons against the still more savage tribes of the Picts and Scots, and, from being their auxiliaries, became their conquerors. The Britons were certainly not without experience as it regards the motives and passions of mankind, and yet, we cannot conceive a more infatuated step than their calling in, the aid of the Saxons. Was it to be expected that fierce and warlike nations, possessed of a rough and uncultivated soil, would be willing, after having beheld the fertile plains of Britain, to return to the desolation of their own marshes and forests? Had the Britons been at

Saxon invasion  
under Ella.  
A. D. 465.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. liberty to reason upon the subject, and to act upon the result of their deliberations, they would have rejected at once the thought of such an alliance. But strong necessity lay upon them—a necessity, it must be granted, of their own making; and in the midst of conflicting evils, they, undoubtedly, chose that which they considered the least. But why not rely upon their own resources and defend themselves against the Picts and Scots, without applying for foreign aid? This was the only sure and effectual measure. But unfortunately, at that juncture their resources were gone. Not however, in the way, which is supposed by the generality of our historians, who consider, that the Britons had become weak and effeminate, by their long subjection to the Romans. It is true that the arts of peace had been cultivated by them to a great extent; but these surely, have not, in themselves, a tendency, essentially to deteriorate the character. The individual who cultivates peaceful and industrious arts may not, at all times, be so prepared for the conflict, as the man who lives by his sword; yet, surely, on an emergency, the powers of the man who lives by the fruits of his skill and industry, are capable of resuscitation equal to the occasion. Besides, Britain was not so studiously engaged in domestic pursuits, as not to have abundance of warriors. For a long period, prior to the retirement of the Romans, Britain had been the most active and turbulent of the Provinces.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. It was situated at a considerable distance from the seat of Empire, and was on that account, a suitable arena for the attempts of the aspiring and ambitious; and accordingly, not a few of the governors of Britain usurped the title of Emperor. By this means the island was drained of its youth and nobility, and on two occasions, particularly towards the conclusion of the Roman occupation, vast numbers attended the usurping Emperors to the Continent, and perished together with their commanders.\* Thus, the country was devoid of its natural defenders; and like a mother deprived of her proper children, she was compelled to seek her protection from the hands of strangers.

We behold in this resolve of the Britons to apply to the Saxons for relief, a people urged by imperative circumstances to lay the foundation for their own destruction. They certainly did not intend such a catastrophe. The step however to which they had recourse, manifestly had a tendency to lead to it.—But they thought otherwise; and considered it as the only means of their safety. But there was a divine Power, who had important designs to answer in connexion with his *universal* government; and the perplexities and resolution of the Britons led the way for their accomplishment. They had been elevated in the scale of being, and gifted with the most exalted privileges; and we behold the first of these

\* Marcus, Gratian and Constantine.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. II. blessings, despised; and the latter, profanely trifled with.\* They are now to be punished: and their own infatuated conduct prepares the way. The Ruler of the world allows them to take their own course, and where they intended escape—He prepares a snare; where they contemplated deliverance He determines captivity.

The punishment of nations, with Him, is as easy as that of individuals; and whilst all his acts are benevolence, he will not permit vice and folly to escape punishment. Nay, the very act of punishment, is part of the plan of his universal beneficence. Vice and misery are inseparable. And where an excess of the former prevails—the sum of unhappiness is so much increased, and the harmony of the divine economy disordered. It is therefore necessary for the general good, that the vicious should be punished. But in the midst of judgment, the Almighty God remembers mercy; and with the chastisement combines a vivifying principle of good. We shall no doubt find it as we proceed. “Who would not fear thee, O King of Nations! for to thee doth it appertain; forasmuch as, among all the wise men of the nations, and in all their kingdoms there is none like unto Thee.”†

\* The deadly heresy of Arianism, sprung from Arius a Presbyter of Alexandria, in the fourth century. He taught that the Son of God was the first of created Beings and essentially distinct from the Father; and that the Holy Ghost was created by the Son.

† Prophecy of Jeremiah, ch. x. v. 7.

## CHAPTER III.

THE SAXON HEPTARCHY—ITS PERFECTION—ITS DECLINE AND OVERTHROW BY THE DANES.

SECTION  
I.  
CHAP. III.

FOR the space of one hundred years, during which time the Saxon Heptarchy was in a state of formation, there is not a single object upon which the eye can rest with satisfaction. We read of nothing but wars, and jealousies, and massacres.—It was only towards the conclusion of this period, when one of the states became predominant, and its king the chief of the nations, that we can perceive the dawn of better things.

Christianity conveys with itself every other blessing, began to revive, and to shed its healing influence over the barbarous people. A distinguished female was destined to give it introduction to the court. Bertha, the daughter of the king of France, became Queen of Ethelbert king of Kent, and chief monarch of England, on the condition, that she might be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion.

Christianity  
revives.  
A. D. 570.

The pagan king of Saxon England accepted the conditions ; and there can be no doubt, but that she exercised a wholesome controul over his mind ; and that Lethard the Bishop who accompanied her, allowed no opportunity to escape, of speaking a word in season to the noblemen who surrounded the king.

SECTION  
I.  
CHAP. III.

There is reason also to conclude, that the remnant of Christianity amongst the enslaved Britons, scattered throughout the Saxon states, together with the labours and preaching of several British divines,\* produced, in many instances, vital and lasting effects ; and it is certain, that into Scotland, the exiled Britons conveyed the truths of the Gospel, which spread a salutary influence over that land ; and we find they became a highly Christian nation, independent of the prominent means, which led to that result in England.

We shall not enter into an examination of the causes, which led that excellent person, Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, to turn his benevolent attention to this country.—He considered Christianity, as it undoubtedly is, the greatest boon on earth, without which, even life itself can scarcely be esteemed a blessing ; and he determined himself to be its herald to the barbarous shore of Britain.—In the fulfilment of this design, however, he was prevented—the citizens of Rome would not submit to the loss of their beloved Pastor : a distinguished

Romish religion introduced.  
A. D. 600.

\* Church of England its own Witness.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III. testimony to the character of Gregory! Every person knows, that at length, this Christian embassy was sent by Gregory under the conduct of Austin, with many fellow labourers. They commenced their expedition under great dejection of mind, and with many painful forebodings. But the illustrious Bertha had prepared the way.—Austin and his companions were welcomed by the King, who, soon after, was baptized. This public approval of their errand, and the great reputation of the missionaries themselves, acted with electric power; and vast numbers flocked to the baptism of Christianity. Austin's conferences with the BRITISH BISHOPS who resided in the western parts of the island, are not, in their results, favourable to his memory; and their rejection of his offers respecting a conformity with the church of Rome on certain points, is well known.\* Christianity, however, made rapid progress through the country, and the hand of Providence is strongly marked by the circumstance, that the dominant kings of the Island, successively as they arose, became christians; among whom Edwin, and Oswy, and Oswald were pre-eminent

What will serve to shew the extent to which the Christian religion had spread in Scotland, before the arrival of Austin, is the circumstance of a general council† having been held of English and Scotch Bishops, during the reign of Oswy; in

\* Fuller, in loc. † A. D. 664

which, the Scotch held a difference of opinion on those points, which marked their conformity with the ancient British church, still existing, as we have said, in the West of England. SECTION I.  
CHAP. III.

This period must also be marked as the revival of learning, and the founding of the University of Cambridge. The arts and sciences were happily introduced by Theodore a learned presbyter of Greece, who had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope, University of Cambridge, founded A. D. 640.

The era of the eighth century was the crisis of the Saxon Heptarchy and the height of its advancement—in the commencement of the ninth, the kingdom was united by Egbert under one sovereign. The accounts of this period are very imperfect; and are rendered still more unsatisfactory by the death of the venerable historian Beda, which happened in the beginning of the eighth century. There was a stern grandeur and noble magnificence about these times, of which, at this moment, we can form no idea. The moral scenery of the age was of a dark and sublime character.—It wore the giant forms of our nature; and the virtues and vices of the human mind were deeply marked and strongly contrasted. Kingdom of England, Egbert, A. D. 828.

But we search in vain for the true spirit of the gospel of Christ—that spirit, no doubt, since its first promulgation amongst the Saxons, had existed, and influenced vast numbers; but it was now almost extinct. Indeed the nature of its second Christianity fearfully degenerates.

## SECTION

## I.

## CHAP. III.

establishment had this tendency; it involved the principle of decay. It began in a system of pomp and shew; and these, throughout its progress, generated their unhallowed forms, on the simple principles of the gospel. The Missionaries under Austin, had the appearance of meek and humble men; but, in the discharge of their religious functions, they wore all that haughtiness and assumption of sole delegation, which has ever marked the church of Rome. Their pretensions were lofty, their demands exorbitant and their perseverance unyielding. Success attended their exertions. They brought the truth, but not the unadulterated truth. The gold was alloyed with dross. The wine, mixed with water. The effects were such as might be expected from an imperfect exhibition of the gospel, deeply tainted with the succeeding corruptions of the Romish Church.

The Romish Religion in great prosperity.

The church at the period of which I am now speaking, was endowed and enriched beyond all example. Churches and monasteries covered the land. Religion had become encumbered with observances.—Its ground-work was lost. Every thing was external. It was a body without a soul. To build a church or a monastery was to save the Founder. From this time a rapid declension is observed. And we shall find that the very prosperity of their religion, gradually worked the overthrow of the nation itself. Monks and Nuns, as a necessary consequence, became the

## SECTION

## I.

## CHAP. III.

most prevalent class of society. The greatest honour, and the most acceptable service of Kings and Queens, was to retire into the shades, and submit to the discipline of the monastery. We may in some measure, judge of the extent to which this was carried, from the circumstance, that during the period of the Saxon reign, THIRTY TWO crowned heads retired into these desecrated asylums: but these kingly monks left nothing behind them of that world which they professed to abandon, except the name. It was a dreadful system. It might not, it did not appear such, to the actors in the scene. It was no doubt suited to the temper of the times.—But to us, who can calmly trace all these events and their remote consequences, the evils of the system appear prodigious. The monastic houses became the abodes of rioting and debauchery; and whilst the outward form of religion was sustained, the most degrading appetites of our nature were indulged and fostered. Religion was made the sanction of the most detestable abominations; and the spell of its accumulated services, dissolved, as if by magic, the bulwarks of CONSCIENCE. To such an extent of evil was the whole religious system of England carried—that tidings of its corruption at length reached the ears of the Roman Pontiff, who addressed a letter to England, for the purpose of staying the torrent of monastic depravity.—But in vain. It was now a mountain cataract; and every barrier

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. III.

The Danes  
raised up to  
punish their  
impiety.

which obstructed its progress, only tended to increase its violence. It rolled its deadly waters over the whole country, and inundated the land.

To stay the course of this fatal corruption was now beyond the reach of mortal power; and the patient and long-suffering vengeance of heaven was beginning to awake. The Danish hordes appeared on the coasts of the degenerate island, and ready with a merciless hand to execute the design of their mission. The rapacity of the Danes was excited by the well known riches of the *Monasteries*; and against these their chief attack was directed. This was as might be expected.—The source of their depravity, was the ground of their overthrow, and their very prosperity became their ruin. The destruction of this class of religionists, appears to have been tremendous. Thousands and tens of thousands of them fell a sacrifice to the devastations and fury of the Danes. The alarm of the whole nation was excessive and beyond example; and we are told by the historians of that day, that all orders of the state felt, that the inroads of the Pagans was a divine chastisement for their sins; and we shall here have an opportunity of forming an estimate of the state of their religion.

A synod was held, composed of the King and the chief Nobility, to consult on the best means of averting the judgements of God.—After deliberation, as the likeliest method that could be devised, it was determined, that vast ad-

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. III.

ditions should be made to the revenues and privileges of the Church. Infatuate blindness!—The very evil which had brought them to the brink of destruction, is to be armed with additional power! Was this the best expedient of *their* Christianity? It was the abjection of the most valuable and essential principles of that revelation, and serves to shew, how long and inveterate prejudices blind the understanding. Why did they not think of repenting of their crimes; forsaking their sins, and supplicating for pardon, through the medium of the Christian atonement? Had they been familiar with its doctrines, this is the course they would have pursued.—But they knew them not. The doctrines themselves were in existence; but they were so encumbered, so overgrown with vows and alms and penances and absolutions and purgatories, that they were lost to all practical benefit. Nor is it possible to conceive, how they could be discovered amidst such manifold inventions of men. I would not deal in harsh expressions against those who fastened the chains, or those upon whom they were rivetted. The whole system was the work of human nature. From my very soul I pity them; that when the means of safety and happiness was in their hands they could not avail themselves of it. As might have been foreseen, such an unreasonable mode of procedure, for a propitiatory offering, had no effect in staying the retributory judgments of God. The deluge of massacre and

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III. blood-shed advanced, till every thing that opposed its progress was overwhelmed. The religious houses were nearly EXTIRPATED, and the lives that were sacrificed, were countless as the falling leaves in Autumn.

Era of Alfred.  
A. D. 872. The infliction was long and lingering, and did not reach its crisis till the reign of the renowned Alfred. For a time, the whole country was given up to the cruel rapacity of the invaders; and they exercised their domination with the most unheard of barbarity. It is impossible to form an idea of the deep distress into which the unhappy people were plunged. Every circumstance of their case had a tendency to increase their misery. They were tyrannised over by a merciless enemy, who so far from feeling any commiseration for them in their sufferings, rejoiced in their calamities—made them to serve their most licentious passions, and slew them without ceremony whenever they resisted their will.

It now appeared as if the extinction of our Saxon forefathers was at hand; and, as if the measure which they had measured to the ancient Britons, was about to be retributed upon them: but happily, when the condition of the kingdom was reduced to the utmost extremity and its very existence trembled in the balance, it pleased the Almighty disposer of events, by a sudden and unforeseen change of affairs to afford them a longer day; and thus to discover, that his hand was in

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III. the chastisement. A second Agricola was raised up for the regeneration of the fallen land, in the person of one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived.—A person endowed by heaven with astonishing powers of mind, and gifted with almost miraculous wisdom. His vigour of mind was unwearied—his moral power pre-eminent, and his devotional spirit unprecedented. When all seemed to be lost and the contest was given up in despair: when the Danes were triumphing over their conquest, and rioting amidst the desolations they had made—it was at that juncture, that Alfred the first anointed King of England, retrieved his country's honour. His arm nerved by an unseen Power, and his counsels directed by a supernatural wisdom, brought back the triumph to his native land. Saxon England once more, came out from the clouds and darkness that surrounded her; and promised again to become a great and mighty nation.

Nothing can be more convincing than the evidence of the Divine interference, in this sudden and beneficial change of the affairs of the kingdom. Every thing was lost; and there was no human probability of a political renovation. The circumstances of the juncture, on the one hand—the character of the foe—the extent of the devastations: and on the other hand, the completeness of the restoration, and the character of the man raised up to be the restorer—all, all testify the hand of a SUPERIOR POWER. At this very day we can

The devastated Land rescued by Alfred.

SECTION I. CHAP. III. retrace the laws and institutions of Alfred. His influence had been so great, that we may safely concede to him the character of a divinely-gifted man. He established amongst us whatever was worthy of transmission, among the Saxon antiquities; and laid the foundation of the institutions of a country, destined to fill an ample sphere in the after economy of Providence. If ever a state or a man deserved the name of EXEMPLAR, that man was Alfred—that state is England. During the period in which the Danes triumphed over England, almost all traces of learning were lost.—Alfred was its restorer, and he himself was the brightest example of a student. From this time, the country took a rapid rise; and although still troubled by the Danes, yet their attempts caused but a healthy excitement throughout the Land.

Era of Edgar  
A. D. 95.  
Great prosperity  
and glory.

In the succeeding reigns, England rose to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory; and in the days of Edgar, Anno Domini 959, was laid the foundation of our maritime superiority.—The accounts of our naval power at this period are almost incredible. Its establishment at first, was intended by Egbert, to form a defence against the future incursions of the Danes; but by Providence (as we can now see) to establish a nation of maritime vigour to promote His purposes on the deep.—So remote is the foundation of our naval glory!—But our Saxon line of progeniture had well nigh completed its course; and notwithstanding, the

splendid reigns of Athelstan and Edgar, a morbid disease was preying upon the vitals of the country, and hastening its dissolution, SECTION I. CHAP. III.

It is melancholy to consider, that its great fore-  
running cause, must again be shewn to rest with  
the Ecclesiastics. It might almost seem as if one  
laid the blame upon them, out of despite and ma-  
lice: but it is not so.—These things are their  
own showing; for they were the Chroniclers of the  
time. They had long since recovered from the ra-  
vages of the Danes; and risen to still greater  
heights of opulence and splendor. Their lust and  
pride, their arts and avarice devoured the good of  
the land; and as we shall soon see brought it  
again to desolation. Traces of  
decline.

It was in the reign of Edwy, Anno Domini 965, to which we must again revert, that a deed was wrought, which was made by the Moral Governor of the world, in a very striking manner, to work its own retribution. Whatever was the fault of the king in his attachment to Elgiva—there was no person in the kingdom, but Archbishop Dunstan, who had the presumption and daring to enter into the king's chamber, and by the force of his single arm, sustained by the power of the Church's anathema, drag the King like a criminal, into the festive hall. Such an act could only be excusable, on the ground of great christian faithfulness, and disinterested patriotism: but even this, could have justified nothing beyond honest

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III. and humble admonitions on the part of the minister of peace. But it will be answered, that such a mildness of manner, was not to be expected in the temper of the times, Of that I am well aware. But why was it not? The Christian principles of courteousness and humility, were the same at every period of its benign course; and if these were not exercised, it only discovers that its true influence was unknown. But not to use harsh expressions, or indulge in unnecessary vituperation, it is abundantly evident from this, in conjunction with his other acts, that Dunstan was unacquainted with the true spirit of that holy religion,—elated with pride and inveterately possessed with an overweening idea of his prelatical dignity.

This moral wrong committed by Dunstan, was followed, as is usually the case in human affairs, by another in the King. Instigated by a sense of his own wounded honour, and that of the other individuals whose privacy had been so openly violated; he conceived a rooted aversion to the whole family of the monks, of whom Saint Dunstan was chief; and commenced a persecution against them, which ended in their expulsion from many of their establishments, into which the secular clergy were immediately introduced: altercations of the most violent nature between the two parties succeeded, in which Dunstan took a leading part in favour of his own order. He was banished; but was recalled in the succeeding reign, by Edgar; whose

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III. gorgeous reign was but the departing glory of the Saxons. From him the crown descended to less nobler brows, and the sceptre to weaker hands. I should not have mentioned these facts, but for the purpose of introducing another, upon which turns, in a great measure, the overthrow of that line of monarchy.

On his return, Dunstan laboured for the elevation of his order; and, after many alleged miracles in his favour (amongst which was the voice from the Crucifix) in the reign of Edward the younger he gained his every wish, and the land was again prostrate at the feet of superstition: but a dreadful tempest was gathering over the fated isle; and the Almighty avenger again sent his scourge in the persons of the relentless Danes.

Pusillanimity\* had made its way to the throne by murder. Superstition held in chains, the understanding and consciences of men. Pride and avarice, usurped the place of humility and charity. Ignorance, and degradation, and cruelty, and murder, in hideous train, stalked through the land; and the whole country sinking into a moral desolation, offered a fatal opportunity to the inroads of their ancient oppressors.—They came: but the dwindled spirit of the age rose not to the occasion, The weapon they used was gold, and the Danes were bribed to retire. This cowardly

Successful  
invasion of the  
Danes.  
A. D. 979.

\* Ethelred II. who succeeded to the throne on the murder of his half brother, Edward the younger.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. III.

art was used, again and again, till it became inefficient; and then, treachery tried her skill.—The result of her counsels was a GENERAL MASSACRE OF THE INCORPORATED DANES.\* Alas! what could such a degenerated nation expect? From this time, the affairs of the nation were most disastrous.—Sweyn, king of Denmark, determined upon revenge, and a furious revenge he took.—Famine followed his track. Even the sea broke its boundaries and overwhelmed multitudes of the people, whose miseries every hour increased; and the land was completely subjugated under the hand of Sweyn. On his death, an ineffectual struggle was made under Edmund, a brave and valiant Prince, for the recovery of their liberties; the struggle was ineffectual because when every order of the state, was ready to meet the emergency, the overgrown and nourished *Monastics* refused their quota of assistance; and such was the vast power and the wealth they had accumulated, that their refusal was a decisive blow. Their Country was lost. The sinews of resistance were unequal to the occasion, and after a brave and varied struggle, a foreign King, Canute the Son of Sweyn, was acknowledged by the fallen land. “Verily, there is a GOD that JUDGETH THE EARTH.”

\* Anno Domini, 1002.

## CHAPTER IV.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE DANES—RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE—THE NORMAN LINE IN WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR—WILLIAM II. HENRY I. STEPHEN.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV.

The reign of Canute brings us to an epoch in English History: but this era of Danish superiority does not appear to be marked with any striking or important results. Canute, himself, was a man of splendid abilities; and by the activity of his body and mind, gave a vast impulse to the energies of the nation; and gathered up the strength of the country, which had run to waste under the last of the Saxon kings. He repressed and coerced, in some measure, the looseness of the age; and endeavoured, by every means in his power, to bring back a moral tone to the minds of his people. But notwithstanding all his efforts, bloodshed and rapine and immorality, still continued to harass the fainting land; and under

The Danish  
Sovereignty of  
short duration.  
A. D. 1017.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. his two sons who succeeded him, things returned to their former course, and an entire dissoluteness of manners and government prevailed.

On reviewing this period, we are somewhat strongly brought to the conclusion, that the contest which had been carried on for two hundred years, between the Danes and the English; and which had been attended with so much misery and bloodshed, was intended by all-ruling heaven as a chastisement, on an immoral and licentious people. We find no striking or beneficial change, introduced by the Danes, which could have any influence on the future destinies of the nation: but we do perceive, that no sooner is the contest concluded and the contending parties united in one body, than the instruments are laid aside and their dominion broken. And further, the Danes were more barbarous than the English; and even more dissolute and licentious in their morals.—Their amalgamation therefore with the body of the people, if moral perfection be essential to the Divine character, and the measure of his acts, could only tend to increase the evil, for which they had been so long under the chastening rod of the Supreme Governor.

Restoration  
of the Saxon  
line.

The Danish reign therefore, was short, and a few years, not more than twenty-six, saw a reversion in favour of the ancient Saxon line, in the person of Edward\* the Confessor. We shall find

\* Son of Ethelred the grandson of EDGAR.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. this to be a remarkable event, in every respect. Edward was a prince of consummate ability; and laid his plans with such prudence and wisdom, that they gradually and silently worked the most salutary changes. His reign was a season of beneficial repose and internal organization, after the toils and disorders of centuries; and was preparing material, on a grand scale, for future operations. Edward was educated in that school,\* from whence the English nation was afterward to be regenerated; and every thing in his reign, tended to facilitate its advance.—He was the forerunner of that regeneration; and every act he did, serves to point out his DESIGNATION. He employed himself, with unremitting diligence, in reviewing all the ancient institutions and laws; and with indescribable patience, gave a form and character to all that was worth preserving from our Saxon forefathers. In him, as it were, their departed spirits were embodied, and himself the last of their race, he prepared with all solemnity, to collect and hand down to posterity, the memorial of their departed greatness. His position at this time, was truly singular; and he cannot but be considered as specially raised up, to be the connecting link between the periods of our ancient and modern history. He stands prominently forward as a commanding figure in the interval; and as the solemn apotheosis of his Saxon ancestry.

\* In the Court of Normandy.

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. IV.

During this precursory interval, the Author of Society, was, by a long train of circumstances, laying the foundation of a change of system, which was to give a lasting stamp to the character of the English Nation, and an impulse, which should raise it to an EXEMPLAR STATE amongst the nations of the world.

Rise and character of William the conqueror.

The instrument that was destined to conduct this revolution, was receiving his preparation amongst a people, and amidst scenes wonderfully calculated to promote his fitness for the task. This individual was no other than William, Duke of Normandy; left an orphan at the early age of nine years; and in the government of a people, the most brave and best instituted, but from particular circumstances, ever living amidst storms and contentions. For thirty-four years he held the reins of government in his own patrimony, with a firm hand; and supported his authority in the most successful manner, against the encroachments of his haughty nobles, on the one side, and the unceasing efforts of neighbouring states, on the other.

He was of a high and elevated understanding, with a mind well formed and passions well regulated.—He was patient of toil and fatigue.—Prudent in council.—Brave in the field.—Generous, persevering, and unbending. Whilst he pursued his enemies with the most unrelenting vigour, he never turned a deaf ear to the supplications of an

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. IV.

adversary. He collected in himself all the mighty passions of man, I mean those which are most nearly allied to his spiritual part—pride, ambition, daring, and revenge. In the pursuit of these his mind was entirely absorbed, and he was in a great measure a stranger to the more brutish appetites. With these passions, in a singular manner he united the humane virtues of prudence, generosity, and forgiveness of injuries; and all were further chastised, by a strict attention to the duties of religion, and apparently, with a high regard for the dictates of the Supreme being.

This was the man destined in Providence to hold the English sceptre; and to lay the foundation of its greatness. His accession to this eminence of power, is one of those striking events in the history of things which carries its own testimony along with it. Who, at the accession of Canute, to whom there were three Sons, could have presumed upon the probability of such an event? Who, at the accession even of Edward, when the duke of Normandy was only a few years old, could have suggested the thought? It is true that, Edward favoured Norman customs and institutions; but why, should he therefore favor, and be the means eventually of placing the crown on the head of William duke of Normandy? In fact he did not contemplate it. It did not enter into his serious thoughts, till the death of Edward,

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. the son of Edmund Ironside,\* upon whom it was his intention to devolve the Crown. And, when this person died there was *his* son, Edgar Atheling remaining: and why was he not chosen?—He was of the ancient line; and the legal heir to the throne: and rule by inheritance was the great law of the succession. It is alleged by historians that he was considered by Edward, incapable of conducting the great affairs of government. He was therefore rejected.—And there is every reason, from the well known character of Edward, to believe that this decision was arrived at, in strict accordance with the wisest dictates of reason, and from an inflexible regard to justice in the disposal of the Crown.† But there was still another person of English extraction, of vast influence and of great qualities both of body and mind.—This was Harold, son of the once all-powerful Godwin, and, what might have turned the balance in his favour, he was in the highest favour with the whole nation; and with the consent of that nation he aspired to the throne.—And why was he rejected? If in the former instance, we

\* Third son of Ethelred.

† Edward was living in Hungary at the accession of Edward the Confessor and was recalled by him, but died soon after his return to England. The necessity of the times justified the King and the nation in afterwards rejecting his Son Edgar Atheling. This is only an instance of the power which has always been vested in the King and Parliament, on justifiable grounds, to alter the descent of the crown.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. give Edward credit for sincerity, we must on this occasion, blame him for giving way to a retaliating spirit. Edward could not deny the fitness of Harold, but he entertained an unconquerable dislike to the son, from the memory of his father's ambitious acts. This was the sole turning point in Harold's rejection; and thus we see, that against every appearance of propriety, the Duke of Normandy was preferred. But it was a happy decision for England. Harold was not the proper man.—He would have been too much to the mind of the English—too much of their own stamp.—He would have indulged and flattered the prevailing vices of the times. He would have gone with the stream; and infused no moral vigour into the system. The church unchecked, would have continued to pursue its arbitrary and licentious course—the nobles flattered, would have indulged their rapacity and cruelty; and the common people unrestrained, would have retained their ignorance and licentiousness.—So that as far as we can perceive, things would have proceeded in the same loose and unsatisfactory manner, which they had done, gradually verging to an entire decay. But it seemed good to the All-beneficent disposer of human events, to overrule every obstacle; and through his instrument William of Normandy, to expurgate the evils of the land; and to resuscitate its dying powers.—Not only did Edward decide in favour of William; but singularly

SECTION enough, Harold himself, on a voyage to the  
 I. Continent, was driven, devious of his intended  
 CHAP. IV. course, and became an inmate, very much against  
 his will, of the court of William. William acquainted him with the will of Edward in his favor; and obliged Harold solemnly to swear, that he would by every means in his power, expedite his accession to the English throne.

His oath, however, as we know, was afterwards disregarded; and he made every preparation for securing that throne to himself. And on the death of Edward he succeeded to it with the concurrence of the people.—But the breast of William was undaunted. The way to the throne had been opened to him; and although another occupied it, he considered it his right, and determined to claim it. All the vigour of his soul was put into the execution of his design; and he set out from Normandy, filled with the enthusiasm of his object, and with the fullest reliance, as he avowed, on the DIVINE ASSISTANCE. He viewed himself under the immediate protection of Heaven.—Yet it was no fanatic enthusiasm.—It was what all great souls under similar circumstances had experienced. There was no rashness connected with this impression—His preparations were on the most extensive scale; and nothing was wanting that wisdom and prudence could suggest to secure success. Harold his competitor was equally brave, and greatly superior in num-

bers; but his men were more careless and undisciplined; they had moreover been thrown off their guard, by a recent victory which they had obtained over the Swedes under Sweyn, who had made a diversion in favour of William on the Eastern Coast.

Never was an earthly crown more bravely contested. From sun-rise to sun-set, everything that valour and conduct could do, Harold accomplished. More than once, the scales of victory seemed to declare for him, but were as often turned; till, at length, while he was bravely leading on his men, an arrow penetrated his brain; and life and hope expired together. One is apt to regret that an Englishman so brave, endued with so many virtues, and so beloved by his subjects, should be overthrown by a foreign hand, and his country once more subjugated to a foreign sway.—But the true love of one's country, and the manifest interposition of the ever watchful and benevolent power of Heaven still every murmur, overcome every regret, and lead us to rejoice in the happy accomplishment of those benign purposes, which against a nation's will, were pregnant with blessings.

Never did a loftier mind enter on a more difficult task than William I. in attempting the reformation of England. The laws were prostrate under the feet of crime. Religion was defaced by the pride, and rapacity, and flagitiousness of its

SECTION  
 I.  
 CHAP. IV.

William the  
 Conqueror re-  
 forms the land.  
 A. D. 1066.

SECTION I. CHAP. IV. professors. Learning expired amidst the feuds and contentions of the powerful, and the vassalage of the poor. Vice triumphed, and virtue languished. Under such appalling circumstances, who would not have hesitated to enter upon the work of reformation? Most men would have thought it a hazardous, if not an impossible task. But William undertook it as a matter of duty, as the very cause for which he had been sent; and every thing soon began to feel the power with which his arm was nerved.—All ranks in the state felt its restraining influence. Himself a man of moral habits, he was enabled, without hypocrisy, to admonish the mightiest; and by strict and unrelenting vigour in the execution of the laws, he punished and restrained the corrupted body of the people. He was eminently the MINISTER OF GOD, executing vengeance on the lawless and disobedient.—But long accustomed to rebel, it was not probable, that they would quietly submit to such rigorous measures as this great moral reformer thought necessary to impose.—The nobles conspired, and were subdued and pardoned, again and again. Ever blind to their true interest; and preferring a lawless independence to the good and prosperity of their country, they broke down every restraint of oath and allegiance, and infatuated to their ruin, endeavoured to rid themselves of one, whom they regarded as a tyrannical MASTER.—But in vain.—In spite of the

SECTION I. CHAP. IV. greatest moderation on the part of the conqueror, in spite of the greatest readiness on his side to conciliate and serve them; by their continued folly and perverseness, they brought on themselves “swift destruction.” After many ineffectual struggles, the ranks of the English nobles were so thinned, that scarcely a distinguished family of the ancient order remained. One cannot but lament such an effusion of human blood; but when we recollect that they were their own destroyers—proud, turbulent, vicious, and too stubborn to be reformed, we cannot but perceive that their destruction was ultimately for the benefit of their country.

The celebrated curfew bell, which has been stigmatized by some writers, as the record of our servitude, is, in truth, the memorial of our RESTORATION. The necessity for such a measure must convey to the mind that allows itself to think, the fact of a nation on the brink of a moral dissolution. What a disorderly, turbulent and vexatious population must that have been, which could not be trusted out of their houses, after that early hour, nor even in their houses, with light sufficient to do mischief! Indeed the historic page confirms it.—But to be brief:—William conquered every obstacle. His persevering and undeviating policy triumphed.—For whilst at the beginning of his reign, dishonesty and fraud; rapine and murder; rapes and adulteries were so

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. common, as to have become the almost necessary cementives of the social existence—in a few years such a change was effected, that it is said by a writer of that day, that a virgin, with a purse of gold, might have travelled from one end of the land to the other without danger to her purse or her person.\*

The writers who have viewed William the Conqueror as a tyrant, have certainly mistaken his character. His achievements were not like the acts of a tyrant. He considered England as his own; and would have nourished it like a father, had the refractory children allowed him. After all, he was the GREATEST BENEFactor ENGLAND EVER HAD; and was signally advanced to his high station to be the founder of its glories.—Every part of the state gained his attention. The church, which was as corrupt as the nobility, did not escape his severest censures and punishment. The ecclesiastics were ignorant, and vicious, and presumptuous, and rapacious. A general synod in which he openly complained of their enormities, was followed, under its authority, by the ejection of many of the bishops; a course which he pursued till he had sufficiently purified that order. It has been alleged, that he acted in this manner from rapacious motives;—for the purpose of rewarding his friends with the vacant bishoprics. This never could have been his

\* Ech. Hist. p. 65.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. motive; it would have been inconsistent with the whole train of his conduct and policy: but however this may be, we may be thankful he did so. His Norman friends were BETTER MEN. They were men of superior morals, and learning, and piety; they adorned their high station and improved the state. The higher orders both in church and state, were almost entirely renewed. The old material was unfit to build up an EXEMPLAR STATE; and was therefore rejected by the great Architect of Society. These were prodigious efforts, and productive of incalculable benefit to the rising State.

But the unwearied mind of William, rested not in what he had already accomplished; but aimed at arranging and perfecting every institution necessary for the well-being of the body politic. The laws of the Saxons which had been compiled by Alfred, and translated by Edward into Latin, he published in the Norman tongue. He greatly improved, and in some measure new-modelled the courts of law; and introduced the Norman method of process and pleading. He established the great courts at Westminster; and armed them with irresistible authority. He introduced the courts of Equity, as the seats of *experimental Judicature*, and enacted laws for the regulation of agreements and writings. In short, he gave to this Country the most solid and splendid form of Judicature in the world. It has out-lived every change of

Reformation  
of the Laws.

SECTION the nation ; and at this day, secures to us our  
 I. personal liberty, the fruits of our industry, and  
 CHAP. IV. the fullest enjoyment of our social rights.

This period has been called the CONQUEST ; but with much greater propriety it might be called the RENOVATION of England. When I began to read our history more extensively, with a view to the present work, I was surprised to find the common error under which I had been labouring, with respect to the character of William and the acts of his Government. He certainly seemed to think of nothing, but the improvement of the Country he was called to govern. This was his earnest aim, from the very first moment in which he landed on its shores. It was then, that he commanded his soldiers to spare *their own* ; and whatever power and influence he derived from his accession to the throne, he used for the advantage of the people. His native patrimony was forgotten amidst his desires for the welfare of his adopted country.—And though the English exclaimed against his partiality for the Normans, in disposing of places of trust—yet it is evident that such favours, were morally just and necessary, for the great purpose of ameliorating the condition of the country. With what indefatigable exertion he pursued this end ! He did not seek his own ease or personal gratification. His very magnificence was to do honor to the land he loved.

When we consider the difficulties and almost SECTION  
 impossibilities, which seemed to oppose his ad- I.  
 vancement to the supreme authority of England— CHAP. IV.  
 when we contemplate the disposition with which he entered upon that government—when we reflect upon the extraordinary and lasting reforms which he introduced ; and withal, the striking manner in which every difficulty was removed, and his triumphant progress to the completion of his labours, secured ; we are compelled to acknowledge the hand of the Most High, who ruleth in the affairs of men. Every thing in this mighty Revolution, was conducted against the will of the nation. The means of the Duke of Normandy were limited, and in no measure equal in themselves, to resist its united will. The Power of EVIL would not effect it, for every change was for a BENEFICENT end. It was the work of God, and is “marvellous in our eyes.” William, no doubt, was inspired with ambition and the love of martial glory ; and in all he did, he indulged his predominant passion.—But amidst all this, we see a power pervading and controlling this natural bias, and conducting it to beneficent results, fraught with momentous consequences to the human race.

We need not dwell long, on the reigns of his  
 two sons. They were links in the same chain.—  
 William who succeeded him, inherited the un-  
 daunted courage of his father ; but was destitute

Successors of  
 William.

SECTION of his virtues: and whilst he held the reins of  
 I. government and of the laws, with a firm hand,  
 CHAP. IV. his destitution of moral character, gave an unfor-  
 fortunate impulse to the immorality of the people.—  
 So inevitably is the conduct of princes followed  
 by their subjects; and so easily are the worst pas-  
 sions of our nature encouraged by the fostering  
 influence of bad example.

But William lived not to do much mischief. His younger brother Henry, who succeeded him, inherited all his father; and in the manifestation of the most splendid abilities, carried on the state in the line marked out by his great progenitor.—He held the sceptre with a vigorous hand, and with wisdom and prudence, administered the laws, restrained the pride of the barons, and kept in check, the usurpations of the church.—We cannot help observing, during this splendid period of our monarchy, the events which led to the exclusion of Robert, the eldest son of the Conqueror, from the throne. His title was without dispute—his ambition of a crown, quite as strong as either of his brothers: and what is more, he had the advantage of popular favor on his side. But every thing was overruled, beyond precedent, to exclude him from the seat of authority: and with the history of the times before us, there is no difficulty in unravelling the cause or the Author. Robert's bad management of his own patrimony—his romantic valour—his profuse habits, and his excessive

indolence in the affairs of Government, all testify SECTION  
 what a disastrous thing it would have been for I.  
 England, had he succeeded to the sovereign power. CHAP. IV.

Without attributing to the Conqueror the gifts of prophecy; when on his dying bed he declared that the youngest son, would far exceed his brethren in power and dignity; his penetrating mind no doubt, perceived the pre-eminent genius, that animated the bosom of Henry. Every thing pointed him out as the future King. There was in him a peculiar adaptation of mind to the office; and his elevation to the dignity was facilitated by means, throughout, that marked the will of Heaven. Robert was laid aside as a “despised broken vessel,” and Henry was raised up as the honored instrument, in carrying on the designs of God, with respect to the empire of Britain.

The next, is a calamitous page in our history, brought on by the perjuries and inordinate selfish-  
 ness of the people. Stephen who now appears upon the stage, was not much more of a usurper, than the demised Henry. He was a younger branch of the family. But Henry foreseeing the evils of a contested succession; had during his life, taken precautions for securing the peace of the realm by demanding and obtaining from his subjects the oaths of fealty in favour of his daughter Matilda. Let it also be remembered that she was the heiress to his throne; and as such, was solemnly recognized by all the leading men, in

Signal punishment of the Nation.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. church and state. The course of duty therefore was clear. But she was a woman; and the proud spirit of the Norman barons, pretended that they could not submit to a woman's rule. But they had other motives. The nobles and clergy hoped to obtain from a prince, whose title was not clear, some indulgence from the rigorous restraints of his predecessors. Indeed they knew they might stipulate for what they pleased, inasmuch as without them, Stephen stood no chance of securing his claim. They were not modest; and Stephen was compliant; and the innumerable evils, which during a short period, this selfish, and perjured, and vacillating conduct brought upon the nation, were unprecedented. The church and nobility assumed an entire independence;—in consequence, a thousand petty kings started up in Britain and turned their power against their compliant Sovereign.

The King of Scotland was in arms in order to oppose his claim. The Welsh were inflamed against him. Normandy refused submission. Matilda preferred her claim. Stephen who inherited all the vigour and valour of the family, was resolute. He was like a wild boar surrounded by the multitude of the hunters. Assailed from all sides, he neither feared, nor gave up the contest; and after a variety of reverses and successes in which a profusion of blood was spilt, he held the crown to the last, and would fain

have secured it to his son. But his hopes were SECTION I.  
CHAP. IV. vain; the son of Matilda was at hand, with all the impetuosity of his grandfather, determined to assert his claim; and, happily, as far as we can discover, Eustace the son of Stephen is excluded. Stephen himself appears to have inherited almost every princely virtue; and might have made England happy. But the just Ruler of affairs, would not suffer the proud and selfish conduct of the nation, to pass unchastised; and they were severely punished in the civil dissensions and bloodshed of the reign. It was evident that the contest was neither for the glory of Matilda, nor Stephen. Matilda was unfit to govern, and Stephen was only reserving the throne for the Son of his rival; and to which, an unseen hand was steadily conducting him, amidst the just punishments of the nation.

## CHAPTER V.

UNION OF THE SAXON AND NORMAN LINE IN HENRY  
II. THE FIRST OF THE PLANTAGENETS—RICHARD I.  
—JOHN—AND HENRY III.

### SECTION I.

CHAP. V.

Henry II.  
A. D. 1155.

ON opening the history of this reign, we are not disappointed in the expectations which had been formed respecting the character and abilities of the great Prince who succeeded to the throne. Some of our historians have observed, that the English people had been so dispirited and broken down, by their intestine troubles during the preceding reign, that they had neither power nor courage to resist the pretensions of Henry. But this was far from being the case. There was no disposition to resist. He was expected and hailed by the people as their future Sovereign; and it must not be overlooked, that he united in himself,

the Saxon and Norman lines of our regal ancestry.\* SECTION  
The country felt that he was their destined king, I.  
and as soon as he planted his foot on the English CHAP. V.  
shore, as if by magic, all its discordant elements were hushed; and order and justice resumed their legitimate functions in the state. Such, indeed was the effect, that many of the unquiet and vicious amongst the citizens, when they found they could no longer work their evil deeds with impunity, retired from the country, and sought a more congenial clime.

But notwithstanding the transcendent abilities of Henry one is not a little surprised, in finding so little accomplished by him in furthering the advance of England, in her great career. We shall probably meet with the cause; and I wish it were any other than that, to which we have so often before called the reader's attention. It is manifest, that no prince ever set out with better intentions, or more vigorous acts; and it is reasonable to suppose, that had he met with no check, he would have conferred signal benefits on his country. But unfortunately, he was grievously discouraged

Henry impe-  
ded in his mea-  
sures by the  
Church.

\* He was lineally descended from Edmund Ironside; whose son Edward, was in Hungary on the accession of Edward the Confessor, and left beside Edgar Atheling, who died without issue, a daughter Margaret, who afterwards married Malcolm King of Scotland, by whom she had a daughter Maude, who became Queen of England by her marriage with Henry I. son of the Conqueror. Their daughter Matilda or Maude was married to the Emperor of Germany—Henry II. was their son.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. in the very outset, by a power which had been strengthening itself, during the confusion of the two preceding reigns, and had now increased its power to an enormous extent. One circumstance will tend to discover, by what rapid strides the Papal authority was at this period advancing to the height of its aggrandisement. Henry had taken up arms against Lewis king of France; and they were on the point of engaging in a bloody contest; when Pope Alexander offered himself as umpire in the dispute. The offer was accepted by the contending powers; and on their reconciliation, these two mighty Potentates conducted the mightier Pontiff to his abode; walking on each side of his horse, and performing the office of yeomen of the stirrup.

The gradual and formidable rise of the Pontifical power, would be an interesting enquiry; but it is not within our present purpose, further than as it affects the History of England. It was this power, stretching its mighty arms over the western limits of Europe, that impeded the wishes, and frustrated the designs of HENRY THE SECOND for the good of his Country. He strove like a wise Ruler to regulate the civil affairs of his kingdom, and above all things, to secure for all his subjects the impartial administration of Justice; but in every attempt, he was opposed and baffled by this all-dominant power. It would lead me too far from my design, to enter into the detail of the

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. dispute between the King and the celebrated Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. It must however be alluded to.—It is related that after the accession of Henry, and within a brief space of time, not fewer than ONE HUNDRED MURDERS had been committed by Ecclesiastics; and when it is remembered, that the trial of such delinquents and the award of their punishment, were entirely in the hands of their own order, it is reasonable to suppose that such crimes were perpetrated with almost perfect impunity.—And so the fact was. The King, on the other hand, was determined that all crimes whatever whether committed by Ecclesiastics or not, should be tried in his courts and take the due course of law. This was the subject in dispute. The church resisted any alteration of this nature as an encroachment on its rights. There were other articles, which the King insisted upon in the Constitutions of Clarendon,\* all which were resisted by Becket, to the death.

The circumstances of this long tragedy are well known.—It is with the result that we have to do. The struggle was intense with interest; and in its issue momentous. It was a struggle on the part

\* The points in those ordinances were particularly these:  
1. That none should appeal to the See of Rome, in any cause whatever, without the King's consent. 2. That it should not be lawful for any Archbishop or Bishop to attend the Pope on his Summons, without the King's licence. 3. That all criminal clerks, should be tried before secular Judges, &c.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. of Henry for political liberty; nay, for political existence. And we cannot but perceive, when such great matters were at stake, how immense that power must have been, against which one of the wisest and most valiant of Monarchs contended in vain—In vain: for, before the death of Becket, the King was wearied out with the strength and pertinacity of the resistance; and after his death, although he attained in some degree, the accomplishment of his wishes; yet, in real authority he gained nothing. The humiliations imposed upon him by the Pope, for being the cause of Becket's death, were excessive; and to the whole, Henry was obliged to submit. What can we then conclude respecting this affair, but that the King lost, and the church gained in power by the event? When we see the Sovereign content to endure the most degrading penance—giving his back to the unsparing lashes of the Monks, and walking bare-foot to the consecrated tomb of Becket, what must be our judgement on the issue of the contest?—The day was lost; and under the mightiest Monarch, the Papal power laid the deep foundation of its despotism in our devoted country; and which in a subsequent and not very distant reign, raised its mitred head, far above the fabric of the State! But this was the hour of the Romish church.

Civil Wars; It will be quite unnecessary for me to dwell on  
their cause. the unnatural wars of this reign, excited by the

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. King's own family, especially as I can trace no great national events in connexion with them.— They appear to me to have been a personal chastisement on the monarch himself, for his conjugal infidelity and licentious amours. If the righteous Governor of the earth awards his punishments to offending nations, let it not be vainly imagined, that he overlooks the offences of individuals. If we search for them; we shall find the one as well as the other, pervading His universal Government. Such transactions however must have had a baneful influence on the nation; and have been productive of much moral mischief to the community. Another thing which had a tendency to nourish the slumbering elements of moral evil, was the very frequent absence of the King from his dominions: a circumstance which rendered his reign short, though, nominally, long; and prevented much that might have been done for the advance of the country. Yet we have to notice, that at the beginning of his reign, he instituted a council to assist in the affairs of government, in which also there was the distinction of a more private or Cabinet Council; no doubt, *the substratum of our present executive arrangement*. A grand movement, when considered in all its bearings, on our *Constitutional Polity*.

He instituted also and appointed the circuits for the periodical administration of justice nearly as they now exist: and in his judicial proceedings,

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. brought into exercise the trial by Jury. But if it should still excite surprise, that the State of England made but slight advances, under such a magnificent leader; let it be remembered, that we are now confining ourselves to a review of the history of England; and that if we were to extend our remarks to other countries, we should doubtless find that Henry II. as he was raised up under particular circumstances, was destined to accomplish peculiar ends. We shall add a few words to shew nearly the certainty of this fact.

In the commencement of his reign he reduced Wales under his authority—cut down its woods—opened its hitherto impassable ways, and made it easily accessible from the western limit of England. This, no doubt, was the commencement of a NEW ERA for that Country. But he accomplished a still greater work in the subjugation of Ireland. That Country was in a state somewhat resembling England at the worst period of the Saxon Heptarchy. The Country was wild—the manners of the inhabitants barbarous—their Kings many, martial, and tyrannical. Henry subdued it—gave it a vigorous organization—placed the people under equal and impartial laws; and made an opening for all the improvements in arts and learning which were known in England. In short he was the Agricola of Ireland, and their true Saint Patrick.

In general he was a great man; and a signal instrument in the hand of the Supreme Governor,

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. for coercing and restraining the bad, and encouraging the good.—But he was not a good man.—He curbed the licentiousness of others; but he was licentious himself—he exercised a firm sway over his subjects—but he was not the master of his own passions. He was victorious over every thing but himself; and this self-degradation, tarnished all his glory. It is not our province to enter into the detail of his vices; suffice it to say, that he was severely punished in the rebellion of his two children, and felt the chastening hand of the high and lofty One who had raised him up.

In his old age the King was utterly rejected and cast off; dying far from home under the most painful circumstances of grief and vexation. How apposite is that declaration of Holy Writ—"Thus saith JEHOVAH: Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might: let not the rich man glory in his riches. But let him that glorieth, glory in this—that he understandeth and knoweth ME."

The next period that opens is one of uncommon brilliancy; and full of the most splendid scenery;—a kind of interlude in the great historical Drama. Were we pursuing our enquiry into the moral character of the Crusades, we should no doubt find that Richard the Lion-hearted, who performed such prodigies of valour in Palestine, was eminently fitted for carrying into effect some of the designs of the Almighty in that part of the

Richard I.  
succeeds to the  
Throne.  
A. D. 1190.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. world. In this romantic enterprise the King was swallowed up. All his capacities of body and mind, were expended upon it, and for his own country he did nothing. So far from it, that his prodigal expenditure, his rigorous exactions, his unjust indulgences; and his venal sales of office, laid the foundation for innumerable evils. By his long absence from home, and by placing the whole authority of Government in the hands of the dignified Clergy, he nourished and increased that power, which had been so strongly resisted by his father, to an intolerable extent: and by excessive indulgence to the common people, he brought upon the nation, the most grievous troubles. All order was relaxed; and whilst murders and robberies were of daily occurrence, London itself was the scene of unheard-of disorders. It was strangely overrun with banditti, who robbed and murdered the passengers in open day!

I consider this one of the most disastrous reigns that England had ever yet seen. Whatever effect the crusade accomplished elsewhere, its influence was most deleterious at home. We know not the worst of the state of things at that time, but it may justly be inferred from what we do know, that London must have been in a state of almost universal disorder and exposed to the most wanton pillage. What can we deduce otherwise from the fact, that when one of the ringleaders—a ruffian of most audacious character, was brought

before the chief Justiciary of the Realm, on the SECTION most heinous charges—that public officer dared I.  
not to follow the course of the law against the CHAP. V. audacious offender because of the number and violence of his attendants? But do we not in this Massacre of the Jews. behold a moral retribution on the inhabitants of the Metropolis, for the daring outrage they had committed in the beginning of this reign on the unoffending people of the Jews? In the most cruel and unrelenting manner, they began and carried on, an undistinguished massacre against that unhappy race; and glutted themselves with blood and plunder. In this disgraceful act, they wilfully outraged and violated the voice of humanity and the law of God: and they were themselves made to feel the direful effects of such unrighteous violations. I close this page of history and open another of vast import; on the contents of which we have been in the habit, generally, of entertaining very prejudiced views.

There is no book that has had a greater ascendancy in the work of education, than Goldsmith's King John succeeds his brother. History of England. From that source, the writer of these pages drew his earliest knowledge of that subject—a knowledge, which he has since found to be as erroneous as defective. It is time that something equally brief, but more full and accurate, should be put into the hands of the rising generation. The record of John's reign contained in that book, is truly hideous, and pre- A. D. 1191.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. sends us throughout, with the idea of a mean and pusillanimous being, reduced by his own weakness to the lowest grade of human kind. But nothing can be further from the truth. John was as high spirited, as brave, and as resolute, as the best of his family. Not that I am intending to be the panegyrist of King John. I have a nobler object in view—to trace the progress of the social system of England to its present state of eminence.—But in doing this, the King becomes necessarily, a very prominent personage; and the instrument, one way or other, of giving an impulse to its destinies. We shall, therefore, endeavour to do him Justice; and it is of consequence in setting out, to free our minds from prejudice; and to consider him neither as a coward nor a fool.

The doctrine of representation in regal inheritance, was not, at this time, so thoroughly understood as at present; and was even less regarded in England, than on the Continent. Arthur duke of Bretagne, the Son of John's elder brother, was on this, which is the true constitutional principle, the true heir to the Crown; and had he lived in this age, would undoubtedly have succeeded to it. But the people of England, at that day, seem never to have thought about him; and John was always recognized as their future King.\* How-

\* In the time of his Father Henry II. it was a point undetermined whether even in common inheritances the child of an elder brother should succeed to the land, in right of representation, or the younger surviving brother in right of proximity of blood.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. ever the passing by of Arthur was a pretext for the ambitious Philip of France; and enabled him to distract the affairs of England by setting up the rival claim of Arthur. Not that he was sincere in attaching himself to the interest of Arthur: but was intending by a deep-laid scheme of policy, at the expense of both parties, to secure his own aggrandisement. We must not however follow him. John, as was always the case when vigorously supported by his subjects, was superior in the contest; and in the issue, Arthur was taken prisoner. He might have been happy had he been less ambitious. His death soon followed upon his captivity; and John has been accused of his murder. There is not sufficient moral rectitude manifest in the practical conduct of the King to warrant us in saying, that he *could* not commit such an action; and the evidence is by far too vague and conflicting, to justify us in pronouncing him guilty of it. The tribunal of the Eternal will pronounce a just award. By the death of Arthur he was delivered from a rival to his crown, but it still sat uneasy on his brow; and he was made to suffer as the unnatural opposer of his father, and the ungrateful impugner of his brother the most bitter and cruel griefs.

One circumstance which will tend to shew the temper of the times, with respect to the Church, deserves to be narrated and remembered, because great things are about to be transacted, which are

SECTION I. laid to the charge of the King's pusillanimity ;  
CHAP. V. whereas, in truth, they were the almost necessary  
 consequences of the existing state of things.

Power and  
splendour of  
the Church.

In the midst of the splendid solemnities of a treaty of alliance, between John and the King of Scotland, it is related, that the King in order to mingle religious things with temporal, resolved on making an offering on the altar of the Cathedral of Lincoln. From this he was dissuaded, on the ground of certain superstitious opinions. But the King disregarding these vain objections, undauntedly entered the Cathedral ; and presented a golden chalice on Saint John's altar : which thing we are told, no King before him dared to do. Whilst this was transacting, the arrival of the corpse of the Bishop of Lincoln at the gates of the City, was announced, and the regal train went forth to meet it ; and to shew their respect and humility, the two Kings and their allies, bore the coffin on their shoulders, and by them it was delivered to the great Peers, who conveyed it to the doors of the Cathedral. Little did John know the bitter cup which the head of that church was preparing for him ! It was on the occasion of filling up the vacancy occasioned by the death of this very prelate, that the Pope began his opposition to the King, and insisted on the exemption of the Church from regal authority. Nor was this an empty boast, as the King of England was soon to experience !

The great object which is now before us, is the SECTION  
 MAGNA CHARTA. I see nothing in the second war I.

with France, but a petty contention ; and can find no great political event connected with it : except it may be, that the discontent raised by the necessary exactions for carrying it on, led in some measure, to the great event of the reign. Neither do I see much to hang upon the whole affair of John's quarrel with the Pope, except indeed the open and ostentatious display of that authority, which was already in itself pre-eminently dominant. The result discovered the presumption and insolence, the " cunning craft " and pride of that power—but did not discover the pusillanimity of John. He resisted, as we shall see, the aggression as resolutely and forcibly as his father Henry had done, and appeared to possess even a more *persevering* moral courage : but he would have been more than mortal, had he continued longer to resist all the horrors of so long an interdict.—Let us briefly review the facts of the case. The Monks of Canterbury, without the King's consent, had chosen a vain and ignorant person as Archbishop, and sent him to Rome for consecration. They are afterwards prevailed upon by the King, to elect another, more to the royal mind. A contention now arises between the rival candidates ; and the matter is debated at great length, before the Pope. After a tedious negociation, the decision of the Pope is to recognize neither ; and with-

CHAP. V.  
 Establish-  
ment of Magna  
Charta.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. out consulting the wishes of any party, he appoints and consecrates one of his own Cardinals, and an Englishman. This was STEPHEN LANGTON.

The appointment, though it came attended with the most flattering letters and valuable presents, was scornfully rejected by the King, as an infringement on his dearest rights. The King stormed and raged and expostulated, but in vain. The Lion was too deeply entangled in the toils of the Pontiff. His artful policy on this occasion, lays open the deep abysses of human duplicity.—But our object does not oblige us to follow them. Suffice it to say—the Plot increases—the kingdom is laid under an Interdict.\*—The King is excommunicated.—His subjects are absolved from their allegiance. The King on the other hand, is equally resolute. He fines, he confiscates, he removes from under the protection of the Law—he banishes the adherents of the Pope. Years of complicated misery roll on; and John is still refractory. The Pope is reduced to his last resort; and calls upon Philip of France, with all his power, to reduce his “refractory child” to obedience.—All France and her allies are armed for the pur-

\* This interdict was issued on the 22nd day of March, 1208, upon which there was a cessation of all divine services, except confession, baptism of infants, and administration of the Eucharist to dying persons; so that the dead were carried out of the Cities and Towns and without ceremony, like beasts, thrown into pits or ditches.  
*Echard, Lib. II.*

pose. John was still undaunted; and determined to resist to the last, for the honor and interests of his kingdom. SECTION I.  
CHAP. V.

Whilst the two armies crowded the opposite shores, intent upon the approaching contest, the Pope, weighing with the profoundest sagacity, the dubious nature of all such enterprises; and knowing, that the defeat of Philip would be fearfully injurious to the power of the Church, determines, if possible, to avoid the encounter; and to bring John to submission without it. Shall I repeat his arts? “*Eloquar an sileam?*” John is reminded of the “*paternal*” solicitude of the Pope, and of his own sacred duty to the Church. He is directed to consider the formidable array advancing against him. He is led to contemplate the direful effects of such a contest, even should he prove victorious. He is reminded of the ETERNAL HORRORS to which he will be consigned, should he fall in the conflict. And lastly, he is shewn the happy consequences of submission; and, that by a mere formally giving up his kingdom, into the hands of the Pope, he would be shielded by his power from every evil.

A variety of circumstances conspired to enforce the proposals, and the King in the midst of conflicting evils, chose that which he thought the least. He solemnly delivered up his Crown and Kingdom to the *protection* of the Pope; and a sum of money as part of the tributary payment was

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. paid down, which the Pope's legate, to shew the supreme majesty of his master, trampled under his feet.

But the potent Philip was equally imposed upon. They were both alike the dupes of the Pope, who only intended from the first, to make an open shew of his power; and when we consider, that for the gratifying of this passion, he had led Philip to incur vast expences in his military preparations, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion, that Philip was the greater dupe of the two. King John indeed, made a solemn offering of his Crown to the Pope—but it was empty shew. He acquired nothing in real power. He gained, it is true, his object in the pending quarrel; but herein it is, that we shall be called upon to behold the superintending Providence of the MOST HIGH. It was not for the Pontiff's glory. ENGLAND ALONE WAS TO BE BENEFITTED! The whole of the Pontiff's pride and policy was overruled, to bind another link in the unbroken series of England's greatness. It was the golden hinge on which we shall see, the liberty and safety of England is made to turn. But we must proceed. Great had been, and still were the sufferings of the nation; and the general discontent was much aggravated by the King's mode of administering the Government; and by his own personal conduct. He exercised his prerogative with rigour: he indulged his licentious passions with freedom,

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. and without the sanction of law, he levied burdensome taxes on the community. The fact is, that ever since the times of the Roman conquest the Government had been degenerating; and had become too *personal* and arbitrary: whilst the true principles of the constitution were left to expire, amidst Wars and Crusades and domestic dissensions. These evils may also be considered as the natural result of the feudal Institutions. But the time was arrived, when the true principles of the Constitution were to be re-asserted; and a combination of adjuvant circumstances eminently point out the hand that was guiding every movement. Stephen Langton is to be the instrument for conducting the matter to a successful issue.

In all probability, the King himself was ignorant of the true grounds of the constitution. As he had received the sceptre he wielded it. He was resolute and capable of sustaining it, as it came into his hands. He was not a wise Prince; and was not, therefore, the man to think of giving useful and valuable institutions to a country. He was not the man to cement the social system by wise usages, or to ameliorate the condition of his people by judicious laws. But Stephen Langton had a well informed understanding, and made himself acquainted with the laws of Edward and the charters of Henry I. He produced them to the Barons, reminded them of their lost RIGHTS, exhorted them to assert their liberties, and pro-

Establish-  
ment of Magna  
Charta.

SECTION I. CHAP. V. mised them his utmost assistance in the contest. The confederacy was formed—the Charters in due time produced to the King; and their demands enforced by a shew of resistance. The King seems to have been astonished at the existence of such documents; and at once refused to yield to demands, which he considered so exorbitant. However, a just sense of the magnitude and importance of their cause, animated the Barons to a steady and determined resistance. A train of circumstances led the King to concede all their demands, and RUNNYMEDE, the place where the Commissioners assembled, is justly celebrated for the RECOVERY of the principles which lie deep in the foundation of British glory. But unfortunately for his own memory, John repented of his act; and so “foolish and ignorant” was he, that he believed the suggestions of the enemies of his country, who whispered in his ear that he was *now* no longer King. He appealed to the Pope, who vigorously united with him in this unrighteous quarrel:—because he had put himself so recently and peculiarly, under his protection,—a circumstance upon which we shall afterwards see, in all probability, turned the salvation of the Country. Archbishop Langton nobly sustained the indignation of the Pope and encouraged the wavering Barons.

The King like a roused lion pursued his Barons, and reduced them to the borders of despair; and

SECTION I. CHAP. V. in their extremity they were induced to take a step, which might have proved fatal to the liberties of their Country. They entered into a compact with the Dauphin of France: and invited him over to their assistance—a contract, into which with the most treacherous intentions, he eagerly entered. But John, all this time, discovered the courage and resolution of his family; and would have proved too powerful for them all, had it not pleased the Arbiter of events, whilst eagerly engaged in the pursuit of his enemies, to cut him off from the land of the living.

The circumstances of his death were truly deplorable; and his career ended amidst clouds and thick darkness, affording a monitory warning to posterity, that the evil conduct of Princes, as it is more pernicious in its consequences, than that of others, is always attended with more signal punishment.

Thus ended the acts of John; but not the *influence* of those acts.—That still remains; and to this day, the provisions of Magna Charta are matter of gratulation to Englishmen. And who can help admiring the manner in which that important Charter was established? The circumstances which led to its accomplishment, were all beyond the reach of human controul; it is wonderful to see, how the erring schemes of men were overruled, for the most beneficial purposes. How little did the Pope, in the elevation of Stephen Langton, intend the resuscitation of England's best hopes!

## SECTION

## I.

## CHAP. V.

The Pope considered him a clever and fitting instrument, for furthering his own ambitious views in England. How little did the King in opposing the election of Langton, imagine that such a result would flow from it?—He resisted, because he considered the interference of the Pope an encroachment upon his rights. The grant of Magna Charta was one of those great events, which discovers the progress of society; and distinctly marks the interference of the GREAT AUTHOR and CEMENTER of the social League. The desirable consummation was brought about, through the instrumentality of a person, raised up to gratify the ambition of another; and against every human probability, sent from a foreign clime to fill a vacant see, for which already there were two competitors!—As I have said, the Pope did not intend the good. Langton himself could not have entertained an idea of it. John, of course did not.—The Barons were discontented, but they were entirely ignorant of the grounds, both of their wrongs and of the existence of their privileges. These were all the parties concerned in the affair.—Chance could not design it. For if we grant, which we do not, the existence of such an agency, it must NECESSARILY be blind. Because if not blind—it must be intelligent—and if intelligent, it must, in this case, be God. But Archbishop Langton was eminently fitted for carrying the great work into effect, blind chance would indeed have

## SECTION

## I.

## CHAP. V.

made a wonderful choice! but it is absurd. It was the work of a beneficent and superintending Providence, “who frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners mad.—Who turneth wise men backward and maketh their knowledge foolish.”\*

But there is one other event, which must be noticed, and which will also tend to shew, that John was not the dastardly being which he has been represented; but was, in many respects, worthy of his august family. And if I might judge, it appears to me, that both Richard and John were endowed with great powers of mind, but ruined in education. Henry, with all his great qualities, was too indulgent a father; and omitted that just discipline, without which the youthful mind runs wild; and the greater the abilities, the greater the devastation.

John discovered what was latent in him, in the re-conquest and re-organization of Ireland; and such was his conduct in that affair, that he did more for that country, than his father Henry. And had we the history of Ireland before us, we should find, that he was the instrument of conferring signal benefits upon it.

The oak which is the noblest and most valuable tree of the forest, is the slowest in its growth; and does not arrive at its perfection till after the lapse of many years. So in all extensive moral

Henry III.  
A. D. 1216.

\* Prophecy of Isaiah, chap. xlv. 25.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. changes, and in the formation of great civil institutions, which are destined to bless millions of the human race, we must expect to find their progress to completion, slow.

Rise and  
character of  
Feudalism.

The feudal system contained in itself the elements of a free and good government; and was brought into this country at a very early date, as the bold institution of a war-like people, free as the mountain breeze. Its first rudiments are by no means complicated. A social band under some valiant chief, issue from their woods and marshes, like the Helvetii of old, to seek some new and more extensive territory. They enter upon the scene of warfare. They conquer. The ancient inhabitants are expelled; and their land divided amongst the conquerors. The Chief is rewarded with the greatest share. The next in command, receive a proportionate allotment, subject to certain duties which they owe to the Chief; and under similar regulations, each individual receives his portion. All considered themselves equally free, except that they owed ALLEGIANCE to their individual Chief; and were obliged to pay him MILITARY service when called upon. The chiefs were equally dependent upon the Chief Paramount. Now, it is evident that such a basis for a form of Government, might become good or bad, as circumstances should act upon it. The Chiefs were liable to great oppression from the sovereign Lord; inasmuch as his power was necessarily great; and

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. if by his vigour and wisdom, he could prevent the Chiefs from combining against him, there was no limit to his exactions. The inferior vassals under their respective chiefs, inasmuch as there was no possibility of uniting for self-defence, were liable to still greater oppression. On the other hand, if some certain limit could be placed around the authority of the Lord Paramount, beyond which he should not be allowed to pass—(a principle which of course would extend to the inferior chiefs)—it is easy to see, that from such an arrangement, there might evolve a happy disposition of parts, which would adapt themselves to each other, and strengthen and consolidate the structure of the Commonwealth. And what is the matter of fact? Whilst the institutions of Feudalism continued in their simplest form; and the land was sufficient to sustain its allotted tenantry, nothing could work better. There was an entire sympathy throughout the whole community, which was marked by a reciprocity of feeling and benefit. The superior ever displayed generosity and kindness—the inferior, gratitude and willingness to serve; and whilst this happy state of things continued, the confederacy was invincible. But the progress of time which increases states, increases their wants; and renders their machinery more complicated; and the artificial wants of men giving strength to their passions, destroys the more generous feelings, and renders them rapacious.

SECTION I. CHAP. V. cious and cruel. Thus the Feudal Institution became, at length, the most odious and oppressive system that ever burdened the earth. The Chief degenerated from a father to a mercenary tyrant; and the vassals from children to slaves. All vigour and union were lost. Remedies were applied. Fiefs were rendered *hereditary*. Knight service instituted. And at length, *taxes* in lieu of service. Hence arose standing armies, and the absolute power of the Sovereign Lord, in whom was vested the power of levying taxes.

This was the case in Europe generally. But it was happily otherwise in England. The first barrier against the encroachment of the Feudal Power in the person of the Supreme Chief, was undoubtedly, the *MAGNA CHARTA*; and it is worthy of remark, that this bulwark of true liberty, did not (and I question whether it ever could) arise out of Feudalism. The reader will recollect that it was the revival of a Saxon Charter, restored and fostered by that ever memorable feudal Chief *HENRY*. The establishment of this Charter, which laid the foundation of the principle—that no man ought to be taxed without his own consent—is still before us. John died in a vain attempt to revoke this document, which contained in it the substance of political freedom; and his successor *Henry III.* followed in the same track. He was but ten years of age when he was crowned King; and the country was, altogether, in a

SECTION I. CHAP. V. frightful condition. The French, who had been invited over by the Barons, to sustain their falling cause, were overrunning and devastating the land; and when there was no further occasion for their service, they were unwilling to retire. Their leader the Dauphin, entertained the most pernicious designs; and, had he succeeded, no person can tell what might have been the consequence. Happily, his treachery and baseness were confessed by the Count Melun on his dying bed; which opened the eyes of the confederate Barons, and convinced them of their mistake. But perhaps it would have been too late, had it not been for the Earl of Pembroke, guardian to the King, and the powerful influence of the Pope, which had been all along exerted against the French and the Barons. This, let it be remembered, was one of the *good* things which arose from John's submission to the See of Rome! The French were expelled; and the wise Earl of Pembroke made the most judicious regulations, for restoring the peace and prosperity of the country. He caused prompt and impartial justice to be administered through the land, and the provisions of the *Magna Charta* to be strictly observed. But his untimely death, put an end to all his beneficial arrangements. The long and unsettled state of the country—the uncertain aspect of the government; and the bad example of incessant resistance to the Executive, opened the way for the most grievous and accu-

SECTION I. mulated evils. How rife these evils were in the Church, will be seen from one circumstance, amongst many others. A person was doomed by the Archbishop, to be immured within four walls for personating Jesus Christ. This pitiable man had imprinted upon his hands and feet and side, such scars as nails and a spear might have been supposed to produce, and in ignorant impiety, published himself to be the Christ. At the same time, a female following the example, proclaimed herself as the Virgin Mary. Popular commotions in the state were frequent and daring; and every day, the people exhibited symptoms of a low, unbridled, ignorant and licentious PROSPERITY.

The King's Ministers rapacious. Whatever were the military power or natural courage of Henry III. his first intentions were frustrated by the Pope, who peremptorily forbade any attempt upon Philip of France; at that time, engaged in the pious enterprize of extirpating the Albigenses. But afterwards, in all his martial acts, he was generally unsuccessful. The great defect in the King's mind, (the presence of which, is the governing principle in all great minds) was a want of judgment. He had no self power. He had no confidence in his own decisions. This defect obliged him to submit to the judgment of others; whence it inevitably followed, that such persons made use of the opportunity with which they were favoured, to their own advantage. This

SECTION I. selfishness acting on all their counsels made them bad men. They became rapacious and insolent. And their conduct caused one advance towards the crisis of this Reign.

The Barons take up arms. The first minister of the King, Hubert De Burgh appears to have been a man of great endowments, both of body and mind; and, under a more firm master, might have proved a great blessing to the country. His after impeachment by the Barons, was uncalled for, and vexatious. His successors were not such men: Robert Seagrave, Peter De Rupibus, and Peter De Revaulx,—names, mentioned only to be execrated. By their impolitic advice and rapacious conduct, they gave the most just reason for the resentment of the Barons. A struggle ensued, in which the brave Earl of Pembroke fell a sacrifice to the bribery and artifices of these abominable men. The King is afterwards convinced of the evil conduct of his Ministers, and they are dismissed with infamy. The end of this quarrel with his nobles, tends to shew the kind and forgiving disposition of the King; and makes one wish that he had fallen into better hands. The discontent excited by the flagrant conduct of the King's ministers, was frightfully aggravated by the enormous and merciless exactions of the Pope.

We are compelled to notice this subject, because after all, it was the main engine whose evil-disposed power, was made to work the general good.

Monstrous exactions of the Pope.

SECTION At one time, the successor of St. Peter, sends a  
I.  
CHAP. V.  
 Nuncio, courteously to petition for a gratuity, to meet the expenses of the Universal Church: at another, he sends a Cardinal with full authority to *demand* one-tenth of all effects; and, as the demand of the Pope was urgent, the Prelates were to pay it down, and afterwards to collect it. In order to meet this demand, we are told the Clergy had to part with their vestments, and the very furniture of the Churches; and, that no possible impediment might be in the way, the Cardinal brought usurers with him, for the purpose of advancing money; but on such extravagant terms, as to be followed with unavoidable ruin! This demand actually extended to the whole produce of the fruits of the earth, whilst they were growing—an exaction which no person attempted to resist except the Earl of Chester! The country, moreover, was filled with the Pope's emissaries; and multitudes of ignorant and needy ecclesiastics were sent over, armed with the Pope's bulls; by which means they obtained vast spiritual revenues, whilst the Roman proctors and farmers, by every method of extortion and subtlety, collected unknown sums, which they sent to their rapacious MASTER. To such an extent were these exactions carried, that the whole nation groaned under the burden; and the King himself made a shew of resistance. An embassy and an epistle from the King and his Parliament, produced no

effect upon the "Servant of Servants;" and at length the enraged Barons drove his chaplain and factors out of the Kingdom. But Gregory sensible of his power, grasped his iron rod, and threatened the audacious recusants, with the effects of his resentment.

At a Parliament convened at London, a formal Protest was drawn up respecting the intolerable abuses of the Church. The protest complained—that the Pope had exacted exorbitant contributions from the Clergy, without the King's consent—that he had filled up vacant benefices, with Italians who could neither read nor speak a word of English—that he had drawn away to a ruinous extent, the coin of the realm, that Englishmen were compelled to plead their causes in a foreign land—that the Pope's provisions and pensions were insupportable; and that by his authority, he could dispense with customs, charters, grants, statutes, rights, and privileges. This enumeration of grievances will serve to shew, the galling and maddening bondage under which the country suffered. But the protest and remonstrances of the King and his Parliament, produced no other effect, than to draw from the Pope, a more masked kind of levy. He directed a bull to the Archbishop, to empower him to collect 10,000 marks, in seven years; as was pretended for the service of the Archepiscopate. And various levies were made on the Clergy, which they were bound by oath to

SECTION I. CONCEAL. But in spite of every regulation, the Papal corrasions increased; and to meet beforehand the rising discontent and to work upon the superstitious mind of the King, an expedient is resorted to, too impious almost to be written

CHAP. V.

..... *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames!*

Blasphemy  
and treachery  
of the Pope.

The Pope conveyed to the King, from Jerusalem, with all mysterious solemnity, and as the most valuable gift of Heaven, a portion of the blood of the *Saviour*. The credulous Monarch received it with the deepest reverence—summoned a Parliament to convey to them the joyful tidings; and conveyed it, on foot, with the most profound humility, to Westminster Abbey, where it was deposited.\*

As a *chef-d'œuvre*, a last stroke of policy, the Pope makes a treacherous offer of the Crown of Sicily to the King's Son, Edmund—an offer which he never intended to complete; but to conduct the transfer, he pretended great sums of money were necessary. Other necessities of the state required supplies, and the king in his turn, convoked a Parliament for the purpose of obtaining them. His demands are refused; so that he was actually reduced to poverty. He was obliged to curtail the ordinary expenses of his household—to stop the wages of his servants; and to give up his alms. Every thing became venal, and offices of trust

\* Westminster Abbey was built by this Prince.

were bartered in the face of day. These were evils sufficient to rouse the desponding energies of a nation, and to bring them courage from despair. But when we add to this, the ill-advised measures of the king in surrounding himself with foreigners, and bestowing upon them the most important trusts; and especially, the high authority to which he raised Robert de Valentia the Queen's uncle—we need not wonder at the indignation of the barons: and what further served to goad them to the highest pitch of desperation, the ARCH-EXACTOR threatened an interdict, if money was not raised.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V.

The combination of the nobles was powerfully conducted, under the direction of Montfert Earl of Leicester. The king is unable to resist, and submits to their terms. The nobles become predominant, and the administration of affairs is placed in the hands of twenty-four of their order. The government was now reduced to an Oligarchy, but happily in the face of their declarations they were obliged to be consistent, and the more striking evils of the state were remedied; and for the time, such a form of government was beneficial.—The Charters were enforced. Impartial justice was administered. Foreigners were banished; and the annual meeting of Parliament established. Every rank in the state received a new impulse; and an epoch in the civil Constitution was advancing. None of the parties engaged in this struggle, foresaw or contemplated the important change they

The Govern-  
ment becomes  
Aristocratic.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. were introducing. The nobles were interested and ambitious; and in all their resistance sought the aggrandisement of their own order. But they found from experience, that they were not able alone to resist the power of the Monarch. They sought therefore, the concurrence of the people at large—of the rich, by flattery; of the poor, by promises. This circumstance induced the people to measure their power and feel their consequence in the state; and was a fatal blow to the remaining power of Feudalism.

The King  
attempts to re-  
gain his power.

In the mean time, the King awakened to a sense of his degraded condition; and used the most strenuous efforts to rid himself from the thralldom of the nobles. And to sanctify the attempt, first endeavoured to get rid of his oaths and promises. In order to effect this he applies to that MONSTROUS POWER, which had usurped the place of God; and was at once absolved by his indulgent benefactor from all his obligations. The contest begins anew. The King follows the same pernicious course as before; which served the more to widen the breach. An anecdote of a circumstance which occurred at this time, is worth recording, inasmuch as it discovers the state of feeling which existed. The King one day indulging in an excursion on the river, was overtaken by a violent storm of thunder and lightning; being somewhat alarmed, he desired to be set on shore at the nearest stairs. These happened to

be those of Durham house, where the Earl of Leicester then resided. The Earl, on hearing that the King was there, ran down, with all courtesy to receive him: and perceiving that he was agitated, he said. "Your Majesty need not be under any alarm, for the storm is already passed." "No," answered the King with a stern look: "I fear not the thunder, so much as I fear thee," at which words, the Earl somewhat confused replied, "Sir, I am sorry that you should fear your true friend and servant, more than the enemies and devourers of your kingdom."

The contest now began in real earnest; and for five years, civil war divided the land. At length, the crisis approached; and an adverse battle, in which the King was assisted by his brother the King of the Romans, and his Son; and in which, his own son Edward, performed prodigies of valour, put every thing into the power of the Earl of Leicester. The two Kings and their two Sons were taken prisoners; and led in triumph by the conquering Earl; who managed every thing at his discretion. His ambition, however became so outrageous; and his conduct so tyrannical, that he excited the jealousy of the other confederates, and especially, of the Earl of Gloucester; and a Parliament was called, to rectify these abuses and to set Prince Edward at liberty. In this Parliament was laid the basis of the HOUSE OF COMMONS: and from the second of Jan-  
Extraordina-  
ry result of the  
Civil War.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. V. uary, 1265, we must date the era of this branch of the LEGISLATIVE POWER. Two Knights for every shire; and two Burgesses for every city and borough sat in this Parliament.\*

This was the great work to be achieved in this reign: it was now done; and brought to a happy issue amidst every species of exaction, misrule, inquietude, and bloodshed. It was from a sea of commingling and conflicting elements, that the vessel of the state was conducted to a safe anchorage, without any visible pilot. But there was an invisible and beneficent agent, correcting and subduing the contending evils; and constraining them to subserve his wise and transcendent purposes. The scene now rapidly changes. Prince Edward escapes from prison, flies to the rescue of his Father, resolutely attacks the Earl of Leicester and defeats him in a well contested battle, in which the Earl falls. The kingdom is restored to his father, who from that moment, appeared like another man. He caused the strictest justice to be enforced, called a Parliament at Marlborough to renew and establish the body of the laws of England; at which time also, those laws were enacted which are now extant, under the title of the Statutes of Marlborough; in which the Magna Charta is solemnly confirmed. The four last years of the King's life were spent in dignified tranquillity; and his sun went down in peace!

\* Echard ex Doc. Stuart.

## CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD I.—ADVANCE OF THE KINGDOM—ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENT AND THE CONVOCATION.

Most historians have concurred in remarking that during the two preceding reigns, the English Monarchy was greatly *diminished* and *debased*; but a little reflection will convince us, that, on the contrary, it was more firmly established and consolidated. It was unavoidable from the very nature of the feudal institutions, but that a crisis should arise, the result of which, must determine the future course of Government. But crises are always dangerous! inasmuch as they are the offspring of necessity, produced by the selfishness and passions of mankind; and seldom under the control of reason and justice. Happily, however, under the controlling influence of Heaven, the result of the contest in England, was every thing that could be wished. The Monarchy was estab-

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VI.  
Illustrious  
Reign of Ed-  
ward I.  
A. D. 1272.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VI. lished—the liberty of the subject secured, and the master principle of legislation, introduced. There was less of splendid achievement in the last two reigns; but there was more of practical benefit.—There was less ostentation in the movements of the state; but there was more of real acquisition: and instead of heaping reproaches on the heads of unfortunate Princes, we owe them a great debt of sympathy, as the suffering instruments, through whom so much good has devolved to us. But whatever the English Monarchy had lost in territory and splendour, was soon to be recovered by the illustrious Edward. He had already, during the life of his father, exhibited those qualities of mind, which bear the stamp of greatness of soul. During the crisis of which we have been speaking, it was necessary for the completion of the intended good, that there should be a relaxation of the Kingly Power, and we have fully noticed all the circumstances that conspired to assail and subdue it. But the authority of the executive must again be vindicated and the tone of the coercive power, restored. For this purpose, Edward is raised up, in whose breast, as Selden observes—“*God seemed to have pitched his tent*”—He was in the Holy Land at the death of his father. In his way home he called at Sicily, and was honorably entertained by King Robert. It was here he received intelligence of the death of his son and heir; and soon after, of the death of his

Father, at which latter announcement, he shed SECTION I.  
CHAP. VI. more tears and discovered still greater sorrow. The Sicilian King astonished at this conduct, expressed his surprise to the Prince; whose noble answer deserves to be recorded: ‘nature may supply to us the loss of a SON; but that of a FATHER is irreparable.’

As soon as he returned, the nation was made to feel the vigour of his hand. He redresses its grievances, binds up the breaches that had been made during the late contests; and purges its corruptions. There are on record the names of twelve Judges, found guilty of bribery and extortion, dismissed by him from their high offices, and severely punished. In order to controul the exorbitant power of the ecclesiastics; the statutes of Mortmain were enacted in the very commencement of his reign; and many other wise regulations respecting the church. From this time also we may date the origin of the CONVOCATION of the English Church, as it now exists.

Such was the activity of his mind—the vigour of his judgment and the power of his arm, that he was successful in all his enterprises. He entered Wales—subdued it—slew Llewellyn the last Prince and annexed the principality to the crown of England. The disputed succession to the throne of Scotland occupied a great share of his attention; and he claimed as Lord Paramount of Scotland, the right of settling the succession to that throne.

SECTION 1. His right was not disputed; and after a tedious hearing, he decided in favour of *John Baliol*.

CHAP. VI.

Edward in entire consistency with his acknowledged right, on some punctilio of feudal observance, commanded the King of Scotland to appear before him. This led to a quarrel; and Edward entered Scotland with his army, in order to enforce obedience. It is unnecessary for me to enter into a detail of his wars with Scotland.—Suffice it to say, that he five times conquered that country and conducted his victorious army through the length and breadth of it. It is not my design, at present, to pursue the history of Scotland, otherwise I have no doubt, it would be seen, that he was eminently the instrument of God, in executing very important purposes in that part of the Island. I can see nothing of reason nor justice in the resistance of the Scots.

Persecution  
of the Jews.

During this reign a most violent persecution was raised against the Jews.—It is stated that two hundred suffered capital punishment; and shortly after, by the advice of Parliament, the whole race were banished from the kingdom. I have seen no convincing evidence as to the real grounds of those violent proceedings.—It is a mysterious matter; and I leave it in silence.

We now find a Parliament convened at London, in which the Citizens and Burgesses regularly sit to vote their share, towards defraying the expenses of the state; and from the twenty-first year of

SECTION 1. this reign, there is a regular and unbroken series of Parliaments to our own time. In the Parliament of which I am now speaking, the citizens and burgesses voted one fifth of their goods for the service of the King—the Peers one twelfth; but the Clergy refused to grant their aid, on account of a constitution made and published that year, by Pope Boniface, that no clergyman under the severest penalties, should concur in granting temporal aids without the Pope's consent. It requires some knowledge of our own weakness, to be enabled to restrain our indignation, at such a daring invasion of all right and reason and justice! The outrage was keenly felt by the King, and he took his measures accordingly. He immediately placed the Clergy out of the pale of the law—seized on their temporal fees, and allowed them no redress in his own courts. This intolerable mode of punishment, soon brought them to their senses; and they consented to deposit one fifth of their goods, in the churches, to be conveyed from thence by the King's collectors.

But the wisdom of Edward and the true magnanimity of his character shone forth most conspicuous, in the readiness with which he confirmed the Magna Charta; when to shew his entire concurrence in its provisions, and more fully to satisfy the Parliament, he dispensed with the dubious clause.

“*Salvo jure coronæ nostræ.*”

SECTION 1.  
CHAP. VI.

Edward con-  
firms Magna  
Charta.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VI. Such was his observance of JUSTICE and the strict impartiality with which he enforced its enactments, that he committed his own Son to the public prison, for riotously breaking the park of Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester.

He was preparing a sixth time to chastise the ever rebelling Scots; and like a chafed Lion roused all his energies for the occasion. But enough was done; and the Arbiter of events averted the impending danger. The career of Edward was run; and he expired in the camp at Burg on the sands, in the sixty eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was a mighty Prince, but he forgot his origin. He remembered not that he was dust. His resentment against his enemies survived the grave; and with his dying breath he charged his son Edward II, not to relinquish the entire conquest of Scotland; and ordered him to carry his bones along with him as a terror to the enemy. Alas! a melancholy reflection attends the recording of his dying requests. —They were inconsistent with reason and repugnant to Christianity. “Verily every man at his best estate is altogether vanity!” \*

\* Psalm xxxix. v. 5

## CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD II.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS—CONTROLLING OF  
THE SOVEREIGN POWER.

SECTION I.  
CHAP VII.  
A. D. 1307. WE are again about to open a calamitous and blood-stained page of our history; but the evils which it records, will be found not to have impeded but rather accelerated the progress of the nation in its mighty course. For whilst the preceding reign by its vigour and ability, tended greatly to aggrandise the realm, and to promote its essential interests, both at home and abroad—the present reign will be found, by its weakness, to have afforded an opportunity to the people, of attempting to raise another barrier, against the undefined power of the Feudal Sovereign. The King possessed the undisputed right of appointing his own ministers; and whatever was their character or conduct, there was no power to controul the exercise of his authority. It was the abuse

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII.  
of this right that excited the contention, between the Sovereign and the people at this period. And if the struggle did not terminate in providing an immediate remedy, it established a counter principle which in the end was triumphant.

The King's incapacity.

The young King disregarding the dying injunctions of his parent, immediately relinquished the conquest of Scotland and returned home. His first acts discovered his unfitness for Government, and how unworthy he was, to succeed to such a father. He indulged his personal resentment by committing Bishop Langton to prison; and discovered his obstinate passion for favoritism, by recalling Gaveston who had been banished by his father, as alike odious to himself and the nation at large. In the company of this, justly obnoxious, favorite, the King abandoned himself to the most unbecoming indulgences. His young Queen felt herself slighted; and the nobles were disgusted by his extravagant attentions to the favorite; and thus early, was the foundation laid, for a strenuous opposition to his will, an opposition which his own indolence and fatuity of mind, were only calculated to strengthen.

Evils of Favoritism.

The Barons soon conspired against him, and obliged him to promise to send Gaveston out of the Kingdom. He fulfilled his promise; but in a way, which gave occasion for greater discontent. He sent him as his Lieutenant into Ireland, and lavished upon him every species of favour, in

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII.  
greater profusion. Indignant at being thus deceived, the Barons demand a full and unequivocal fulfilment of his promise; and took up arms with intention of enforcing it. In the contest which ensued, Gaveston is taken prisoner by the confederated nobles; and without even the forms of justice, ignominiously put to death,—a mode of procedure, which, at once, exposes the unworthy motives by which their conduct was actuated. At this unhappy juncture, many grievous evils impended over the land. The King was defeated in an expedition he made into Scotland—a dysentery and pestilence committed dreadful ravages among the people; whilst a very grievous famine followed in their train. It will give us some idea of the extent, to which this latter evil prevailed—when it is stated that malefactors committed to prison were assailed and actually devoured by the famished inmates of those horrid abodes. But to proceed.

A seeming reconciliation had scarcely taken place, between the King and his Nobles, when fresh cause was given for mutual jealousies and animosities. The changeful King transferred his affections to the family of the Spencers, and on the father and son alike, bestowed his unwearied favours. Of necessity, it laid the foundation for a new conflict; and the Spencers were banished. But the King was wounded to the quick, and his resentment great. Hitherto the Queen who was

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII.  
in the interest of the Barons, had acted as a mediatrix, and by her arts and influence, prevented an hostile collision between the contending parties. But unfortunately, at the time, when the King's mind was inflamed to the highest degree, she herself, felt aggrieved by being refused admission on some particular occasion, at the castle of one of the confederate nobles, and instantly determined upon revenge. She found no difficulty in exciting the King's mind, and fanning his smothered wrath into a flame. All the courage of his breast was roused; and he determined to bring the Barons to subjection, or to die in the attempt. A civil war ensues; and in a fatal contest at Boroughbridge, the two leaders of the confederacy were sacrificed. The Earl of Hertford fell in the conflict, and the Earl of Lancaster was taken prisoner. Soon after, he was beheaded at Pontefract, under circumstances very similar to those which had attended the execution of Gaveston; and, in which he had been principal actor. But these were not the only victims. Great numbers of the first nobility of the land, fell together with their leaders; and it is stated that there never was at one time, so much noble blood spilt as on this occasion, since the conquest. The King was elated with his success; and turned his victorious arms on Scotland. He entered that country with a numerous, but badly provisioned army, and his expedition ended in disgrace.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII.  
In the mean time, the great catastrophe of the reign was advancing. The Queen had taken deep umbrage at the Spensers, because as it is alleged, they endeavoured to curtail her expensive and licentious mode of living; and to place some restraint upon her conduct. From that moment, she conceived a mortal dislike to the men whom she considered her rivals and oppressors; and in the deep machinations of her heart, determined upon their ruin. This was rendered a difficult task from the late success of the King, and the total defeat of the Barons. But to such a woman, nothing was impossible. She was another Medea, and only waited for the opportunity, in order to discover the number and variety of her stratagems. That opportunity was granted to her, through the advice of the Spensers themselves. Fearful lest the King should leave the kingdom, whose presence alone, restrained the violence of their enemies—they advised him to send the Queen with the young Prince to France, to negotiate respecting the affairs of Gascony. Nothing could have happened more to her mind. Her residence at the French Court, became the refuge of all the discontented from England. Amongst these, was Roger Mortimer, a young nobleman who had been taken in the late encounter and committed to the tower. He escaped from his confinement, and made his way into France, where he was warmly

The Queen  
takes part in  
the political  
tragedy.

SECTION received by the Queen, and became the object of  
I. her sinful passion.

CHAP. VII.

Deep laid  
Plot of the  
Queen.

A deep-laid plot was now concerted, in which not only the Spensers, but the unfortunate King himself, was included; and nothing was wanting, but the means of carrying it into execution. In order to raise the necessary funds, she actually contracted her Son (Edward III.) to one of the daughters of the Duke of Hainault, and with the dowry, prepared a fleet and armament, under the command of the Duke's brother. She disembarked her troops at Harwich, and as her plan was fully matured, she was immediately joined by many of the nobility, and all the Bishops; and with her army, greatly increased, went in pursuit of the King. To strengthen her party, she spread the false report that the King of France was aiding her cause, with so many Dukes and Earls that England could scarce contain them—that all who opposed her were already excommunicated, and to show that she came as a liberator, she ordered all the Prisons to be thrown open.

The deserted King, totally unprepared for such a sudden invasion, after making the best arrangements within his power, fled with his favorite Spensers into the West. But this was a sinking cause—the hour of their ascendant was past; and at every step, they were doomed to meet with disappointment.

A scene, which was acted in the Queen's Camp on her arrival at Oxford, deserves to be recorded  
SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII.  
Barbarous  
ignorance of  
the times—  
Religion.  
—not for its intrinsic worth—but to manifest in the midst of much external shew, the barbarous mental ignorance of the times; and to illustrate the important and acknowledged truth—that where there is no public opinion to overawe the selfish principle,—public virtue cannot exist. It was Sunday, and on such a *pious* expedition, and with all the Bishops in her train, it would have been out of character, not to give the most scrupulous attention to her religious duties. On the occasion, the Bishop of Hereford was chosen to preach before the assembled troops. The selection of his text.—“My head; my head acheth,” which he dislocated from its place, in one of the simplest of narratives,\* sufficiently shewed the malady of his understanding. From this text he argued, in a manner somewhat opposed to our present notions of medical treatment; and directly at variance with our ideas of politics and divinity,—that there was no other cure for the sick and distempered head of a Kingdom, except AMPUTATION!

In the mean time, the unhappy King had got out to sea, but the very elements fought against him; and he was obliged to put on shore, from stress of weather, and took shelter amongst the Welsh, in the Abbey of Neath, where he lay con-  
The Spensers  
executed.

\* 2 Kings, 4. 18.

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. VII.

cealed. The relentless Queen pursued her march, and quickly appeared before Bristol, which was defended by the Earl of Arundel and the elder Spenser. The place soon fell into her hands, and Spenser was executed on the common gallows. Her revenge was thus accomplishing. A proclamation was now issued, stating, that if the King would come forward and promise conformity to the laws of the realm, he should be restored. But he dared not to trust himself in their hands. He was however discovered by the brother of the Duke of Lancaster, and together with his unfortunate counsellors, seized and carried off from his sanctuary. The younger Spenser was led in a mock triumph; and, after being exposed to universal scorn and derision, was hung on a gallows, fifty feet in height—Roger de Reding, ten feet lower; and the Chancellor Baldock, was thrust into Newgate, where he died miserably.

The King de-  
posed.

In a Parliament convened at London, articles of deposition were made out against the imprisoned Monarch; and he was declared to be no longer King; whilst it was further enacted, that his son Edward should be crowned in his stead. To give to these enactments, the sanctions of religion, the Archbishop of Canterbury preached a sermon on the occasion, from "the Voice of the People is the Voice of God," in which he argued, as wisely and legitimately as his Brother of Hereford had done, on the malady of the head-ache.

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of this solemn farce, seemed to inspire the Queen with symptoms of grief, and she even shed tears at the degradation of her husband. But whatever was the nature of those tears, they were soon dried up by the warmth of another passion. The innocent Prince her son, moved by this appearance of sorrow, solemnly declared, that he would never wear the crown without his father's consent. Commissioners were accordingly sent to the King to Worcester Castle, where he was confined; and by threats and promises, prevailed upon the afflicted and humbled monarch, to yield up a sceptre, already forced out of his hands.

Thus ended the reign of Edward the II. through the intrigues and furious passion of an evil woman, whom God and nature designed to be his joy in prosperity, and his solace in adversity. And it would have been happy, had her machinations ended here. But guilt; like the monster that devoured its own offspring, is ever the destroyer of its own acquisitions. The guilty Queen and her paramour, felt themselves insecure, whilst the abjected Monarch was alive; and fancied if he were removed, there would be no drawback upon their happiness. Alas! how blind are the faculties of our mind, when obscured by vicious indulgences! as if the existence of a King without power, and under their own controul, could have had any REAL influence, in restraining their wishes.

Edward III.  
succeeds his de-  
posed Father.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VII. But such is guilt.—By entertaining imaginary evils, it goads itself to the commission of still greater crimes, which never fail to induce greater calamities than those it dreaded, and to hasten a more fearful retribution.

The deposed  
King put to  
death.

After a series of the most cruel usage, the deposed King is barbarously murdered. Nor will I stain my pages with the names of the inhuman murderers; nor assist in giving them, even the immortality of crime. They soon followed their unhappy victim into eternity, and have received the due reward of their sin; and as they have been blotted out of the book of the living, let them be so, from the records of History. For their superiors in guilt, an unseen hand was preparing a just and speedy retribution; and from a quarter perhaps, whence they least expected it. The young King, in whose breast were repositied the spirit and ability of his grandfather, soon discovered the root of bitterness, whence numerous evils sprung up to disturb and harrass the land, and he determined to root it out. Accordingly with a rapidity which marks the avenging arm of Heaven, he surprised the guilty pair in Nottingham Castle, delivered Mortimer into the hands of Justice, to which he shortly after paid the penalty of his life; and committed the Queen to a Prison, where she spent the twenty-eight remaining years of her life.

Surely there never was a quicker succession of crime and punishment, than that which has been

recorded, all tending to shew the principles upon which the moral Government of the World is conducted; and at the same time, commanding our admiration of the incomprehensible power of HIM, “whose way is in the Sea, and whose path is in the great waters,” and who in the midst of such moral perplexities, conducts his own purposes to their accomplishment.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD III.—INVASION OF SCOTLAND—FRANCE—  
SPLENDOR OF THE PERIOD—JURIDICAL IMPROVE-  
MENT—MANUFACTURES—ORDER OF THE GARTER  
INSTITUTED.

SECTION I. THE reign of Edward III. has been considered one of the most splendid periods of our history; and in martial glory, it well deserves the fame it has acquired. Edward was one of those great men who have, at various periods, adorned the world. In vigour of body and mind, he has perhaps never been surpassed. His foresight was great, his judgement quick and penetrating, and the execution of his counsels rapid and enthusiastic. There was more of *spirit* than *matter* in all his movements. The thunder and lightning of his character declare his origin. He was in a peculiar manner, "ordained of God."

Soon after he had received the sword of state, SECTION I.  
and whilst he was yet

"*Imberbis Juvenis,*"

CHAP. VIII.

and under the controul of guardians, he marched to repulse the Scots, who had made an attack upon the English borders: and by his prudent and courageous conduct, gave the Scots a taste of what they were to expect, under his administration. Much to the dissatisfaction of the young King, through the interest of the Douglas party in Scotland, aided by the authority, of Mortimer and the Queen, he was induced, on the marriage of his sister with the king of Scotland to surrender all right to the sovereignty of that kingdom, and to give up various deeds of homage and fealty by which its kings had been bound. With these was delivered up that famous evidence called "*Ragman Rowle*" an instrument signed by the king, nobility, and prelates of Scotland; and which contained a record of all the services due to the Kings of England. But this treasonable conduct on the part of Mortimer and the Queen, for which, no doubt, they received an equivalent, became afterwards the exciting cause in the breast of the king, for an attack upon Scotland. Hence, when Baliol advanced his claim to the Scottish crown, Edward was easily induced to assist him. He contented himself, at first, with taking Berwick and establishing Baliol: but afterward, on a defeat experienced by his new ally, he entered

Invades Scotland.

SECTION I. of Scotland at two different times, in the true spirit  
CHAP. VIII. of Edward I. with the most complete success; and would, in all human probability, have made a more complete conquest of that country, than his grandfather, had he not been diverted from his purpose, by a nobler prey.

First invasion of France. He had always considered the crown of France as his own, in right of his mother, the only child of the late king, but who had herself been excluded by the salic law. He did not consider her exclusion as an impugment of his own title; and therefore, considered his claim as preferable to that of the reigning king, who was only nephew of the late monarch.—So prone are the wisest of men, to make the understanding subservient to the will; and to suit their arguments to their wishes. But it may be doubtful whether Edward believed his own statement. It was plausible and suited his purpose. He made very extensive preparations, and formed a powerful league with the Emperor: and soon, with an army of forty thousand men, entered France and committed the most dreadful ravages. It was in this campaign that he assumed the arms and title of France, and affixed on his shield, the motto, “Dieu et mon droit.”

The next campaign was frustrated by the mediation of Joan de Valois, sister to the king of France and mother to the queen of England. A third was put an end to by the Pope. But dis-

appointments and difficulties seemed only to inspire him with greater ardour, and he roused all his energies to prepare for a decisive blow. In the beginning of the year he held his feast of the ROUND TABLE in imitation of the renowned Arthur, and issued his letters of safe conduct to all foreign knights and their attendants, whose pleasure it should be, to attend a solemn tournament, to be given at Windsor for fourteen days.

After his plans were fully matured, he departed for France, attended by his son the Prince of Wales—the most valiant of men, who combined in his character, all the excellences of humanity. His valour was only excelled by his modesty, and his modesty, surpassed only by his filial piety—His generosity like his courage, knew no bounds; and when he was the conqueror of kings, it seemed only to inspire him with greater humility. With this son, then only sixteen years of age, he entered France at the head of eighty thousand men; and with incredible rapidity and unheard of destruction appeared before the gates of Paris. In conformity with the chivalrous valour of the age, having offered battle to king Philip, on being refused, he advanced through every difficulty to the plains of Cressy, destined to give name to one of the most signal victories that ever ennobled a conqueror.—It was in this conflict that his young son performed such prodigies of valour, and turned the event of battle; whilst his father at the head of

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII.

Second invasion.  
 The Battle of Cressy.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII. the reserve, was the spectator of his actions. At the conclusion of the fight, when the King was hastening to congratulate him on his victory, the young Prince eluding his embrace, fell on his knees and implored a father's blessing. Perhaps the annals of the world do not supply us with a nobler instance of filial piety.

It was in this battle that the aged king of Bohemia disdaining to yield, fell under the irresistible attack of the Prince.—I mention this circumstance, because the three ostrich feathers worn by the Bohemian monarch, were assumed by the Prince of Wales, and by him, bequeathed to all his successors.

Capture of  
Calais.

Third invasion

To this memorable battle succeeded the equally memorable seige and capture of Calais; from which he embarked in triumph for England. But he was not long to remain inactive. Another formidable expedition is embarked for France, under the sole command of the Prince; which, after a variety of splendid successes, ended in one of the most decisive victories ever achieved. The king of France and his son Philip, were both taken prisoners, together with a great number of the French nobility; and it was on this occasion, that the modesty of the Prince shone forth more illustrious, than even his valour.—For whilst the king of France and his son, with the nobles, were entertained in his own tent, he refused to sit at the table as a guest, but waited at the King's table as

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII. one that served. As the towering cedar searches deep in the earth for the foundation of its majestic form, so the height of superior excellence is supported on the basis of deep-laid humility; and the annals of the world may again be challenged, to produce a more striking example than the case before us.

His entry into London, which was considered as a triumph by the whole nation, was conducted by him in the same characteristic manner. He laid aside every appearance of the conqueror, and whilst the king of France attired in royal magnificence, was mounted on a stately charger, the Prince in the most unassuming manner, rode at his side on a black palfrey.—But I feel I am digressing; these splendid transactions have little to do with the line of my argument.

Edward was yet in the power of his might, and he resolved to make another effort for France: and such was his extraordinary vigour, that the whole of France must have fallen under his all-conquering arms, had it not pleased the Arbiter of human events suddenly to arrest his career.

The King on this occasion, had been roused to a more ample vengeance, on account of the intelligence he had received, of very extensive ravages made by the French on the coast of Sussex. With his wonted impetuosity he appeared before Paris, and offered battle to the Regent of France. The offer was rejected; and after refreshing his army

His further  
progress in  
France remark-  
ably checked.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII. for a short time, he penetrated with the most unrelenting severity, into the very bowels of France—as far as Chartres and Orleans. But here his devastating course was stayed. For whilst he was in the midst of his desolating triumphs, and every barrier which attempted to oppose his progress, was overthrown and dashed to the ground,—an event occurred which brought down his pride and humbled his imperious soul.—This was an unusually terrific storm of thunder, and rain, and hail; the effects of which, filled the whole army with consternation. The King himself, was not exempt from the general dismay—he considered it the voice of God. Nor was it the result of a mere superstitious dread. The fury of the tempest destroyed more than six thousand of his horses and more than one thousand of his men. It was not *irrational* in the King to consider it as a Divine visitation; nor is it inconsistent with our refined notions of philosophy, to acknowledge the decency and propriety of his conduct. He fell prostrate to the earth—humbled himself under the “mighty hand of God”—adored his universal Providence, and vowed to grant to France, that peace which she had so humbly and earnestly solicited.

The King  
returns home.

The Divine purposes, through the instrumentality of the King of England, were now accomplished with respect to France; and its terrible scourge returned to his own land: whilst to that long distracted country, a wise and understand-

ing Prince\* was raised up to mollify and heal its wounds.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII. But Edward was one of those gifted persons, no less wise and prudent in peace, than valiant and successful in war. During his splendid achievements on the continent, he did not sustain with a feeble hand the sceptre of government in his own country; but restrained the vicious and punished the wicked. “He held not the sword in vain.” The peaceful and industrious had the most ample protection; and thus, whilst the public tranquillity was preserved—the arts and manufactures, trade and commerce, flourished to a very great extent. One circumstance, recorded in history, will serve to shew the great wealth imported into the kingdom at this time.—Sir Henry Pickard a merchant of London is stated to have given an entertainment at his own table, to the four kings of England, Scotland, France and Cyprus, attended by their sons and the chief Nobility.—An honour, not often coveted by, or conferred upon a subject. No doubt these were, prosperous times for England, *consolidating* the basis of her future wealth. But pride and luxury came in the train of prosperity and conquest. Foreign modes of dress and furniture, and especially those of the French, found their way into the establishments of the rich. Perhaps, in these respects it was a season of improvement.—But the historian’s page informs

Internal state  
of the country.

\* Charles the wise.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII.  
us, that it was not without injury to the morals of the people. Indeed it is impossible for the human mind, to withstand the temptations which arise, from the influx of wealth and luxury. This deteriorating principle in human nature, was long recognised and acted upon by the rude forefathers of Europe. The Suevi were not the only nation who prohibited the temptation.—“*Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines, atque effæminari arbitrantur.\**”

The nation  
chastised

The English nation full of prosperity and riches, and giving way to its accompanying evils, broke loose from the restraints of virtue and propriety—for the people knew little of those of religion—and prepared for themselves a speedy and righteous chastisement.† The plague which had begun in Turkey and in its course, visited Italy and France, broke out with great fury in England; and filled the whole country from one end to the other, with mourning and lamentation.

\* Cæs. be bell. Gall. lib. 4. Cap. 2.

† If this statement—that the Plague was a punishment for the moral turpitude of its people—be considered an unfounded assertion; the writer has only to observe, that as he believes the Bible to be a revelation from God, and finds from that source, that the pestilence is one of those peculiar methods by which the Almighty Governor punishes the world; he is bound to consider such a chastisement as proceeding immediately from his hand. But apart from scripture what shall we make of such direful calamities? Can they be generated in certain fixed principles and by a certain process of nature? That is, must they inevitably arise, and without interference, in the

We have to refer to this period that beneficial SECTION I.  
change in our judicial proceedings, by which it

CHAP. VIII.

direct working of the material system of the universe? Even then, the principle must have been inserted in the primæval plan, by the Supreme Architect. But it would impeach his wisdom could it be supposed, that he had put this principle into the construction of the universal system, without some grand design. The question is: What is that design? We answer PUNISHMENT. All the irregular but necessary actions of nature are beneficial. The tempest and the earthquake have their advantage in the material world. But this action of the pestilence is on the *rational* being. Must it not bear a *moral* aspect? It is true; it acts on his material part, and may be asked, may it not be to purge and thin the dense ranks of men? We might allow this, without touching the argument: for, where men are the densest, in general they are the most wicked and ripest for punishment. But then the pestilence must, under those circumstances, destroy the *most*, where there are the most. But this we do not see to be the case. England has just been visited with the pestilence;\* and so has France. London has a million more inhabitants than Paris—but the disparity in fatal cases on the side of Paris, has been prodigious. It is not therefore intended to act as a *material*, but as a *moral* purge. Never was the nature of a pestilential disease, so accurately and scientifically examined, as in the present visitation; and the most learned of the inquisitors have agreed, that the disease is not propagated by contagion or infection—but that the impregnating miasma only takes effect in *certain* cases; in which they affirm there is a predisposing cause.—But what is that predisposition? To this no certain answer can be returned, except that in general it is found to exist in the poor, the vicious, and the dissolute. What do we want more? The argument need not be pursued. But it must be borne in mind that when we speak of the pestilence as a Divine visitation and punishment, we speak of it as a *national*, not as an *individual* punishment. It is not meant to imply, that those who are cut off by the pestilence were more wicked, than those who remain. By no means. Oftentimes the most virtuous individuals are sacrificed. But this is a still greater *national* calamity. The state is deprived of its best citizens. Families are bereaved of their supporters. Neighbourhoods of their benefactors. Mourning and lamentation, and woe, are propagated throughout the land.

\* Asiatic Cholera, A. D. 1832.

SECTION was enacted that the PLEADINGS, which before  
 1. had been carried on in *French*, should for the  
 CHAP. VIII. future be conducted in *English*.

Manufactures  
 founded by the  
 King.

It was also through the politic regulations of the King, that a firm foundation was laid for the unrivalled wool-manufacture of England. He protected the trade, by prohibitory statutes, and encouraged it, by fostering laws. He sent for foreign artists, and granted them various immunities. Removed the staple of wool from the Flemings, and appointed several places in his own country, for that purpose; and enacted various laws for their regulation. Edward may be said to be the FOUNDER OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE OF ENGLAND. And from this circumstance alone, he might be considered one of the greatest benefactors of his country. By his extraordinary abilities, he raised his country to the highest reputation in martial glory; and established his affairs at home, in such a manner, that honor and riches flowed in upon his people, from every side. The annual tribute which had been imposed upon the nation by the Pope, in the reign of John, he caused by Parliamentary enactments, to be finally abolished. So great was his reputation abroad, that he was, at length, raised to the highest dignity in Europe, and was unanimously elected Emperor, by the Germanic body—an honor, however, which he prudently resolved to decline. It may be remarked that his son Ed-

ward the Black Prince, was the first individual SECTION  
 that ever bore the title of Duke, *in England*. So 1.  
 that Cornwall is the most ancient Dukedom in CHAP. VIII.  
 this country.

But great and illustrious as was this mighty Prince; and accomplishing in his day, the momentous purposes of the Great Author of society, —possessing too, those great qualities, which we invariably find in the breast of the peculiar instruments of heaven—an undaunted courage and well ordered mind; yet, it relieved him not from the common infirmities, nor even the more malignant evils, attached to mortality. A variety of events occurred in his latter end, to disturb and harass his mind; and to bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Charles the Wise of France, was more than a match for him in the arts of negotiation; and could stoop to stratagems of diplomacy, to which the straight-forward mind of the old King was a stranger. The English affairs declined in France; and he had the mortification of beholding all his conquests in that country, wasting away, and

The King  
 himself visited  
 with affliction.

*“ Like the baseless fabric of a vision  
 Leave not a wreck behind.”*

In the midst of this, he had the anguish of witnessing his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, daily languishing before his eyes, and preparing for an early grave. Nor was this all. His excellent and beloved Queen Phillippa, yields to the

SECTION I.  
CHAP. VIII. last enemy and is consigned to the tomb. Nor long after, her mighty son, the bravest of the brave, follows, an easy prey to that impartial and relentless foe. The Black Prince died in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of the whole kingdom; and indeed, his very enemies, could not forbear displaying that respect to his memory, which shewed the universal estimation in which he was held. His funeral obsequies were solemnized at Paris, in the presence of the King, and the greatest part of the prelates and clergy of France. So sure is real worth of obtaining its due meed of respect and admiration. These events made sensible inroads upon the constitution of the King, which was already giving way under accumulated pressure. After the death of his son he seemed no longer to live: and though the noise of Wicliff and his doctrines made no little stir, yet he does not appear to have taken any active part in the proceedings. In the midst of the persecutions raised by the Papal church against this learned and excellent man, whilst the King was indifferent, Wicliff was protected by the King's son, the Duke of Lancaster, but more, from the spirit of party, than from a sense of the justness of his cause. But let this be as it may, this period must be regarded as the origin of the REFORMATION, the dawn of a brighter day, after a long and tedious night,—a night of error, of falsehood and death. The true light of christianity,

Wicliff, and  
the reforma-  
tion.

after being veiled for centuries, was allowed to dart a bright gleam over the land, by which many were roused from their deathful slumbers, to taste the reviving influence and life-giving power of the gospel.

The last act of the King was the celebration of the feast of St. George at Windsor, where he founded the ORDER OF THE GARTER, at which he bestowed on his Grandson (Richard II.) the honour of Knighthood, the only thing which could not *descend* to him, in the patrimony of honor.

Soon after, gradually sinking, he expired, in the sixty fifth year of his age, under circumstances the most forlorn and even dishonourable. When the last, sad hour approached, robbed and pillaged by his concubine, even to the rings upon his fingers, he was deserted. His other domestics followed her detestable example. His very councillors forsook him in his dying agony; and a poor priest of the household, happening to pass the chamber door, came to his assistance and administered the last consolations of religion to his expiring Sovereign. What a striking lesson for Princes! for all men!

What is man "whose breath is in his nostrils? for wherein is he to be accounted of?\*"

\* Isaiah, chap. ii. verse 22.

## CHAPTER IX.

RICHARD II.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS—GROWTH OF PROTESTANTISM.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX.  
Richard II.  
A, D. 1377.

NEVER was a Prince left in possession of a Kingdom, under more discouraging circumstances than Richard II. Under the last reign, the mind and feeling of the nation, had assumed a very marked character; and become impatient of controul, unless under a very firm and resolute hand. Private wealth had been amassed to a very great degree. Pride and ostentation engrossed the minds of many, and the spirit of enterprize existed to a romantic extent. The lower orders were ignorant, oppressed, and brutal. The King was a child; and his uncles, men of high character, great ability, and of extensive power. The Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester are the most prominent in History. The former, was munificent, imperious, ambitious. The latter, was the most splendid man of his day

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX.

—He was wise, disinterested and patriotic, in the best sense of the word. The former, was the instrument of bringing the reign to a disastrous issue. The latter, would have saved it, had his counsels been attended to. But unfortunately, the education of the young King was placed in a great measure, in the hands of the Duke of Lancaster; who, it is to be feared, intentionally, violated this important duty, and gave up his royal pupil, at a very early age, to licentious indulgences; and left him, to be surrounded by those, who instilled into his mind false ideas of honor, and of the kingly character in general.

In the mean time, the government was conducted in an arbitrary manner, but without vigour; and it appears to me, that from the first, the Duke of Lancaster used his endeavours, to throw the King's government into discredit. Supplies were required—taxes levied, but nothing was achieved. Those demands, without any adequate return, became irksome to the nation, and a general feeling of discontent prevailed. It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the facts connected with the insurrection of Wat Tyler; nor, need I dwell on that more extensive and organized Plot which followed in its train, and in which the views of the malcontents were truly desperate; aiming at the overthrow of all the institutions of the country—the destruction of the King and the Nobility, and the division of the lands. The spirited conduct of the

SECTION I. King upon the former occasion is well known, and discovered the indigenuous courage of his family. But it was almost the only brilliant action of his life; for the vicious indulgences, and pernicious maxims of his companions which had not yet quenched the innate vigour of his mind, soon overpowered every better feeling, plunged him into the most perplexing difficulties, and sunk him at length, into irretrievable ruin!

Duke of Lancaster's exploits.

During Wat Tyler's insurrection, the Duke of Lancaster, who was a chief object of popular resentment, contrived to keep himself out of sight; and escaped the fury of that cruel storm, which levelled many a noble head.—During a great part of this reign, we find the Parliament occupied in granting supplies to maintain the Duke of Lancaster in his negotiations with France and Scotland, in which he displayed great ostentation, without effecting the least particle of good for the community.—A still greater expenditure was lavished in supporting his claim to the throne of Castile. Vast sums were spent in Spain and Portugal; many brilliant actions were performed by the Duke, but of no advantage to the state; and so far injurious, by laying deep the foundation for popular discontent.

The King's prodigality.

From the King, nothing could be expected to retrieve the disorders of the state. He was engaged in one continued round of pleasure and dissipation; and in this manner, the supply-money which was not squandered by the Duke of Lancaster in

frivolous negotiations and unproductive expeditions, was dissipated by the King. The genius of the court was taxed, to invent new schemes of amusement for its luxurious master. The royal mind, totally unfitted for the cares of government, was abandoned to the mercy of his passions and of his parasites. The sad effects of such a system soon became apparent. These evil advisers of the king, by their insolent and pernicious conduct, made themselves obnoxious to the people, and became the objects of general detestation. De la Pole the chancellor, was arraigned before Parliament, and found guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors; but through the favor of the Monarch, he was merely ejected from office. Robert de Vere, was another of these favourites against whom the indignation of Parliament was directed.—But all to no purpose. There was no stability in the King; he recalled his chancellor, and shewed still greater kindness to De Vere, whom he created Duke of Ireland. Had this devotion been the union of friendship—such conduct might have called forth our sympathy; but it was the combination of wickedness. Every future act that resulted from their counsels, was a proof of the corrupt source from whence it originated. But all this was over-ruled; and we shall find every event leading to a further developement of that EXEMPLAR CONSTITUTION, which it was pleasing the Almighty Arbiter to raise up in Britain.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX.

Devoted to his favorites.

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. IX.

Patriotism of  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

So little was the true spirit of the monarchy understood, that the Parliament asserted the power of *deposition* as their right; and so little was the supremacy of the legislature established, that the King, by his sole authority, abrogated the acts of Parliament.\* But every step that the King and his advisers took, seemed to hasten the crisis for the speedy settlement of these great principles in government. The Duke of Gloucester the King's uncle, was foremost in maintaining the rights and liberties of the nation, against the machinations of the King and his ministers; and on this account, he became the object both of their dread and their hatred. Crime, once originated in the human breast, has no limit to its turpitude.—In appalling verification of this fact, it is recorded, that with the King's consent, these ministers formed the design of inviting the Duke of Gloucester and other obnoxious noblemen, to an entertainment, which was to be given at the house of a certain citizen of London, and of murdering them in cold blood.—Happily, however, the impious deed was frustrated, through a timely notice received by the illustrious duke.—The effect of this discovery on the public mind, may easily be conceived.

Fatal results.

The conduct of these wicked men was every day, laying deeper the foundation of their master's over-

\* It appears scarcely credible that the limits of the executive and legislative powers were so undefined, that all the Judges of the land, gave it as their opinion, that the King might LEGALLY disannul the decrees of Parliament.

## SECTION

I.

CHAP. IX.

throw, and of their own ruin: upon which, however, was destined to rise, in greater enlargement and stability, the structure of the state. The Duke of Ireland, under the fostering indulgence of the sovereign, grew so insolent and audacious, that he proceeded to the divorce of his wife Philippa, grand-daughter of Edward III. a lady of most accomplished beauty, and elevated virtue; and to outrage the country to the utmost, he raised to her place, a Bohemian woman of mean descent, who was attached to the Queen's train. The King was too much the slave of his own passions, to be moved by this infamy: but the Duke of Gloucester took high umbrage at it, and regarded it as a daring insult upon the royal family. Matters therefore soon came to a crisis. The King and his ministers endeavoured to circumvent and destroy the opposition Lords, a line of conduct which united them more firmly; and led them at last to stand upon their guard, at the head of a formidable army.

In the contest which followed, the Duke of Ireland was defeated, and saved himself by an ignominious flight; but shortly after, as a solitary exile, died at Louvain in Flanders. The King was obliged, for the present, to submit to the terms of the confederate lords; which were truly mild, insisting only upon the immediate dismissal of his unworthy favourites. But the Parliament was

The nobles  
take up arms.

SECTION afterwards more severe, and made dreadful havoc amongst their lives and property.

I.  
CHAP. IX.

All these things were transacted before the king was declared to be of age. After he assumed the reins of government in a more formal manner, and appointed exclusively his own ministers, the same infatuated course was pursued; and the utmost prodigality prevailed in every department of the state. Every thing was now tending to a rapid issue, and the course of events every day taking a more decisive turn. Evil counsels prevailed—disorders were multiplied—and discontent increased.

Lollards or  
Protestants in-  
crease.

This era, fruitful as it was in civil strife, must be remarked as the date of the increase of the Lollards, who had been gradually springing up, from the doctrines and teaching of the celebrated Wicliff. These were the first fruits of the REFORMATION, and if we are to judge from the persecutions instituted against them, their number even at this time, must have given considerable alarm to the Papal Church. We are willing to grant to many of their persecutors the fullest claim to sincerity, and to allow that in so doing, they thought they were doing God, service: but it only shews us the fearful apostacy of the human heart; that in a church of Apostolic origin, and professedly built upon their doctrines, its members should so far have departed from the truth, as not to possess so much of the SPIRIT of Christianity as to restrain them from acts that would have disgraced a

synod of infernal spirits. I do not use this expression for the sake of making a degrading comparison; it is degrading—but, in sincerity, I could not find another so suitable.—And who, that considers the barbarous methods resorted to, for the extermination of those ingenuous and free born men, and in many cases, eminent examples of christian excellence, can for a moment doubt of the fitness of the comparison? I would not visit the whole crime of the tortures and murders of this time, to the then living agents of the church of Rome, but to the false and corrupted system of ages—to the blindness and wickedness of human nature. We cannot help commiserating the persecutors, more than the persecuted: for with respect to the former, their triumph such as it was, was brief, and they are now suffering the reward of their evil deeds—whilst the latter, by their constancy to the death, in many instances, served to discover the title they had received to the fruition of the life eternal.

I.  
CHAP. IX.

Whilst religious persecution was raging with unrelenting severity, civil disorders were on the increase; and in the progress of the political tragedy, the noble minded Duke of Gloucester was *trepanned*, in the stratagem of which, the KING was the principal actor. Their unhappy victim was sent to the castle of Calais, where he was shortly after secretly murdered. After this work of death, the King and his ministers, by bribery

Murder of  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX. and threats gained an ascendancy in the ensuing Parliament. Many of the confederate nobles fell into their merciless hands. All things became venal; and crime enjoyed an uncontrolled sway. The King by the murder of one of his uncles and the death of the other, which happened about the same time, finding himself free from all controul, gave himself up to every species of extravagant indulgence. The nobility followed his example, and riot and luxury prevailed. The national character declined. The energies of the country were enfeebled; its commerce fettered, and its power weakened. Extortion and arbitrary exaction increased on the part of the government; and the nation seemed to have reverted back, both in its liberties and constitution. But the King was fast approaching the end of his imprudent career. He had determined upon an expedition to Ireland. Before his departure, he exacted heavy fines from seventeen whole counties, which ten years before had joined with the Duke of Gloucester, although a general pardon had been granted. He also declared the Duke of Northumberland guilty of high treason, because he was not present to attend him; although his presence was absolutely necessary on the borders of Scotland.

Retribution  
awaits the  
King.

But these were his last inconsiderate acts: During his absence the exiled Hereford, now, on his father's death Duke of Lancaster, arrived by invitation in England, with a very slender

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX. armament, but which in a short time, amounted to an irresistible force. His progress towards London, was marked with demonstrations of joy by all ranks of people, and he was universally hailed as a DELIVERER. When the King heard the tidings, the native courage of his family seemed to revive in him, and he determined, immediately, to embark his troops for England. But he was detained in Ireland, by the advice of his friends, till it was too late, and the authority of Henry was paramount. On his arrival, therefore, he was obliged to submit to his once banished subject, but now, triumphant rival; and the sad sequel of his story is too well known to need recapitulation here.

The whole of this reign is pregnant with instruction, both of a private and public nature. In Richard II. we behold a youth of the finest natural parts, ruined in education, and blasted in his moral powers by early indulgence and flattery. In a political point of view, turbulent as things were, and tragic as the whole reign was, yet we cannot help observing that the social system progressed. An attempt was made by the executive to become absolute, and the attempt appeared to be successful. But when it seemed to be predominant—it was suddenly arrested in its career, and the guilty contriver, at once received the punishment of his crimes, and the overthrow of his purposes.

SECTION I.  
CHAP. IX. The emphatic language of the ancient patriarch is strikingly applicable to this unfortunate and guilty monarch. "The light shall be dark in his tabernacle; and his candle shall be put out with him: The steps of his strength shall be straightened, and his own counsel shall cast him down. He shall be driven from light into darkness and chased out of the world. He shall neither have son nor nephew among his people; and none remaining in his habitation.\*

\* Book of Job. xviii. chap.

## THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY, &c.

### SECTION II.—CHAPTER I.

ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER, HENRY IV.  
—INVASION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—AND THE  
DAWN OF RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM.

WE are now approaching the period of the first civil wars—a period full of calamity to our forefathers, and pregnant with instruction to ourselves. The appearances in the moral world, are as much the effects of certain causes as those we find in the material system.—The sultry calm prepares the way for the raging storm.—The fierce tempest is exhausted by its own violence. The intense sun-beams whilst they dry up the parched glebe, exhale the showers which are intended to fructify it.—The law which rules the moral world is as striking and permanent. Vice invariably produces misery. Passion is punished by its own excesses; and a course of depravity is followed by a train of

### SECTION II.

#### CHAP. I.

Accession of  
House of Lan-  
caster.  
Henry IV.  
A. D. 1399.

SECTION II. evils, and long remedial inflictions. Nor are these effects less observable in whole communities than in individual persons. The mighty Being who has impressed the general law upon the nature of things, has given it an efficiency which no policy can avert, no power resist. Indeed, it derives its authority from His own attributes; and is, by consequence, as certain in its operations, as it is irresistible in its power.

CHAP. I.  
Duke of Lancaster and Archbishop Arundel banished by Richard II.

The title of Henry IV. Duke of Lancaster, to the crown, was not constitutionally good, but he seemed inevitably seated on the English throne; and, whoever considers the depraved and hopeless character of Richard II.—the events which immediately succeeded, and those which followed in the train of Henry, will be struck with the circumstances which led to his elevation. Henry, whilst Duke of Hereford, had been banished by Richard for a certain term of years: but on the death of his father, his banishment was rendered perpetual, and his estates were confiscated—an act represented by historians as founded in jealousy, and, dictated by rapacity.—At all events, it was arbitrary and unjust. Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, had also suffered exile under the same monarch; and became the chief instrument in bringing about the present change in the affairs of England. Their injuries brought them into public view, and at the same time, put into their breasts the desire of revenge.

SECTION II. To these distinguished individuals, the discontented in England turned their eyes; and the Archbishop was made the negociator between them and the duke of Lancaster. But the duke was difficult to move. He was the most cautious and prudent of men; and, if left to himself, would never have attempted glory which was to be won by hazard.

At length, however, excited by the representations of the archbishop, and emboldened by the invitations of some of the English nobility, at the very juncture, when Richard's exactions and tyranny were become odious, and he himself in Ireland, he set sail from France; and with a train of not more than eighty persons, hovered about the coasts of England. His little fleet was not more the sport of the wind and the waves, than his own mind was, of doubt and indecision—yet as the pilot keeps the helm steady to its point, so Henry's mind did not lose sight of the object he had in view, and, at length, he ventured to land, under the sole pretension of laying claim to his patrimony.

The stratagem took. The king's ministers prepared to resist his advance, but the people refused to act, and alledged their unwillingness to fight against a person, the descendant of one of their kings, and who had been so unjustly treated.—From the manifestation of this feeling, which arose spontaneous from untutored breasts, followed the success of Henry IV. His party was strength-

The Duke encouraged to invade England, with very inadequate means.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I. ened and the prospect of a throne opened before him, whilst the friends of Richard were disheartened and fled. But the king himself was not intimidated, and would have hastened as we have seen, with vigour to support his falling throne, had he not been deterred by the infatuated advice of his counsellors. Everything facilitated the advance of his rival.—He was received at London amidst the deafening shouts of the multitude, and from thence hastened with such rapidity to meet the king at Bristol, that he might have used the concise and elegant language of Cæsar, with even greater truth than that conqueror: “veni—vidi—vici.\*”

The meeting between Henry and Richard is so illustrative of human character, in the overbearing insolence of prosperity on the one hand, and the forced submission of humbled pride on the other, that I must venture to insert it as given by historians.

The interview was at Flint Castle, where Henry introduced himself to the King, who on seeing him enter, said: “Cousin of Lancaster you are welcome.” To which the Duke replied. “I am come rather sooner than you appointed me, because the fame of your people is, that for these twenty-one years you have governed ill and with rigour, on which account they are much dissatisfied; but if Heaven please, I will help to govern

\* I came—I saw—I conquered.

better for the future.” To which the king answered.—“Cousin, if it pleases you, it pleaseth us.” SECTION II.  
CHAP. I.

Never was an enterprise, attended with such important results, undertaken with so little preparation and design. The originators of it, appear to have left the scheme to its own workings.—It seemed to gather the material it fed upon, as it advanced.—It succeeded, and Henry IV. ascended the throne of England. The change was so sudden that the majority of the people were taken by surprise; and many were hurried by their enthusiasm into measures, which they had not power to controul. If Richard was a bad man and a bad king, Henry was a usurper whilst Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche, descended from an elder son \* of Edward III. was alive. The people in the hour of intoxication did not think of this; but the circumstance of Henry offering himself as the avenger of their wrongs, was eagerly hailed; and they hurried without reflection, to support him.

Our passions are our worst counsellors, and when we act upon their suggestions, we are morally sure to suffer. It was remarkably verified in the present instance. All the parties engaged in these transactions were highly culpable. The duke of Lancaster was possessed with the most abject revenge and the most flagrant ambition,

\* Lionel, the third son of the duke of Lancaster was from John the fourth son.

The rightful heir is set aside

Evils of usurpation,

SECTION II. CHAP. I. which overthrew in his breast all the principles of justice and religion. The archbishop Arundel, the more enterprising of the two, was actuated by a highly vindictive spirit, and urged by motives as base as the principal actor. The people were impelled by an unreasonable and reckless desire for change; and acted with their proverbial inconstancy. It was a general phrensy. Its influence pervaded all ranks of society; and the bishop of Carlisle was the only solitary individual who lifted up his voice in Parliament, against the violent and precipitate measures of the day. But nothing could stop the current in its course,—Richard is deposed and Henry becomes king, as Hume says, “nobody knew how, or wherefore!” All was triumph and rejoicing with the prevailing party, and the ambition of Henry was gratified in the possession of a throne. But an unseen hand, whilst it was conducting these conflicting elements to a benevolent issue, as it respected the social system, was preparing a long series of punishments for the individual actors in these disgraceful scenes, as well as for the nation at large.

The lawful King murdered The murder of Richard began the fatal tragedy. In it, he expiated to society, the murder of his uncle, the illustrious and patriotic Duke of Gloucester, affording another infallible proof, that the declaration of the King of kings cannot be evaded,—“Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.\*”

\* Gen. chap. ix. 6.

SECTION II. CHAP. I. The throne of Henry established as it was on such restless elements, could not long repose in quiet. These hidden fires soon began to discover themselves, and Henry had scarcely gained the seat of pre-eminence, when a formidable conspiracy was organized by some of the first nobles of the land. It was conducted with the utmost secrecy, cemented by the most deadly hatred, and strengthened by the most inviolable oaths. But dark and deadly as it was, it was not to prevail. Purposes not theirs’, were to be answered. The plan of the conspirators was, to propose that a tournament between the Earls of Huntingdon and Salisbury, should be holden at Oxford, to which the King was to be invited as judge; and it was resolved that during the sitting, whilst all were intent on the games, he should be assailed and murdered, together with his train.

The parties were even now assembled, and the King and his court were expected on the succeeding day. None of the conspirators were wanting except the Earl of Rutland, and conjecture was busy at work as to the cause of his absence. The Earl on his way to the place of rendezvous, could not allow himself to pass the house of his father, the Duke of York. Whilst they were at dinner, the duke espied the label of the document, drawn up by the conspirators, hanging out of his son’s pocket, and judging it to be something extraordinary, forced it from him. Having reviewed the

Conspiracy against the King frustrated

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I. contents, and finding his son's name with the names and seals of the conspirators, he was filled with surprise, alarm and resentment. He rose from table and without a moment's delay, rode off to Windsor, determined to lay the matter before the King. The Earl of Rutland, finding it impossible to stay his father from his purpose, resolved to make a desperate effort for his life. He rode to Windsor another way; and, outriding his father, arrived first at the Castle, threw himself at the King's feet, confessed the whole conspiracy, and implored pardon for his offence. The king passed his word, provided, what he had related should be found true. By this time the Duke of York had arrived, who immediately put the traitorous document into the King's hand.

On the other side, the conspirators assured by the absence of Rutland, and the non-appearance of the King, that their plot was discovered, were hurried into the most desperate measures. By a variety of stratagems and falsehoods, they contrived to raise an army of thirty thousand men: but they were preparing for themselves a righteous and swift destruction, the due reward of their many enormities. The manner in which it was accomplished was extraordinary.--The leaders fell before they encountered the enemy--their army was routed without a conflict.

Their treason  
was signally  
punished.

The Conspirators were encamped near Reading. The Lords took up their lodging in the neighbour-

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I. ing village, whilst the army lay encamped in the fields. The people of the village in which the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, chiefs of the faction, had taken up their quarters, exasperated by the false reports of the conspirators, surrounded the house where they lodged, and made a desperate attack upon it. Their assault was resisted, with effect, for several hours by the brave inmates. But by an act, which was undertaken to save them, their fate was sealed. A certain Priest with the intention of diverting the attack, set fire to another part of the village, which proved a double calamity. For the army of the conspirators perceiving the flame, and supposing it to be the sign of the King's approach, fled with precipitation; whilst, the town people enfuried to the utmost degree of madness, resolved to quench it with the blood of their oppressors. Thus perished the Earls of Salisbury and Kent.\* The Duke of Gloucester died on the scaffold. The Earl of Huntingdon escaped to the sea, but was driven back, again and again; and, when taken, was conveyed, as it were, by accident, to the late Duke of Gloucester's house, where his head was struck off, the vengeance of Heaven meeting him in the very precincts of that nobleman's house, to whose murder he had been instrumental! The civil blood shed in this conspiracy was immense. But it was only the first of that blood, that was to flow

\* Half brother to Richard.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. I.

for sixty years, in the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster.—So easy is it, for men to take a wrong and hasty step, so difficult is it to return.

The minds of the people were diverted from this fearful tragedy, by a military expedition into Scotland. The king of that country, had denounced war against Henry, unless he would deliver up lord Dunbar earl of Marche, who had fled to the English court, for protection. Henry waited not for the attack, but at the head of a well ordered army, penetrated into the heart of the country and committed extensive ravages.

Rise of Owen  
Glendour.

In the mean time Owen Glendour, the Welsh chieftain began his career of martial exploits, by which he has gained for himself the character of a bold and perilous adventurer in a hopeless cause; and, whilst we are tempted to admire the impetuous courage and romantic valour of the man, we cannot, but lament the blind and reckless fury, which only tended, as far as he was concerned, to plunge his country into greater evil and calamity.—Glendour had made a successful inroad into Herefordshire, and in a battle with the retainers of Mortimer, Earl of Marche, took that nobleman prisoner.

Takes the  
Earl of Marche  
prisoner.

Henry was *secretly* pleased at the event; and the indulgence of this ungenerous feeling, well nigh proved fatal to his throne. But before this had time to ripen into its fruits, he was assaulted

from many other quarters, by which his life was greatly endangered. By his caution and vigorous policy, every attempt against his authority was defeated.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. I.

Meanwhile, the earl of Northumberland, his brother, the earl of Worcester, a man of a violent and malicious temper, and Hotspur his son, were daily fanning the flames of ambition and revenge in each other's breasts. These fiery spirits, at length, determining to overthrow that throne, which they had been so instrumental in raising,—entered into a firm confederacy, in which Owen Glendour was included. One cause which they alleged, was the lukewarmness of Henry with respect to the captivity of the earl of Marche, and another, was the murder of king Richard. But how little these motives swayed their minds, and how much they were urged on, by the most flagrant ambition and ungovernable pride, was manifest, from the circumstance, that their ultimate design was the establishment of their own power and the partition of the kingdom!

A still more  
formidable con-  
spiracy.

A tripartite agreement was drawn up, signed and sealed by the conspirators, in which all south England, was secured to the earl of Marche, north England, beyond the Trent, to Northumberland, and Wales was to be the portion of Glendour. But England happily, was not to be parcelled out; and firm as was the compact, and warlike as were its framers, it was not only destined to fail, but

SECTION II. CHAP. I. for sixty years, in the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster.—So easy is it, for men to take a wrong and hasty step, so difficult is it to return.

The minds of the people were diverted from this fearful tragedy, by a military expedition into Scotland. The king of that country, had denounced war against Henry, unless he would deliver up lord Dunbar earl of Marche, who had fled to the English court, for protection. Henry waited not for the attack, but at the head of a well ordered army, penetrated into the heart of the country and committed extensive ravages.

Rise of Owen Glendour.

In the mean time Owen Glendour, the Welsh chieftain began his career of martial exploits, by which he has gained for himself the character of a bold and perilous adventurer in a hopeless cause ; and, whilst we are tempted to admire the impetuous courage and romantic valour of the man, we cannot, but lament the blind and reckless fury, which only tended, as far as he was concerned, to plunge his country into greater evil and calamity.—Glendour had made a successful inroad into Herefordshire, and in a battle with the retainers of Mortimer, Earl of Marche, took that nobleman prisoner.

Takes the Earl of Marche prisoner.

Henry was *secretly* pleased at the event ; and the indulgence of this ungenerous feeling, well nigh proved fatal to his throne. But before this had time to ripen into its fruits, he was assaulted

from many other quarters, by which his life was greatly endangered. By his caution and vigorous policy, every attempt against his authority was defeated.

Meanwhile, the earl of Northumberland, his brother, the earl of Worcester, a man of a violent and malicious temper, and Hotspur his son, were daily fanning the flames of ambition and revenge in each other's breasts. These fiery spirits, at length, determining to overthrow that throne, which they had been so instrumental in raising,—entered into a firm confederacy, in which Owen Glendour was included. One cause which they alleged, was the lukewarmness of Henry with respect to the captivity of the earl of Marche, and another, was the murder of king Richard. But how little these motives swayed their minds, and how much they were urged on, by the most flagrant ambition and ungovernable pride, was manifest, from the circumstance, that their ultimate design was the establishment of their own power and the partition of the kingdom !

SECTION II. CHAP. I. A still more formidable conspiracy.

A tripartite agreement was drawn up, signed and sealed by the conspirators, in which all south England, was secured to the earl of Marche, north England, beyond the Trent, to Northumberland, and Wales was to be the portion of Glendour. But England happily, was not to be parcelled out ; and firm as was the compact, and warlike as were its framers, it was not only destined to fail, but

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I. by bringing destruction on their own heads, to carry on the principle which was now at work, for the aggrandisement of England.

Which fails  
of its intention.

Their armies were already in motion, when the Earl of Northumberland was seized with a sudden fit of sickness, which entirely disqualified him from taking the field. This circumstance, no doubt, was one grand cause of their subsequent failure. The impetuous Hotspur and the malignant Worcester, pushed forward and encamped before Shrewsbury, expecting the junction of Glendour with his forces: but before this could be accomplished, the vigilant Henry came upon them. A desperate and sanguinary battle ensued.—Prodigies of valour were performed, and Douglas, who was with the conspirators and whose portion was to be Berwick, was seen everywhere like a wild beast, roaming the bloody field in search of Henry. But the king escaped through the precaution of having other individuals clothed with the royal garb—an honour which that day, proved fatal to many a valiant knight. The Prince of Wales, fifteen years of age, fought in this battle; and gave signal proofs of that courage which was afterwards to be so signalized. The king, as he was everywhere foremost in danger, so was he pre-eminent in valour. It is said, that thirty-six of the noblest and bravest in the field, fell by his hand alone. But Hotspur in bold defiance of death, and in search of the same prey as Douglas, rode every

where in the field; and, whilst he lived, the battle SECTION II.  
CHAP. I. raged; but, at length, an arrow from an unknown hand, pierced his heart and put an end, at once, to his hopes, and the resistance of his troops. Nor did he fall alone: with him, lay stretched on the field, two hundred of the bravest knights of Cheshire and five thousand men.

Douglas—the Earl of Worcester—the baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon were taken prisoners.—The first, agreeably to the chivalry of the day, because he was no subject, and had the honor of unhorsing the King, was set at liberty; but the others were executed. The Earl of Northumberland was deprived of his estates, Fatal end of the Conspirators. which were, however, through the clemency of the king, soon after restored to him. But nothing could soften the implacability of this nobleman or avert his ruin.

Scarcely was this rebellion dispersed, when it was succeeded by a plot which was contrived by Serlo's plot of counterfeit-  
ing King Richard. Serlo, who had formerly been a gentleman of Richard's bed-chamber. He employed an impostor to personate Richard; and by framing a seal similar to that of the deceased King, he wrote letters in his name, and ensnared many persons of eminence, to unite in a scheme for his restoration.—But the whole was frustrated; and Serlo when brought to execution, confessed that he was one of the persons who had murdered the Duke of Gloucester in the dungeons of Calais!!

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. I.

Archbishop  
of York's con-  
spiracy.

Another conspiracy soon after followed, which we should be tempted to pass over in silence, were it not for the purpose of bringing, another of the murderers of the Duke of Gloucester, before the reader.—This was no other than the Archbishop of York, who confederated with Mowbray the Earl Marshal and the unfortunate Earl of Northumberland, in another attempt against the throne of Henry. But like every other, it came to nothing and brought ruin upon its promoters. The Archbishop of York was executed—affording the first instance on record, of an ecclesiastic suffering capital punishment.—Northumberland fled into Wales, where Owen Glendour aided by the French, still maintained his ground against Prince Henry, to whom the conduct of this war had been committed. He was however, soon afterwards reduced to the greatest difficulties; and so closely pursued and harrassed day and night, that it was said he died by famine!—His death gave peace to Wales.

Northumber-  
land dies.

The ever restless Northumberland intent upon his own ruin, left his retreat once more, to try his fortune in arms, against his Sovereign; and soon after, with the Lord Bardolph perished in conflict with the sheriff of Yorkshire; in his death bringing to a period, one of the most illustrious feudal families in England.

Grievous  
pestilence.

The unhappy country torn asunder by these intestine strifes, was yet allowed no respite from punishment. It was visited by a pestilence which

destroyed prodigious numbers of people; the extent of which may in some measure be judged of, from the circumstance that in London alone, there died more than thirty thousand persons.

SECTION  
II.  
CHAP. I.

And to add to these horrors, the Roman Hierarchy alarmed at the spread of the doctrines of Wicliff, and the rapid increase of his followers, armed itself with the most formidable power for their extirpation. Arundel was a consummate persecutor. He possessed the most deadly hatred and the most determined opposition to the new doctrines, under the attractive garb of mildness and candour. He was high in the favour and counsels of Henry; and by his influence, every power was obtained for the coercion of their unhappy victims. Every thing seemed to threaten a dreadful storm. It was indeed a portentous moment; and a dreadful struggle was about to ensue between the powers of light and darkness. The latter for the moment, prevailed: but amidst the horrors of this long night, the distant dawn appeared.

Religious  
Persecutions.

The rage of this persecution first fell upon William Sawtre, a London clergyman, who expired in the flames of martyrdom, affording another instance of the hateful intolerance of human nature. His name stands first in the record of PROTESTANT Martyrs. Though so far removed from our own times, his blood nourished the sacred tree of our religious liberties; and we are called upon, to admire his moral courage and Christian

Martyrdom  
of Sawtre.  
A. D. 1400.

SECTION II. CHAP. I. boldness ; and to trace that Divine hand, who by such an extraordinary exhibition of evil, was intending to effect our deliverance.

And of John Badby.

He was soon followed in his triumphant course, by an uneducated artificer, of the name of Badby, whose name must also be recorded as one of the primitive Martyrs of Protestantism. His *protestation* against Transubstantiation is sufficient to be recorded here.—“After the consecration, it remaineth the same material bread, which it was before, nevertheless, it is a sign or sacrament of the living God. I believe the Omnipotent God in trinity to be *one*. But if every consecrated host be the Lord's body, then are there twenty thousand Gods in England.” The Prince of Wales, who was present, earnestly exhorted him to recant, which he endeavoured to strengthen by promises of favour and riches : but the martyr was unmoved, and gloriously finished his course in the flames, as a witness not for Truth only, but also for common sense.\*

The evils of blind prejudice

The unsophisticated mind, young in the history of the human race, will be astonished at such proceedings ; and may well be tempted to consider such records, as the fabrications of history : but alas ! they are stubborn facts ; and tend to shew to what pernicious lengths, men will proceed, when blinded by prejudice and self interest.—Prejudice is the most formidable power that usurps autho-

\* Comp. Fox Martyrs, page 594, and Wilkin's Convoc. page 326.

SECTION II. CHAP. I. rity over the human mind.—When fostered by education, trained by habit, and strengthened by interest, it too frequently coerces reason, repels truth, outrages justice, and, even, tramples on humanity. Whilst it retains its hold, it is an insurmountable barrier to all improvement. Its effects have been, and are, most disastrous to the peace and happiness of mankind. Christianity is the wisest and most beneficial scheme of God for the restoration of his lost family.—It is calculated to raise man to the supreme excellency of his nature, and to recover for him, even more than he has lost. But if in our early years, we are taught to discern its truths through a perverted medium ; if, instead of being directed to its own simple statements for the best information, we are led to believe that a standard of interpretation exists to which we MUST SUBMIT, but that the standard itself, must not be examined or disputed.—If in addition to this, we are assured, that our eternal happiness is at stake, if we presume to refuse submission—what is likely to be the result ? Under the influence of such a cause, we need not wonder that even in the present day, the doctrine of transubstantiation should have its zealous supporters. The proposition of John Badby was the language of common sense ; and unvitiated reason is immediately convinced of its truth and propriety. But under the circumstances we have suggested above,

SECTION II. the case is prejudged, and reason, the mistress of the understanding, is silent.

CHAP. I.

Prejudices to be examined.

It is fortunate when the prejudices we have imbibed, are in unison with virtue, religion, and truth; and it is demonstrative, that this can only be effected by a constant reference of all instruction, to the Holy Scriptures. But under all circumstances, when our understanding is sufficiently advanced, it behoves us strictly to examine the collected stores of our minds, maturely to weigh their several claims, and diligently to separate the precious from the vile.—But who sees not that in such a scrutiny the greatest caution is necessary? To reject a sentiment or feeling, because it is a prejudice, may be rash—not to examine it, is brutish—and to retain it, may be equally unreasonable. We are surrounded with difficulties—prudence and judgment must direct us.

Standard of Judgment afforded by the Church.

Happily, however, since the Reformation of the English branch of the Catholic Church, we are neither consigned to the ignominious slavery of blind prejudice on the one hand, nor, on the other, left to the precarious and uncertain decisions of private judgment. In theological matters, the fountains of truth have been traced up to their origin, and the doctrine and discipline, delivered by the Apostles to the living Church, have been diligently compared with the written infallible standard of all truth, and duly authenticated. So that, whilst as Protestants, we hold the Bible alone, to be ab-

SECTION II. solutely AUTHORITATIVE in matters of faith—yet in the formularies and articles of the Church a sufficient guide, and of high authority is provided, to enable us to study the Scriptures with advantage, and to form a sound judgment in matters connected with our religious belief.

CHAP. I.

The unequal distribution of good and evil in the world, where the wicked are often most prosperous, whilst the righteous are frequently exposed to extreme suffering, has always been considered a mysterious arrangement in the Divine government. Whatever mystery there is in the system of Providence, arises, no doubt, from a defect in the power of our comprehension. If we could take in all the range, and survey all the parts of the universal system, we should every where find beauty and harmony. But not to digress further, who does not see in the case of these martyrs, the great end that was to be answered by their sufferings? A careful observer \* of men and things has remarked.—“Such I believe is the nature of man, that the knowledge and practice of religion could not be maintained without opposition and struggle, and therefore Providence has wisely permitted such instruments, as means to secure the attention of mankind to religion.”

Use of Persecution.

Amidst the darkness and prejudice, which at the time we are speaking of, divided the empire of

\* Dr. Watson, Popular Evidences, &c. page 1.

## SECTION II.

## CHAP. I.

the religious world, it required a mighty impulse to shake their usurpation. Nothing could have been better devised for this purpose, than the flames of martyrdom. It was the master-piece of human cruelty; and its abettors thought, it was the ne plus ultra of policy, and the most effectual prohibition. But in following their blind counsels, they were laying the sure ground for their own overthrow; and a firm foundation for the establishment of truth! What could speak more powerfully to the breasts of men, than such inhuman exhibitions? What could be better calculated to awaken the most benighted—arouse the most indolent, and rivet the attention of the most careless? And such were the effects. As to the martyrs themselves we need not speak. Their sufferings were great—but their happiness and reward, are eternal; and, during the short time of their persecution, they enjoyed more solid satisfaction, than their persecutors did, in their whole lives. But to return.

Progress of  
the social sys-  
tem.

In reviewing the multiplied disorders of this reign we shall find that the frame work of Society was established. The Country underwent a purgation, similar to that it experienced, under William I. The proud, restless and barbarous spirits of the age were humbled or extirpated. The feudal barrier was invaded. The middle and independent class of society grew more vigorous and powerful. Through the flattering indulgence of the King, the house of Commons, on which he

## SECTION II.

## CHAP. I.

so much relied for the validity of his title, rose to an authority to which it had never before attained. He even allowed them to appoint officers to watch over the expenditure of their subsidies. They proposed and carried into effect, the most wholesome measures, and even went so far, at this early period, as to suggest the propriety of curtailing the revenues of the Church. But the Clergy had gained the ear of the Monarch; and his former promises, urged on by their arts and his own superstitious feelings, led him to endeavour by a variety of acts, in favour of the Church, to remove from his conscience, its awakening alarms. He even united with them, as we have seen, in the persecution to the death, and so, indeed, did the Parliament, of the disciples of Christianity. The proposal of the Commons was therefore, rejected, but it serves to shew, to what extent the eyes of the community were open, at that time, to the glaring enormities of the Ecclesiastical body.

The latter end of this reign was tranquil and well conducted. Henry was inflexible in Justice, and impartial in its administration. He was wise and prudent in his schemes for aggrandising his Country. He engaged in the adjustment of the cause between the two contending Popes, the end of which was, the rejection of both; and the election of Alexander V. to the Papal chair. He was taking an interest in the unhappy policy of France, now torn asunder by the factions of Bur-

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I.

the religious world, it required a mighty impulse to shake their usurpation. Nothing could have been better devised for this purpose, than the flames of martyrdom. It was the master-piece of human cruelty; and its abettors thought, it was the ne plus ultra of policy, and the most effectual prohibition. But in following their blind counsels, they were laying the sure ground for their own overthrow; and a firm foundation for the establishment of truth! What could speak more powerfully to the breasts of men, than such inhuman exhibitions? What could be better calculated to awaken the most benighted—arouse the most indolent, and rivet the attention of the most careless? And such were the effects. As to the martyrs themselves we need not speak. Their sufferings were great—but their happiness and reward, are eternal; and, during the short time of their persecution, they enjoyed more solid satisfaction, than their persecutors did, in their whole lives. But to return.

Progress of  
the social sys-  
tem.

In reviewing the multiplied disorders of this reign we shall find that the frame work of Society was established. The Country underwent a purgation, similar to that it experienced, under William I. The proud, restless and barbarous spirits of the age were humbled or extirpated. The feudal barrier was invaded. The middle and independent class of society grew more vigorous and powerful. Through the flattering indulgence of the King, the house of Commons, on which he

SECTION II.  
CHAP. I.

so much relied for the validity of his title, rose to an authority to which it had never before attained. He even allowed them to appoint officers to watch over the expenditure of their subsidies. They proposed and carried into effect, the most wholesome measures, and even went so far, at this early period, as to suggest the propriety of curtailing the revenues of the Church. But the Clergy had gained the ear of the Monarch; and his former promises, urged on by their arts and his own superstitious feelings, led him to endeavour by a variety of acts, in favour of the Church, to remove from his conscience, its awakening alarms. He even united with them, as we have seen, in the persecution to the death, and so, indeed, did the Parliament, of the disciples of Christianity. The proposal of the Commons was therefore, rejected, but it serves to shew, to what extent the eyes of the community were open, at that time, to the glaring enormities of the Ecclesiastical body.

The latter end of this reign was tranquil and well conducted. Henry was inflexible in Justice, and impartial in its administration. He was wise and prudent in his schemes for aggrandising his Country. He engaged in the adjustment of the cause between the two contending Popes, the end of which was, the rejection of both; and the election of Alexander V. to the Papal chair. He was taking an interest in the unhappy policy of France, now torn asunder by the factions of Bur-

SECTION gundy and Orleans. He was even indulging

II. thoughts of the Crusades!

CHAP. I.

The King's death. But in the midst of his foreign designs he was surprised by death. His summons was sudden

and unexpected. He was seized with apoplexy whilst offering up his prayers before St. Edmund's Shrine; and died within the precincts of Westminster. Whilst the lamp of life was lingering in its socket, he employed the lingering moments in giving his last injunctions to his Son. He exhorted him to administer the law with impartiality, to succour the distressed, and to beware of flatterers, with many other sage observations respecting government.

His Character.

Henry IV. was, certainly, admirably adapted for the situation to which he was unexpectedly raised. He made the best, of the worst materials. He was prudent in counsel and prompt in execution. He was the same man, both in prosperity and adversity. He was courteous and affable; and by his familiarity, won the humbler classes of his subjects. I do not upbraid his character with cruelty.—All his acts were rendered necessary, to sustain the course he had entered upon.—His severity was not from choice, but necessity. He died young, at the age of forty-seven; but he was old, in experience. He was one of those men who gain wisdom from their former errors: and certainly, the latter end of his life exhibits a great degree of moral, I wish I could say, Christian virtue.

## SECTION II. CHAPTER II.

HENRY V.—THE CONQUEST OF FRANCE: STRUGGLES OF  
PROTESTANTISM.

WE are now about to enter upon a celebrated portion of our history.—The period it embraces is brief, but the reign of Henry V. is pre-eminent in martial achievement and national triumphs, and has always been the boast and pride of Englishmen.

So great was the confidence, and such, the submission inspired into the people, by the distinguished abilities of Henry, that all ranks of people were anxious to swear allegiance to his person, even before coronation. This unanimity of mind and feeling, predicted a vigorous reign. The body politic was animated with one soul, and hence it was likely, that its motions would be uniform and powerful. The coronation was solemnized on the ninth of April. His words and actions were manly, wise, and prudent. He seemed to enter upon the

SECTION

II.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1412  
Henry V.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II.  
functions of his high dignity with more than mortal energy ; and raised the hopes of his admiring subjects to the highest pitch. He dismissed the flatterers of his youthful follies—regulated the judicial proceedings—removed incompetent and corrupt officers—endeavoured by proclamation, to instil some moral vigour into the mind of the community, and sat every day, for a certain period, to hear the petitions of the people. Before he attended to the funeral obsequies of his father, he endeavoured to make some reparation to the memory of the unfortunate Richard, by removing his body, which had been meanly interred at Langley, with great solemnity, to Westminster.

He went further, and in compliance with the superstitious and unhallowed notions of the time, sent to Rome for absolution, from the crime of his death. A strong proof to us, of the immense power the Papal throne exercised over its subjects, when such a strong mind as that of Henry's was thus powerfully induced to yield to its influence.

Persecution  
of the Lollards.

Scarcely had Arundel the Archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony of the Coronation, than he entered with fiery zeal on the *duty* of persecuting the Lollards, or protestants of the day. By his influence, another of those hateful engines of arbitrary power, a commission, was issued to enquire into the character and extent of heretical opinions. The report of the enquiry was, that the doctrines of Wicliff had spread to

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II.  
a most alarming extent through the country ; and especially at Oxford, where the students had imbibed them with enthusiasm. A Synod or Convocation was assembled at St. Paul's, to receive the report of the commissioners ; and when it was delivered, the whole assembly was thrown into consternation. In looking round for a victim by whose destruction, they might strike a salutary terror into the minds of the heretics ; and put a timely check to their pernicious doctrines—the eyes of all were fixed upon Cobham, a nobleman of high birth, and distinguished abilities, both as a statesman and a soldier. He was most obnoxious to the hierarchy, for the unwearied zeal with which he propagated the simple doctrines of Christianity ; his example was considered most dangerous, and, if unchecked, most fatal to the interests of the Papal church. But Lord Cobham stood high in the favour of the young King, and to accomplish his fall was acknowledged to be a difficult enterprise. But it was effected by the artifice and management of Arundel. The King undertook to use his influence with Lord Cobham, and to endeavour to reclaim his misguided servant, but failing to accomplish his purpose, he gave him up to the will of his enemies. Lord Cobham's answer to the King, from its true Protestant spirit, is worthy to be recorded.—“ You, I am always most ready to obey, because you are ‘ God's Minister ’ and bear the sword for the punishment of evil

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. II.

doers. But as to the POPE and his spiritual dominion, I owe them no obedience, nor will I pay them any; for as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, the *Pope of Rome* is the great ANTICHRIST, foretold in Holy writ, the 'Son of Perdition,' the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the Holy place." This noble declaration should be engraven upon the hearts of our children to all generations.

Lord Cobham  
brought to  
trial.

Arundel, supported by the sovereign power, issued a citation for Cobham to appear before him, which refusing to do, he was excommunicated.—He was however, at length, obliged to appear, and after a long and vexatious trial, in which he evinced much of the wisdom and spirit of Christianity, he was condemned. "The day" said Arundel, "passes away fast, you must come to a conclusion.—You must either submit to the ordinances of the church, or abide the dangerous consequences." To which Cobham replied.—"My faith is fixed. Do with me what you please." The Primate without further delay, "judged and pronounced Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham to be an incorrigible, pernicious and detestable heretic," and having condemned him, he was delivered to the secular jurisdiction for the execution of the sentence.\*

The day which passed over the heads of that assembly, has left a melancholy record of their deli-

\* Rymer vol. ix, p. 61. Fox p. 642.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. II.

berations. It has passed away—but the record remains, a stain upon their memory on earth and an accusing witness against them in Heaven; and observe this remarkable fact.—The Archbishop who presided on that occasion was destined, in a shorter interval than his victim, to appear before the tribunal of PERFECT JUSTICE AND UNERRING WISDOM. He died on the twentieth of February, of an inflammation of the tongue, with which, it is said, he was seized at the moment of pronouncing sentence upon Lord Cobham. Be that as it may, his death was sufficiently striking to draw the following remarks from Bishop Goodwin: "He who had withheld from the people, the word of God, the food of the soul, by the just judgment of God, had his throat so closed, that he could not speak a single word, nor swallow meat nor drink, and was thus starved to death.\*" His death caused some disorder in the councils of the persecutors, and Lord Cobham contrived means to escape from his confinement in the tower. He fled into Wales, and for the space of four years, eluded the malice and vigilance of his enemies.

Happily, in the midst of the darkness and ignorance of the times, and the enormities of the Papal church, Christianity was gaining for itself a throne in the hearts of thousands. The writings of Wicliff, like a lamp in a dark place, shot an enlivening ray throughout the land, and many

\* Ency. Brit. in loc.

SECTION II. there were, who hailed the light and rejoiced in it. No stronger proof can be given of the very general bias in favour of the doctrine of the gospel as inculcated by Wicliff, than the circumstance, that when the King had fixed a great price on the head of Lord Cobham, no person could be found to betray him.

Origin of the  
War with  
France.

But whilst the rulers of the Papal church were thus persecuting Christianity to the death, the instability of their own usurpation was manifest; whilst God was designing, for the present, to put a stop to their deadly persecutions. The Commons brought in a bill to put down the Monasteries, and to reform, generally, the intolerable abuses of the ecclesiastical body. This bold enactment filled the whole Hierarchy with alarm and resentment. To use the words of the historian\* which are sufficiently expressive. "This bill caused the Abbots to sweat, the proud Priors to frown, the poor Friars to curse; the foolish Nuns to weep, and all her merchants to fear, lest *Babel* should sink." The bill, however, was not fully carried into effect, yet one hundred and ten monasteries were suppressed and their temporalities given to the King. But the measure of their iniquities was not yet filled up. Neither the rulers, nor people, were qualified to reform; and the King is diverted from further enquiry by a nobler prey, in pursuing which, he was destined to become the scourge

\* Hall. Hist.

of France, already distracted as we have seen, SECTION II. with the factions of Orleans and Burgundy.

Archbishop Critchley had succeeded Arundel in the see of Canterbury, and was equally conspicuous for his talents and intolerance. He foresaw the evil effects likely to result to his own order from such proceedings in Parliament; and by a bold and inhuman stroke of policy, determined to put a stop to them for the present. He began by rousing the martial spirit of the King, and turning his thoughts to the ambition of empire and the glory of war; and in a set speech in Parliament, reminded him of his unquestionable right to the throne of France, which had descended to him from his illustrious ancestor, Edward III. The scheme succeeded, the breast of Henry was fired with the prospect thus opened before him, and in his desire to accomplish it, every thing of a domestic and humbler character was forgotten.

The Archbishop's motives were politic; but, in every respect, degrading to humanity; but in his blind desire to save the apostate church, he was rousing the vice-gerent of heaven, to accomplish its mighty purposes against the whole kingdom of France. The King's motives were equally corrupt, but of a different character to those of the Prelate; they were not so degrading, yet were they equally at variance with truth and rectitude. Such was the origin of the celebrated French war under Henry V! In pursuing its details, we

SECTION shall find nothing gained by England, except  
II.  
CHAP. II.  
 martial glory, inasmuch as all the territory acquired, was so soon to be relinquished, and the English themselves to be expelled from the soil of France. But we shall perceive the fearful chastisement to which that unhappy country was exposed, already torn to pieces with internal dissensions, and daily massacres; and he who discerns not the inflicting HAND, must be inaccessible to the demonstrative evidence of circumstances.

French folly  
 hastens the  
 war.

As the war itself was founded in injustice, so it was carried on, under its influence. An embassy was sent to France, and instructed to make such exorbitant demands as it was well known, could not be admitted. A second embassy was dispatched with a similar message; but it is difficult to say, where these negotiations might have ended, had they been left to their own course. But rash impertinence set the whole into a flame. The Dauphin of France, in ridicule of the preposterous demands of the ambassadors, sent their master, a present of a ton of tennis balls, intimating, that such playthings were better suited to his habits, than the laborious exercise of arms. This was enough. Immediate preparations were made for war, which the French endeavoured by negotiation to avert; but which, by their insolence and levity, they only hastened and aggravated.

The place of rendezvous for the English army was Southampton, but on the last day of July,

when all was ready for embarkation, a dangerous SECTION  
II.  
CHAP. II.  
 conspiracy was discovered in the English army. The persons engaged in this nefarious transaction, were Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Scroop lord treasurer, and Sir Thomas Grey a privy counsellor, they had agreed with the French ambassadors for the sake of "all corrupting gold," to attempt the crown and life of their Prince. The bribe was said to be a million of gold. Their design was defeated and turned to their own ruin; but the attempt itself, covers all parties with the deepest infamy.

At length, on the thirteenth of July, the armament reached the coast of France, near Harfleur, where like William of Normandy, leaping on shore, the King bowed the knee in token of submission to the throne of Heaven; and sought his favour, in aid of the enterprize, which he had prevailed upon himself to believe, legitimate. I mention this circumstance, not as a proof of his piety,—for I can see no justice in the undertaking, but as another testimony, that all *great* minds, and especially those, who have been signal instruments in carrying on human affairs, from the times of Cyrus and Alexander, have manifested this peculiar disposition of mind.

Henry sails  
 for France.

Harfleur was the first point of attack, and was taken after great waste of human life, and colonized from England. The season being now far advanced, the King prepares to conduct his army

His celebrated  
 retreat.

SECTION II. into winter quarters. Calais was the point to which he intended to go; and lest it should seem beneath the dignity of a conqueror to go by sea, which would have been perfectly safe, he determined to brave all hazards, and to make his way by land; little thinking, that he was about to conduct one of the most perilous enterprizes ever undertaken—not excepting the retreat of the ten thousand—to achieve one of the greatest of victories, and to bring on the French nation the most disastrous calamities. His little band consisting of about fifteen thousand men, no sooner moved from Harfleur, than they found themselves in the midst of almost insupportable difficulties. The enemy had cut down the bridges, blocked up the roads, rendered the fords impassable, by driving down sharpened stakes, removed all provision from the line of their march, rendered every step of advance desperate, by well concealed ambuscades; and harrassed the rear with incessant skirmishes. In short, by the vigilance and activity of the French, Henry and his whole army were reduced to the greatest straits; and were under the necessity of feeding on the nuts and roots, afforded them by the woods and fields. But nothing daunted, Henry had arrived at Virron, with the design of passing the Somme, at Blanchetaque; but finding it too strongly fortified, he marched by Vormes and pitched his camp at Beileu, intending to cross the river at Port de Remi;

SECTION II. but this pass being, also, too well secured, he conducted his march along the banks of the river Hargest. The French army under the command of Albert, constable of France, followed his movements along the opposite bank. Henry still intending to pass the Somme, resolved to attempt it at its very mouth, and passing by Amiens, Bowes, and Corbue, he ascertained by his spies, the possibility of accomplishing the passage at Saint Quintin's. He did accomplish it, but with his little army so overcome with fatigue, sickness and famine, that his men were more fitted to enjoy the comforts and asylum of a hospital, than the labours of warfare.—But after the passage of the Somme they were far from finding rest. They were constantly harrassed by the enemy.—Their days were spent in unheard-of toil—their nights in watchfulness. Their lodgings were cold and wet—their provisions scanty and miserable. Such indeed were their privations and dangers, that their high-spirited leader was ready to have bargained for their safety, by the restitution of Harfleur. And it may be here remarked—let the remark have what weight it may—that his inflexible piety was the means of saving his army. He strictly forbade the pillaging of churches and religious houses; and for a breach of this order, one of his soldiers was put to death. The country people were so affected with this forbearance, that in spite of the strictest commands to the contrary,

His regard  
for religion.

SECTION II. CHAP. II. they shared their scanty morsel with Henry's soldiers ! By this means he was enabled to pursue his way through every difficulty ; till at length, about October, he came in view of the French army drawn up in order of battle, and in such a position, that it was impossible for him to avoid an engagement. Like the worthy descendant of Edward III. he prepared for the event. He threw himself from his horse, and commanding all his men to imitate his example, the whole army kneeling on the earth, with uplifted hands and eyes, implored the divine assistance.

Passing ob-  
servation on  
Hume.

It is difficult to say upon what grounds, the historian Hume has omitted such particulars as these. His, is a melancholy page: a cold and cheerless field of inquiry: a wilderness of human error, without those oases of verdure which elevate our hopes, and solace our desponding hearts. Surely, the philosopher could not think it degrading, to offer worship to the Omnipotent. If he did, such philosophy, by the consent of all, should for ever, be banished from the society of intelligent beings. If there be any thing noble, any thing elevated in the human mind, it must be inspired in the moments of its approach to the Supreme Being; or, if there be any privilege in man's superiority, it must mainly consist, in his ability to adore the hand by which he exists, and by whose power he has been distinguished.

SECTION II. CHAP. II. Henry, as we have seen, was now in sight of the French army, one hundred and forty thousand strong, whilst his own troops did not muster more than ten thousand effective men. To all human calculation, his destruction was inevitable; and the confidence of the French was so great, that they could not refrain from the most insolent manifestations of it. They repeatedly sent taunting messages to Henry, one of which was, to ask the sum which he intended to propose for his ransom. But he was silent, treated their ambassadors with the greatest generosity, sent them back with magnificent presents, and returned such answers, as discovered the unruffled composure of his breast.

Battle of  
Agincourt.

The day fixed for the battle was now approaching ; and the manner in which the preceding night was spent, by the two armies, will sufficiently discover the mind and temper of each. The French were occupied in all kinds of rejoicing and excess. The English were engaged in watching, in prayer, and in mutual exhortations to valour. The King was employed with his officers in arranging the order of battle ; and the morning dawn beheld every man at his post, awaiting in breathless silence, the issue of the important day.

The point of approach to the French army was chosen between two woods, which served to protect their flanks. The archers, defended by a moveable barrier of sharpened stakes six feet long,

SECTION were disposed with great art, as wings to the main body. A company of bowmen of extraordinary strength and agility, were posted in a low ground, as an ambuscade, and defended by a deep ditch filled with water. In the woods, which we have said covered the approach, were concealed a strong body of horse, which were ordered to wait the most favourable opportunity, and attack the enemy when the battle became general. The van was commanded by the Duke of York, supported by the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope. The main body was led by Henry himself, in complete armour, his helm surmounted with a crown of gold, of dazzling brightness, and his shield was quartered with the arms of France and England. His horse, of high spirit, was richly caparisoned, and his trappings embroidered with the victorious emblems of the English monarchy; whilst before him, was borne in gold and splendid colours, the standard of England, with innumerable banners of every order. Thus arrayed, and whilst waiting the attack of the enemy, the immortal hero, thus addressed his ardent band.

"You are now entering," he said, "the glorious field of honour, which by your valour may become more renowned than even the fields of Cressy and Poitiers. For my part, England shall never be charged with my ransom, nor any Frenchman triumph over her King.—Death or Victory shall be my portion, as I expect it will

II.  
CHAP. II.

be yours. I am persuaded by your very appearance that, future ages will stand amazed to find what the lance, the battle-axe, the sword, and the bow can perform in the hands of such valiant men.—But although these are the mighty weapons, by which we are to reap the harvest of this day—yet I rely upon OMNIPOTENCE for victory; and it is a remarkable coincidence in divine Providence, that our enemies have offered us battle on the very day, appointed in England, for the people to implore a blessing on our arms: so that in the moment of conflict, the whole English nation will be lifting up their hands and eyes to Heaven for our success." With such words he encouraged his soldiers to the desperate encounter which was so soon to follow.

In the mean time, the French were advancing in three lines. The first was led by the Constable of France, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and several others of the chief nobility. The second line was commanded by the Duke de Berri, and the Earls Alençon and Nevers. The third, by the Duke of Brabant, and the Earls of Marle, Fauquenberge and Monsieur de Lormy. The right wing was led by Arthur Earl of Rechmont; and the left, by Lewis de Bourbon; whilst the whole army was crowded with the most illustrious names of France.

The ardour of the English was at length so great as scarcely to be restrained, Henry however

SECTION  
II.  
CHAP. II.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. delayed, in hopes that the French would begin the charge. But when he saw them halt, and not wishing to damp the courage of his troops, he gave the word of advance with a loud voice.—“Since our enemies have intercepted our way to Calais—let us make our way through their ranks in the name of the Glorious Trinity, and on the most propitious day of the year.” He then alighted from his horse, to share the equal dangers of the day. The army now advanced, preceded by Sir Thomas Erpington, who gave the signal for the attack by throwing his truncheon into the air. The clouds were rent with the acclamations of the soldiers. The archers in the wings, advanced and began the fight, making dreadful execution with their yard-long arrows. Against these, a select body of French cavalry were ordered to advance; but they were so dreadfully galled by the incessant showers of darts, that the attack became disordered.—One rank crowded upon another, and the confusion was greatly aggravated by the narrowness of the pass. Instead of a regular and well-compacted phalanx, the French horse exhibited an indescribable meleè of men and horses. The van was impelled forward, by the mechanical force of the mass behind, and the archers retired within their moveable spikes, upon which the impaled horses of the French, offered a frightful barrier to their advancing cavalry. During the whole of this time, the two hundred bowmen in ambush,

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. performed deeds of death upon the crowded ranks of their foes. The moment the French cavalry reached the spikes of the archers, was critical, and a black tempest of arrows overwhelmed them with destruction. Such as escaped the havoc at this point, in utter despair, fell back with such force and precipitation, that they disordered the main line of the first division which was advancing behind them. The archers, thus perceiving their ranks exposed, threw away their bows and with great courage, rushed forward with sword and battle-axe. The French stood their ground as well as their broken lines would permit, and sustained a dreadful carnage. The archers retired as if for a breathing time, and then, with redoubled vigour returning to the charge, the attack proved irresistible, and the enemy fled.

Henry was now advancing at the head of his main body, to attack the second line of the French, which firmly awaited the charge. Henry acted the part of a General and a common soldier, and everywhere exposed himself to danger. He soon rendered himself conspicuous, and eighteen French noblemen combined to destroy him, or perish in the attempt. They made a furious attack upon his guard; and charged so near, that one of them with a battle-axe, struck him on the crest,—But their courage was exerted in vain: they were immediately repulsed, and paid for their bold enterprize with the loss of their lives. In the defence

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II.

of the King's life the valiant David Gamm, the Welsh chieftain, greatly signalized himself, and was at length mortally wounded, together with two of his relatives. The loss of these brave men was the subject of great grief to the King; and in the midst of the battle, whilst they lay expiring on the ground, he found time to confer on them the honor of knighthood, the only acknowledgment he could then bestow, of the regard he entertained for their services. Still the battle raged, and the Duke of Gloucester was struck down with a battle axe: the King stood over the fallen body, defended him, and saved his life. But whilst he was thus engaged he received such a severe blow on the head, that it brought him on one knee, whilst two gentlemen, in armour similar to his own, were slain at his side. The English, encouraged by the example of their leader, pushed on with such fury, that at length they broke through the French battalions, whose horses pierced by the archers, had become ungovernable. At this critical juncture, the English cavalry which had been stationed in the woods, rushed on the rear of the disordered foe. This decided the conflict, and the French General, Alençon perceiving all was lost, and determining not to survive the fatal day, advanced into the thickest of the fight, calling for Henry, and crying out that he was Alençon. Nor long. The two leaders were now in sight of each other; Alençon

The Battle  
rages.

rushed forward, and with a furious blow of his battle axe, cut off part of the crown, which formed the crest of Henry's helmet. This ferocious attack so roused the spirit of the English lion, that his uplifted arm was nerved with redoubled might, and the falling axe laid his noble antagonist in the dust. Henry would fain have spared his life, but his enraged followers were deaf to his commands.

By the foresight and intrepidity of the English, two armies had now been routed; but there stood a third behind them still untouched, which might have joined an equal contest. But fear now performed as much as the sword, and without waiting for the attack, they fled with precipitation. The English were victorious, but surrounded with imminent dangers. They who fled, were more in number than the victors: they who were prisoners, out-numbered their guards. The enemy also were seen rallying on an adjacent rising ground. Henry sent them a threatening and peremptory message, that if they did not disperse he would shew them no mercy. They were overawed and retired. But unfortunately for the French prisoners, some of their troops which had fled at the first onset, cowardly attacked the English camp which was feebly guarded, pillaged the tents and baggage, and carried off the King's crown, together with immense spoil. The noise and clamour of the assailants, in the rear—the approach

SECTION II.

CHAP. II.

Death of the  
French Leader.

SECTION II. CHAP. II. of night, and the vast number of the prisoners made it necessary, inasmuch as they were apprehensive of a general attack, to issue orders for a massacre of the prisoners, whilst the English although fatigued and harrassed, bravely prepared for a renewed fight. But all was soon quiet. The plunderers having effected their purpose, retired.

Piety of the King.

This sudden alarm was soon changed into joy, when they found themselves undisputed masters of such a field, and the King was so convinced of a superior cause that he returned solemn thanks to God, at the head of his army. He directed the hundred and fifteenth Psalm to be sung, and at the words "Not unto us O Lord, not unto us," he commanded all his army to prostrate themselves on the ground, in token of their humility. After this, in presence of his nobility and the French Heralds, who had been sent to obtain leave to bury their dead—he declared that it was not his own, but an UNSEEN hand that had gained the victory; and that the carnage they had that day seen, was intended as a DIVINE infliction upon the French nation. The King then enquired the name of the nearest castle and being informed that it was Agincourt—then, he replied, "let this field of fight, to all posterity be called the battle of Agincourt."

I have been the more minute in detailing the particulars of this famous battle, because it is so strongly marked, throughout, with the interference

of an Almighty hand. The chief incidents are so miraculous, (it is difficult to use any other word) that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them. They must be abundantly manifest to the most superficial reader. There was little in the result of the contest for the advantage of England, and the whole, no doubt, belongs to the history of France. The victory was not followed up; and the King after remaining a short time at Calais, returned to England.

The triumphant entry of Henry into London, was of the most imposing character. He was met by the Lord Mayor and Corporation and four hundred Citizens in robes—the streets, were hung with tapestry, on which were depicted the exploits of the Kings of England. He heard Psalms and Hymns every where sung, in praise of his victory. But with the same profound humility as before, he refused his own praise, and attributed all to God. From the same feeling he would not permit his dinted helmet and battered armour, to be carried before him in the procession, alleging, that it would be too vain an affectation of glory. At St. Paul's he alighted from his horse, and made a solemn thanksgiving-offering for his safe return; and in order that all his subjects might unite with him in this grateful exercise, he appointed a day, for a general thanksgiving throughout his dominions. Such was the awe impressed on the mind of the King, from the conviction, that in the whole of

SECTION II. this matter, he was acting as the signal instrument of heaven.

CHAP. II.

Whence could this impression arise but from a supernatural source? It will not be alleged that it could arise from a weak or distempered mind; nor: can it be considered as a necessary concomitant of the superstition of the times. For previously, there was nothing of this kind manifest in his character. Nor was it the result of contact with persons of a religious or enthusiastic turn of mind. It was learnt in the camp and in the field. It was the result of an influence which amidst affliction, wonders and miracles he was obliged to own, and with which, he was willingly captivated and overcome.

Negotiation attempted.

Soon after the King's return, the Emperor Sigismund at the desire of all Europe, became mediator between the two contending powers. But whilst he was prosecuting his design at the court of London—the aggressions and treachery of the French, compelled him to give it up in disgust, and after entering into alliance with Henry, he returned into Germany. The King now thought of nothing but war, and France was again destined to become the theatre of renewed slaughters, as it still continued to be, of factions and rebellions.

Schism of the Popes.

In the mean time, a deadly contest was carrying on in the professed house of Peace—in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church—the legitimate descendants, forsooth, of those, whom St. Paul

designates as “the beloved of God, called to be Saints\*.” This furious contest was no other than the conflicting claims of three competitors for the triple crown, Benedict XIII. elected by the Spaniards, Gregory XII. by the French, and John IV. by the Italians. To put an end to the animosities and bloodshed attending this struggle, a general council was appointed by the Princes of Europe, to be held at Constance. This assembly was perhaps the most splendid and numerous ever collected together. There were present, the Emperor—the Pope—the Belgrave of the Rhine—three Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals—forty seven Archbishops—one hundred and fifty Bishops—Princes, Barons and Gentlemen, above thirty thousand. The English deputation made a prominent figure, and drew forth the admiration of all, for their learning and splendour†. Mighty was the preparation, and it was but reasonable to suppose, that the results of their deliberations would be in keeping with such pretensions. But alas! this famous assembly was as far distant from the wisdom and spirit of christianity, as they were superior in splendor to the apostolic council of Jerusalem. The secular question (for such it was) was soon decided, by the elevation of Martin IV. to the Papal

Power of the assembly.

\* Epist. Rom. i c. 2 v.

† Bishops of London, Salisbury, Lichfield and Coventry, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Hereford, St. David's, accompanied by the Earl of Warwick

SECTION chair. A decision of itself, destructive of the doctrine of infallibility. The circumstance of three contending and contradicting Infallibles, is impossible; and still more, if more can be admitted, when a fourth, who before had no pretensions to it, is elected to their exclusion.

Weakness of the Synod. From the decision of this question wherein the assembly shewed its strength, they proceeded to dispose of others, wherein they discovered their weakness. The books of the immortal Wicliff were decreed to contain heretical doctrines; and ordered to be burnt. John Huss and Jerome of Prague, men of eminent learning and piety, were committed to the flames of martyrdom, and to crown the united wisdom of the thirty thousand, Bridget, the holy maid, was canonized! It is impossible, for the words of the historian were he to fill folio after folio, to paint in more striking colours the character of that day. These facts embody the very image of the times, and fill the picture with striking contrasts of light and shade. But the darkness prevails. It is like one of Martin's midnight scenes—deep—gloomy and full of terrific objects; but without that gratifying sublimity which always triumphs, in the delineations of nature.

Uses to be made of such events.

If any thing can cure us of our prejudices, or diminish the obstinacy with which we cleave to our preconceived opinions, it must be, such exhibitions as those presented to us in the council of

Constance! No man can boast entire exemption from prepossessions. They are inspired by the institutions of our country—by received customs, by current opinions, and by parental authority. Every division of the globe, every country, every religious sect, every class of society, has prejudices peculiar to itself. These prejudices have a tendency to contract the mind, blunt the feelings, and obscure the understanding. Every page of history corroborates this truth, and furnishes examples of its malignant effects. But the details of history have a tendency to remedy the influence of this universal disorder. History extends our views and enlarges our ideas of men and things, extinguishes the pride of our own superiority, opens our minds to candour—induces a liberality of sentiment and a correctness of judgment, with which the spirit of intolerance and persecution is incompatible.

But Christianity, which teaches on a sublimer scale, and embraces in its system all that is grand in philosophy, and all that is splendid in morals; which unites every principle and every sentiment in the bond of charity, was at this period, in England, enduring a similar outrage to that which we have been considering. Lord Cobham, who after his condemnation had escaped from the Tower, was at length retaken, and again brought before the blood-stained tribunal. Many fresh complaints were urged against him, particularly

Lord Cobham suffered martyrdom.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. that of defacing the pictures in the mass book! an indignity it was solemnly urged, against the Saints in Heaven! Our self-love would tempt us to hope, that such inconceivable blindness and intolerance do not belong to the human family generally, but are peculiarly the offspring of Popery. But alas! they are indigenous in our nature. Popery was only a prolific soil for their nourishment and growth. The storm against Lord Cobham was cruel in the extreme; and as it was the first noble blood shed in England, for entertaining sentiments in opposition to the Roman church, so was his death pre-eminent in cruelty. He was suspended in chains; and in this manner burnt alive.

*Oh cursed lust of power! that would coerce  
The very THOUGHT;*

*And to glut its impious appetite—*

*Demand the blood of MAN.—*

Second expedition into France.

In the mean time, Henry had embarked a second time for France, and landed at Harfleur, at the head of a valiant and well-provisioned army. He was here met by Cardinal des Ursins, who attempted to incline him towards peace. But the King replied to him in the following remarkable terms as recorded by Hume. "Do you not see said he, that God has led me hither, as by the hand? France has no sovereign. I have just pretensions to that kingdom. Every thing here is in the utmost confusion, no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof, that

the Being who disposes of Empires has determined to place the crown of France upon my head!" These words require no comment. The King proceeded at once to active warfare. Nothing could stay his progress, and throughout the Winter, he advanced from conquest to conquest. In order to proceed more rapidly with the subjugation of Normandy, he resolved upon the reduction of Rouen, its capital, a place of extraordinary strength and the deposit of immense riches. It was a dreadful resolution, and by the obstinacy and resistance of the inhabitants, they brought upon themselves the most unheard of calamities. The King's intention was not to destroy, but to reduce the city, which he designed to accomplish by a strict blockade. This was so effectual that they were reduced to the greatest extremities—they fed on horses, and every kind of inferior animals, and even killed one another for the purpose of sustaining life: and it was not, till thirty thousand had perished by famine, that they consented to send commissioners to treat for peace. Henry at first stood on peremptory terms, but as all truly brave men, temper severity with mercy, the King commiserating their sufferings accepted their submission, and secured to them the full enjoyment of all their ancient privileges and immunities.

The day after the capitulation, Henry entered Rouen in great pomp as its sovereign. He held his court there as Duke of Normandy, and regu-

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II.

Rouen taken.

SECTION II. CHAP. II. lated the internal affairs of the kingdom. Nor did he stay long, but hastened to pass the frontiers of France; and though the power of that kingdom was roused against him, yet he quickly penetrated to Alberil and St. Valiere. The French court had now recourse to negociation, and Melun was appointed as the place of meeting between the Kings of France and England. On the day appointed, attended with splendid trains they met. But the splendour of the French pavilion was greatly increased by the presence of the Queen and her accomplished daughter, Catharine. Henry had before been captivated by the reported charms of Catharine; and the Queen, who was deeply skilled in the arts of intrigue, presently saw how much his prepossessions were increased by the sight of those charms. She attempted by the sudden removal of the object to inflame his desire, in order to obtain less rigorous demands: but the King saw through her design; and was more confirmed in his resolution to stand firm. Throughout the whole of this conference and its interruption, the French were only endeavouring to create delay. They deceived: they perplexed every thing; and whilst offering peace with one hand, they were preparing for war, with the other. The Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy who had been engaged in deadly opposition, unite in firm alliance, and all parties resolve for a time to hush their common feuds, and to unite their strength

in resisting the enemy of their country. The path they took was not for their honour. SECTION II. CHAP. II.

When Henry became acquainted with their design and intentions, he was roused to great resentment, and hastened to unsheath his sword.—Poitiers soon fell into his hands. This opened his way to Paris, which he took by surprise. The sword was every where awake, and busied in slaughter. The Duke of Clarence lay before Paris. The King himself was engaged in the Isle of France. The Duke of Gloucester was storming Saint Germaine. The Earls Marshall and Huntingdon were in the county of Mayne; and they were all, at the same time, victorious. The French nation was now in the most deplorable condition. Their capital taken:—their country threatened with destruction by a victorious enemy, and torn in pieces with internal dissensions, and irreconcilable hatreds.

The reconciliation of the Dauphin and Burgundy was wholly in appearance: but such as it was, and brief as it was, it laid the foundation for the overthrow of France! The Dauphin viewed Burgundy as the real enemy of France, and considered his death, as the only event that could heal the disorders of his country. The impious thought once admitted, became predominant; and led to its accomplishment.—The Duke of Burgundy was assassinated, when invited to meet the Dauphin, under the pretence of a conference.

## SECTION

II.  
CHAP. II.

In his untimely end, we are called to observe the judicial appointment of heaven. By his hand the Duke of Orleans, twelve years before, had been assassinated in the streets of Paris, which had given rise to a long series of evils. He himself now met with a retributory fate, which in like manner gave birth to increased calamities. The animosity of faction and the miseries of France, were increased in a ten-fold degree. The Queen herself resented the murder; and excited the young Duke to revenge his Father's death; and by every art, endeavoured to accomplish the ruin of her own son, the Dauphin. But this was not to happen. That son was the Alfred of France, and destined, when all its hopes were lost, to be her restorer.

Treaty entered into with Henry.

Through the influence of the Queen and the resentment of the Duke of Burgundy, a treaty was entered into with Henry, now advanced into the very bowels of France. The conditions were more ample and honourable than he contemplated. But they were dictated by unnatural affection, ambition and revenge! The Dauphin was to be excluded from the throne of his ancestors—the Queen's daughter was to be united in marriage with Henry—the Regency of France was to be conferred upon him; and on the death of the French King, the crown itself was to descend to him. There could be no hesitation in accepting such proposals. The nuptials between Henry and Catharine were celebrated with extraordinary

## SECTION

II.  
CHAP. II.

pomp and magnificence. The French nobility swore allegiance, and, in every respect he was considered as the RULER OF FRANCE.

But the Dauphin was yet in arms; and it was concluded that no time should be lost in his subjugation. One place after another was taken from him; and Henry sat down before the important city of Melun. The most vigorous assaults were made upon the town to no purpose; and the King at last ordered the walls to be undermined. The besieged, countermined. At one time a mine having been effected, the King himself entered first, with his drawn sword. On the side of the besieged, the foremost man was the Duke De Barbasan. These two met, and for some time sustained a furious contest—At length De Barbasan, disclosed his name, and Henry, announced his. The French Governor immediately retired, and ordered the barricades to be closed. Melun was afterwards taken, and pardon secured to all but the murderers of the Duke of Burgundy. Barbasan, as it is said, was saved, according to the laws of chivalry, by pleading his single combat with Henry. But this is a digression.

On his return to Paris, Henry, as Regent of France, assumed its proper authority in appointing and displacing of officers—redressing grievances and reforming abuses. He even caused a new coin to be stamped, to declare the union of the

Henry assumes Sovereign power.

SECTION two countries, in the reverse of which, were  
 II. quartered the arms of France and England.

CHAP. II.

The King's  
 wise and vigo-  
 rous conduct at  
 home.

Henry having disposed of the affairs of France,  
 as well as circumstances permitted, and having  
 appointed the Duke of Clarence his Lieutenant,  
 he arrived in England with his Queen, who shortly  
 after, was crowned. The King in person, visited  
 a great part of the kingdom, and redressed every  
 kind of abuse, with a judgment, for which he has  
 been justly celebrated. He also gave the death-  
 blow to the appointment to vacant, Bishopricks,  
 by the Pope. It is of importance to observe this  
 fact, because it tends to shew that this power which  
 had been exercised by the Pope, was considered a  
 usurpation. After thus vigorously ordering the  
 internal affairs of his own country, he was again  
 called to France. During his absence, the Scotch  
 had sent assistance to the Dauphin, and in a des-  
 perate engagement, the Duke of Clarence was  
 slain by the Duke of Buchan. Henry on his  
 arrival, carried every thing before him; and during  
 the siege of Meaux he had the satisfaction of  
 hearing of the birth of his Son, whom he named  
 Henry, and it is said, pronounced that he would  
 become unfortunate.

France com-  
 pletely subju-  
 gated.

After the surrender of Meaux nothing could  
 oppose him, and such was the fear inspired by  
 his might, that deputies were sent to him from  
 various places, offering to capitulate within a cer-  
 tain time, if not previously relieved. But there

was none to relieve, and the Dauphin was reduced  
 to the greatest extremities.

SECTION

II.

CHAP. II.

In the midst of his successes he was joined  
 by his Queen, whom he attended to Paris, where  
 they were entertained with the greatest pomp; and  
 where Henry exercised the SOVEREIGN POWER  
 in the fullest and most unequivocal manner.  
 It was now the crisis of this great enterprize.  
 The French murmured, but were overawed: and  
 at length, from the justice and impartiality of his  
 acts, their jealousies were turned into affection.  
 He was hailed, not as the conqueror, but the  
 father and benefactor of France, in which acknow-  
 ledgment, they tacitly admitted the judgments of  
 God to be just and salutary.

From the seat of empire, with great strength  
 and unusual preparation, Henry went out against  
 the Dauphin, determined, at once, to strike a de-  
 cisive blow. But the blow was averted. The  
 great RULER OF EVENTS, who had intended to  
 chastise and humble France, having now accom-  
 plished His purposes, turned aside the fatal stroke.  
 He again restores to France, her own Prince,  
 whom he had shielded from harm; and appoints  
 to the distracted country its regular order of gov-  
 ernment. On the eve of his march, Henry was  
 seized with a fistula, which under the unskilful  
 management of his Physicians soon proved fatal.  
 In vain he attempted to proceed with his army.  
 His strength entirely failed him. He could only

Henry's ill-  
 ness and death.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. issue his commands; and expired on the thirty first of August, leaving his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England.

This event, which was the first of a series of calamities to England, affords a signal example of the instability of all human greatness; and displays the power of an unseen hand, which can curb the spirit of princes, with as much ease, as the feebleness of babes and sucklings. Both are alike in his hand; and Henry whom he had raised up, and adorned with every accomplishment of body and mind, is laid aside in a moment. The goodly fabric is despoiled of its glories, and crumbled into dust. We still admire the ruins: for this magnificent Prince, with scarce a stain upon his character after he ascended the throne, save what the necessity of things imposed upon him, was a noble monument of the power of the Divine Architect.

Reflections  
suggested by  
the History.

Notwithstanding, during his reign, the social system advanced but little. Indeed, its tardy progress through centuries of time, is, in no small degree, confounding. We can perceive by the historic record that it was advancing, but it was by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. The history of all Nations and all times, furnishes us with a like fact in the conduct of human affairs. But a fact so extraordinary, must be supposed to involve some principle, essential to the human character under its present condition. For it is

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. evident that the Author of our being, if he pleased, could in a short time, advance society to its highest elevation of improvement and intellectual attainment. It cannot arise in Him, from want of benevolence to dictate such a course, or a defect of wisdom to conduct it.—We may, therefore presume, that the tardy progress of society is best adapted to the nature of man. We shall find the truth registered in the volume of nature. Those things which are for the enriching of man, and for enabling him to build up and adorn his civil institutions, are precious, and difficult of attainment. When nations begin, *de novo*, they have nothing but their physical powers to rely upon. With great labour and toil, cities and the monuments of society, arise. Labour accumulates property—Property begets the arts and elegancies of life.—Such an advance of society gives birth to leisure; and *operative* leisure, promotes intellectual improvement. Doubtless, the great Architect of the world could have altered this course of things, by placing the materials of advancement, more easily, within the reach of man. Had this been done, in all probability, the system of society would not have existed at all! Man is naturally indolent.—It is the disease of his nature. It is a matter of fact, that in those uncivilized countries, where the means of living are abundant, the tribes who inhabit them, are most indolent, and most degraded. But even should mankind with the materials at

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. hand, have aspired to society, what would have been the result?—Unoccupation and leisure. A state of things utterly inconsistent with the nature of man, and the economy of the Divine Government. Labour is the great check to vicious indulgence; and man is made to labour, against his will. Let us review this astonishing fact as connected with the history of our species, and compare it with the original denouncement on our first parents—"In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread,"—and we shall, at once, be convinced that it is the law of our existence; and in obedience to which, we shall find our greatest happiness.

This slow and progressive improvement, seems also to be best adapted to the genius of man. His moral powers are incapable of sustaining sudden and violent changes. Look at the history of individuals: sudden prosperity elevates—adversity depresses. It is the same with nations. Look at the effect of sudden successes, or sudden revolutions—A nation is intoxicated with joy or phrenzied with madness. To take an example from our own times.—Forty years have now elapsed since the French Revolution, and tranquillity has not yet been restored to that country. During this period, the happiness of millions of Frenchmen has been destroyed; and indeed, the civil happiness of the whole nation. No doubt the hurricane of the Revolution was necessary for the purgation of France, I only adduce the event to shew, that,

SECTION II.  
CHAP. II. sudden and violent changes are, immediately, destructive to human happiness, and that calm and gradual advancement is best adapted, and indeed only adapted to our present state,—so that a nation cannot, at once, mount to the height of eminence, and any precocity of this kind, may be presumed to be short lived and unstable.

In cases of colonization, where the colonists have carried with them, the experience and civilization of a more advanced state, their progress may be facilitated; but to be safe and enduring, it must be gradual.—Too rapid an advance will be likely to end in extravagance of one kind or other, and to hasten a revolution.

Perhaps, America will be adduced to shew the futility of these observations. But in vain. We are aware of the rapid and unprecedented rise of that country, and can have no doubt, but it is intended to become a mighty Empire. But it must be subject to the laws which have governed all nations and all times. It began its progress under peculiar advantages: It had been fostered by this country with great care, and strengthened by the accession of some of her best citizens. At the Era of her independence, she had acquired considerable solidity, and a variety of circumstances at that period, precipitated her career. The tide of her prosperity has not ceased to flow, and she has afforded the fact of a nation, doubling its population and property in thirty years. But what does

SECTION II. all this shew? It shews that a country possessing prodigious natural advantages, and colonizing from highly civilized states, has in a short time made unexampled acquisitions of people and property; and that unceasing activity and industry have been followed by their natural results.

CHAP. II.

But will it shew that, that Nation has gained equal solidity in Government, refinement in social intercourse, or unity of feeling in the community? These queries will be sufficiently answered in the extract\* given below, from an important work lately given to the public. We have no design to decry America. We desire nothing so much as the improvement of our race. But we are searching for great truths; and the history of America and her present state, will be a grand evidence to shew, that slow and gradual advances in improvement are best adapted to the genius of man, and

"Perhaps, on impartial inquiry, it may appear that a country is best governed when the principal authority is vested in a permanent senate. But there seems little probability that such a body could be established here. Let it be proposed by the best men among us, and it would be considered as a plan of aggrandizing themselves. Experience alone can incline the people to such an institution. That a man should be born a legislator, is now, among unfledged wittings, the frequent subject of ridicule. But experience, that wrinkled matron, whom genius contemns, and youth abhors; experience, the mother of wisdom, will tell us, that men destined from the cradle to act an important part, will not in general, be so unfit as those who are objects of popular choice. When a general abuse of the right of election shall have robbed our government of respect, and its imbecility have involved it in difficulties, the people will feel what a friend once said, 'that they want something to protect them, against themselves.'"

SECTION II. essential, indeed, to the principles of his Being, and that where this course is deviated from, it will be attended with danger and peril. It is impossible at this period of the world's existence, to suppose that new principles are to be discovered in the moral powers of man. The same springs of action which have governed him from the beginning must continue to do so.—

CHAP. II.

## SECTION II. CHAPTER III.

HENRY VI.—DELIVERANCE OF FRANCE—THE SCENE OF  
THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS CHANGED TO ENGLAND.

SECTION  
II.

## CHAP. III.

English Re-  
gency.

A. D. 1422.

In the death of Henry V. the principal actor was removed from this scene of the drama; but there were left behind him ardent spirits, fully equal to the great task he had imposed upon them. He had appointed as we have seen his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford, regent of France—a man of consummate ability and romantic valour. His younger brother, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester was Regent of England; and the education of his infant son he had committed to Thomas Duke of Exeter and Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. These men were all admirably fitted for their several appointments, and entered on the discharge of their respective duties, with the utmost devotion. Every thing prospered in their hands; and the affairs of England both at home

and abroad were in the most flourishing condition. But it was the deceitful calm which precedes the storm.

SECTION  
II.  
CHAP. III.

We have already observed that the affairs of France were tending towards a beneficial change; and in reviewing its course, we shall not fail to discover the HAND by which it was conducted. Charles the VII. of France did not survive Henry more than a few days; and his son the Dauphin, like another Alfred, was hunted from one place to another; but his spirit and courage was invincible. The Regent of France, in strict alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, was victorious wherever he turned his arms; and, at the battle of Verneville achieved a second Agincourt.—

The first thing that seemed to shake this prosperous state of affairs in France, was a private quarrel between the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England and the Duke of Burgundy; which, although it was composed through the influence of the Duke of Bedford, yet, as we shall see, drew after it important consequences.

Another event occurred, which although it seemed to arise from a private quarter, was the means of imparting vigour, to the rising destinies of France. This was a contention in England between the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester, tutor to the King. It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of this quarrel, the result of jealousy and ambition. To settle the

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III.  
difference, the Regent of France was obliged to leave the government of this kingdom, which, at that time, from the defection of the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of Rechemont, more than ever required his presence.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was in England, one of the King's tutors, the Earl of Exeter was removed by death—a man of great wisdom and abilities. In his place was appointed Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, who had been left as Lieutenant in France during the Regent's absence, and had rendered singular service to the English cause.

The affairs  
of France hasten  
to a crisis.

The calamities of France were now hastening to a crisis. The Duke of Bedford having established matters in England, returned to France, accompanied by the Bishop of Winchester, who on his arrival in that country, received the habit and dignity of cardinal. On his return home, armed with the authority of a Legantine Bull, he levied great exactions upon the clergy, by which he enriched himself beyond precedent. But to return.

Siege of  
Orleans.

The Earl of Warwick on his appointment in England, was succeeded in France by the Earl of Salisbury—a man second to none, both in the council and the field. In order to strike a decisive blow, he is sent to the siege of Orleans—a place almost impregnable, well garrisoned and well provisioned. The siege of the place was conducted in regular form, for sixty days, and its

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III.  
affairs had become desperate. The Earl to complete the triumph, had resolved upon a general attack; and was making observations for that purpose, at a small grated window, which overlooked the city, when to speak after the manner of men, an accident put an end to his life and his intentions. A *boy* at the moment, was levelling a cannon, the ball from which, struck the casement, and by the splinters it occasioned, he was mortally wounded. The assault, in consequence, did not take place, which in all probability would have succeeded, and proved fatal to the affairs of the Dauphin. The fate of France seems to have been suspended upon this event; apparently as casual, as the death of the King of Israel, who fell by an arrow, which it is said, was drawn at a venture. But another event arose which also assisted. The besieged were reduced to such extremities, that they declared themselves willing to surrender to the Duke of Burgundy. This offer of course, could not be accepted by the Duke of Bedford—but his refusal was secretly resented by the Duke of Burgundy. The siege still continued, when another circumstance arose which had a manifest influence on the whole war.

Orleans was unexpectedly relieved through the influence of a rustic maid; and the Duke of Alençon with a chosen body of troops, forced his way into the town. The maid of Orleans or Joan of Arc, as she is sometimes called, was, no doubt, in-

The Maid of  
Orleans.

SECTION II. Duke of Alençon himself, in the part she was to act. The woman herself was of a romantic turn of mind, and was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and influenced with a vehement desire of avenging the wrongs of her country.— Her first success gave additional inspiration to her mind. She assumed a divine mission: and on this assumption, in language as if divinely inspired, she encouraged her countrymen, and denounced their enemies. The French universally accredited her mission, and their leaders made the best advantage of the enthusiasm which was created by it. She was clothed in complete armour—mounted upon a noble steed—and to complete the effect—she received a consecrated banner from the hands of the Pope himself. The dying hopes of the French were inspired with new vigour. The English affected to despise the pretended mission.— But it had a secret influence and created many a superstitious fear.

Her mission prospers.

The siege of Orleans was raised, not, I dare say, from any dread of the prowess of the *sacred maid*, but from the circumstance of the succours introduced by Alençon. The French attributed the withdrawing of the English to her influence, and a monument to her memory was erected by the grateful citizens. Not a moment of time was to be lost, and the brave Alençon with his heroic prophetess, issued forth to battle and conquest.—

The tide of their good fortune induced many to join their standard, and amongst these, the Constable of France. On a sudden, they attacked the English forces under Lord Talbot, the most celebrated Captain of the age, and after a long contest vanquished them, and took their noble leader captive. This was too striking an advantage to be neglected, and was improved by the coronation of the Dauphin at Rheims.

The Regent now thought it was high time for himself to appear in person. Accordingly, he led his army out of Paris; and by valour and prudence soon checked the prosperous current of their affairs. Their cause was further depressed by the death of the maid of Orleans, who was taken prisoner, and shortly after burnt alive at Rouen. It is impossible not to reprobate such a merciless act.—Oh! thou just and benevolent Being, who rulest over the affairs of men, how abhorrent must such conduct be to thy perfections! The barbarous deed was in keeping with the ignorance of the age.— The unhappy victim was tried by the Bishop of Beauvois, in whose diocese she had been taken prisoner; and condemned for vicious practices in conjunction with her pretended mission. The Duke of Bedford and his council gave their consent on political grounds, inasmuch as her presence inspired the French with enthusiasm: But we will not dwell upon it.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III.

The Dauphin crowned.

The Maid of Orleans taken.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. The Duke of Bedford, not to be behind the French, had the young King of England conducted to Paris; and there solemnly crowned King of France. The English King was entertained with the greatest demonstrations of loyalty and affection; and through the influence of Pope Eugenius a truce was concluded between the contending parties for six years. Shortly after this treaty the young King returned home.

The Duke of Bedford gives offence.

Scarcely had he reached the shores of his own country, when a step was taken by the Duke of Bedford which served to hasten the issue of the pending struggle. On his way to Calais in order to quell a certain insurrection, he found time for other matters, and on his arrival at Turwin, he married the daughter of Peter of Luxembourg Earl of St. Paul—an alliance offensive to the Duke of Burgundy, and which served still further to detach him from the English interest. Meanwhile the calamities of France were greater than can be described. Let the reader conceive to himself, a country without the protection of law—over-run with armies or, rather predatory bands of soldiers—exposed to pillage, robbery—burning and massacre with all their attendant private evils—let him paint every circumstance that can aggravate these evils; and then, his imagination will not furnish him with a picture equal in calamity, to the original.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. At length by the intervention of the heads of Christendom, a negociation was set on foot, and Arras appointed as the place of Rendezvous. It is said to have been one of the most splendid assemblies the age had seen; but their deliberations had proved ineffectual, had it not been for the defection of the Duke of Burgundy from the English alliance. The Dauphin had long seen that the Duke of Burgundy must be won, and he determined if possible to gain him, whilst he himself from a variety of causes, which we have endeavoured to trace, was now ready to break with his English friends. Accordingly, the Dauphin sent him a *Carte blanche*, desiring him to prescribe his own conditions, which he did, both largely and unreasonably.

As the accession of the Duke of Burgundy to the English alliance, by which the French power was divided, had been the means, in a great measure, of English superiority—so his defection, by which that power was again united, became the overthrow of English domination. The energies of France revived and the love of their country, at length overpowered the lust of private revenge.

The Duke of Bedford was the only bulwark of the English cause, the only individual able to stem the torrent of success, which now set in upon the affairs of the Dauphin. But he was not permitted to act. His sword had now been unsheathed for the last time, and was destined to re-

The French unite.  
Death of the Duke of Bedford.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. pose with him in the grave. He died soon after the Duke of Burgundy's defection, and it is asserted, that the anxiety and vexation of the crisis, hastened the event. He was the most accomplished and magnificent Prince of his age. His prudence, courage, and generosity were unequalled, and he left such a reputation behind, that when certain parasites of Louis the eleventh advised that Monarch to demolish his magnificent tomb at Rouen, they received the following answer and rebuke from their Sovereign. "What honor can it be to us or you, to deface this monument; and to disturb the bones of him, who when living, neither my father nor your progenitors, with all their power, were able to resist? Who by his strength, policy, and conduct expelled them out of the kingdom of France and the dukedom of Normandy? As for this tomb, I do not think it worthy of his honor and his deeds."

After the death of the Regent there was some difficulty and delay in choosing a successor. At length the most improper choice was made in the person of the \* Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York, —not only on account of his latent title to the crown of England, but because he was the avowed enemy of the Duke of Somerset, who was then in the government of Normandy. Nothing could have been more infatuated than such a step.—

\* Great grandson of Edward III. by his fifth Son.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. Could the Protector, who was truly alive to the interests of his country, have seen the devastations and bloodshed which would accrue from the ambition of this man—Could the King have foreseen the evils which impended over himself and his family from this source; or, lastly, could the Bishop of Winchester have had a glimpse into his own future history—the Duke of York would have been the last man in the kingdom to have been promoted: but blind to their own real interests, and guided by private feelings, they took a step, contrary to the remonstrances of the Duke of Somerset, which involved them in utter ruin; but which was big with important consequences, and rendered subservient to GREAT DESIGNS.

Before the Duke of York could reach his government, Paris was lost; and all attempts to retake it, were ineffectual. Rouen was now the head-quarters of the English in the North, and Bourdeaux in the South. Nothing was achieved by the new Regent, owing in a great measure, to the disunion that existed in the English councils, both at home and abroad. He was shortly after recalled, and was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick, the whole of whose Regency was a time of perpetual wars and bloodshed, equally injurious to both parties; and, in the midst of his heroic deeds, this great chieftain was removed by death.

The Duke of York, who was busily employed in laying the deep foundations of his future ambi- Duke of York second time, Regent of France.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. tion, had sufficient influence at court, to be appointed a second time, Regent of France. He went with a determination to vindicate his tarnished honour. He had many a sharp encounter with Charles, in which he was generally superior. At length, Charles goaded by despair, and the taunts of his subjects, determined to recover his lost ground. He besieged Pontheirs, near Paris, with great fury, and after much slaughter on both sides, took it by storm, being himself the first man to enter the breach. The fame of this successful exploit served to re-establish his reputation and to promote his good fortune.

In the mean time, another fatal mistake was made in the councils of England—a mistake founded in injustice and fraught with evil to the country at large. The young King had been affianced in the most solemn manner, to the Duke of Armagnac's daughter. The King of France was exceedingly averse to this match, as it would have been the means of strengthening the English cause in Normandy and Gascony; and accordingly made an attack upon the Duke, entered his dominions and took his two daughters prisoners. The King of England instead, as in honor bound, of demanding his affianced bride, was induced through the influence of De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, to accept in marriage the portionless daughter of Reynor, Duke of Anjou. The whole of this affair was conducted to its close in direct opposition to

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. the advice and remonstrances of the Protector. And there was a party gathering about the King's person who were adverse to his plans, and determined to thwart him. They succeeded in this instance too well—and the completion of their alliance, was attended with fearful consequences to the kingdom at large, and to the house of Lancaster in particular. But the devices and intrigues of the court, opposing as they did, the uprightness and integrity of the Protector, were overruled as we shall see, by the Allwise disposer of things, to the punishment of the immediate actors, and to the future greatness and stability of the kingdom.

The young Queen upon whom we are now to look as the principal agent in the great transactions of this reign; and who was the unconscious instrument of advancing the Divine purposes—is described as a woman of considerable personal attractions—eloquent in discourse—officious in counsel—covetous of praise—masculine in courage—vigilant of her opportunities, daring in execution, and capricious in temper. She was no sooner seated in a share of the throne, than she became the leader of those, whose evil counsels were gaining ascendancy about the person of the King. This was to be expected, not only from the natural violence of her own disposition, but from the hatred she had conceived against the Protector, for his strenuous and unceasing opposition to her marriage. In his straight forward and manly policy

Margaret of  
Anjou, Queen.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. he thought of nothing but the happiness and prosperity of his country ; and in opposing the mercenary and ambitious views of De la Pole and Beaufort bishop of Winchester, he exposed himself to the jealousy and hatred of a faction, who determined upon his ruin.

The King who was now entering upon the functions of government, had been almost entirely under the controul of the Cardinal of Winchester. His mind though imbued with learning, had been fettered by the haughty tyranny of his tutor—restrained from every manly feeling, and made the prey of every superstition. Perhaps the prelatical power was never carried to such a height of worldly splendour, as in the person of this individual ; and his magnificent tomb in Winchester cathedral, will serve to convince us that it was indeed a reality. The young King himself displayed none of these ostentatious and ambitious feelings ; but we are led to fear, that his forbearance in these respects, was more, from the authority of his education, than the effect of that humility which is the essence of Christianity, and which does not destroy the spirit and energy of the character, but properly controls and forcibly directs it, into its proper channel.

Intrigues and treachery of the Duke of York.

The Duke of York, reckless of danger, was bent on removing every obstacle that stood in the way of his ambition. But he was deep and designing—never hastening his purposes, but at the same

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. time permitting no circumstance to escape him, that could in any way, assist his main project. He was ingenious in evil ; and an adept in laying those plots, which without awakening suspicion of his real intentions, paved the way for their accomplishment.

Amidst such contending powers, perilous in the extreme was the state of England ! But to return to our history.

The Duke of York had now returned from France, and Somerset had succeeded him as Regent of that kingdom, where, under his rapacious government every thing was lost. The scene now changes to England ; and the storm of misrule first discharged its fury on the lofty but uncorrupted head of the Protector. Sacred to Englishmen be the memory of such a man, the firm and unflinching friend of his country ; who for his probity and honor, became the object of hatred to the wicked ; and for his vigilance and wisdom, fell a victim to the designs of the ambitious.

De la Pole, created Marquis of Suffolk, who had been the chief actor in the King's marriage, and who unfortunately leagued himself with the Queen, was raised through her influence, to the highest offices of trust ; and became, through the circumstances of his situation, the principal agent in the destruction of Gloucester. The first step of this tragedy was now resolved upon ; and on the first meeting of Parliament at St. Albans, the

Murder of the Duke of Gloucester.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. Protector was arrested as guilty of treason, and himself and his adherents cast into prison. But his enemies foreseeing the danger, and indeed impossibility, of accomplishing their designs by public trial; and their machinations not admitting of the possibility of escape, they allowed him but short respite, and murdered him that night! His death became the immediate signal for tumult, sedition, and bloodshed. Every thing was thrown into confusion. The master power was gone; and the whole machinery of the state was disordered. The virtuous fled from court, and the wicked triumphed. The Queen and her partizans had the entire sway; and the evil influence of their example produced the most lamentable effects. The greatest discontent prevailed amongst the people, and they rose in many places, against their oppressors.

Death of the  
Bishop of Win-  
chester.

The death of the Cardinal of Winchester who died at this crisis, like that of Wolsey, might afford an equal monition to mankind, of the vanity of all sublunary good, when acquired by evil means, or employed for ambitious purposes. He is said, in his dying moments, to have exclaimed in language similar to the famous Cardinal of Canterbury:—"Why should I die, who have so much wealth? If the whole kingdom would secure my life, I am able by policy to get it, or by my wealth to buy it: Will not death be bribed? or, is money of no value?"\*

\* Echard.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. The death of the Protector had inspired the hopes of the Duke of York with new vigour, and he saw the path-way to the throne, if not free from difficulty and danger, yet as offering no insuperable barrier to his wishes. He now became the great mischief-maker of the times—perverting every good intention of the government—irritating every evil, and, embarrassing all things. He opened his designs to those of the nobility upon whom he could rely; and every where, fanned the flame of discontent against the King's government. The crisis of affairs became appalling. The Parliament was loud in its complaints, and the whole nation was demanding some sacrifice to appease its anger. The popular fury directed itself against Suffolk as the most prominent person, and laid upon him all the evils of mis-government, both at home and abroad. He was a man of great abilities, and had served forty years with great reputation in France, during seventeen of which, he had never seen his country, and indeed was in every way worthy of the honor to which he had been advanced. But then, he had tarnished all his glory by his evil alliance with the Queen and her party, and was GUILTY OF THE BLOOD OF GLOUCESTER. He was however, for the present, snatched from the impeachments and resentment of Parliament; and by the influence of the Queen, confined a prisoner in the Tower. But in a few months, falsely thinking that the storm had abated,

SECTION he was restored to his place at the council board.

II.

CHAP. III.

But short lived are the immunities of crime. This bare-faced indignity to the public, roused a double vengeance; and to save their favorite from the fate which awaited him, he was banished by the King for five years. But his destruction slumbered not; and the murderer of Gloucester is about to expiate his crime by a retributory punishment. The vessel in which he had embarked, was captured by a man of war, fitted out by the Duke of Exeter, a circumstance which sufficiently shews the state of things at that period. The unhappy minister enjoyed a shorter respite than even that which had been allowed to the lamented Gloucester. His head was struck off on the gunwhale of the boat, and his body ignominiously thrown upon the shore

\* \* \* "*jacet ingens litore truncus,*

*Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine, corpus.*"

The death of the Marquis of Suffolk was a severe blow to the Queen, the stability of whose counsels, much depended upon his abilities.—Things were now fast hastening to maturity. The Queen in plotting new schemes—the nobility in the infraction of law and decency—the people in their mutinous and rebellious acts, were all working their own chastisement—the cure of their licentiousness and the prosperity of England!

Insurrection  
of Cade.

A formidable insurrection was fomented by the artifices of the Duke of York, and put under the

management of Jack Cade a man of great abilities, but infamous morals. In order to prepare

SECTION II.

CHAP. III.

the way for the grand object of the Duke's ambition, Cade assumed the name of Mortimer, and pretended to be cousin to the Duke of York. The spirit of the insurrection spread far and wide; and the Captain of Kent, as he styled himself, encamped at the head of a great multitude at Blackheath. After committing great enormities and levying great exactions on the people of London; he was at length resisted by the exasperated citizens, with uncommon bravery. A severe contest took place at London bridge, and many fell on both sides. But it was an effectual check to his progress: for this success being followed up by a proclamation of pardon, the rebels dispersed.

In the mean time the Duke of York, who was then stationed as Lieutenant in Ireland, was narrowly watching the effect of his plot: and whilst the influence of it, was yet operating upon men's minds, and the discontent of the people still increasing, he hastened from his post, fully determined, by every species of villainy, to make his way to the throne. He was now at the head of a formidable body of men; and had already procured the death of Adam Malleins, Bishop of Chichester and Lord Privy Seal, a man of great integrity, and consequently an obstacle in his way. But there was another individual still more formi-

SECTION II. CHAP. III. dable to him.—This was the Duke of Somerset, formerly Regent of France, who by his authority and counsel was the chief support of the King.—He saw that in removing the Protector he had achieved nothing, whilst Somerset lived.—His death was therefore determined upon. On his landing he made the greatest protestations of loyalty, and intimated that he only came to redress grievances and to remove improper counsellors.—The news of his arrival, under such circumstances seemed to awaken even the spirit of the King, and he led an army towards Wales, to teach him more reverence and respect. On the King's approach, his partisans deserted him in great numbers, so that he found himself obliged to submit to the King's mercy.—That mercy was too great. By the most unheard of duplicity, and by the most solemn oaths of fidelity and loyalty, he lulled the fears of the King and procured a reconciliation.

Having thus far succeeded, the wily Duke advanced another step upon the clemency of the King, and demanded the impeachment of the Duke of Somerset, accusing him of avarice and peculation. The haughty spirit of this nobleman could not brook the indignity of such an accusation; and presenting himself face to face with his accuser, in the most eloquent and convincing manner, he shewed the treachery of the Duke of York and his treasonable intentions and asserted that if they wished to save the country from deluges of

SECTION II. CHAP. III. blood, the Duke of York must be sacrificed to the public weal. But great as was the eloquence and foresight of Somerset, it was more than counterbalanced by the treachery and falsehood of York. He exclaimed against the injustice of the charge, and alleged the impossibility of such being his intentions; and the more effectually to assert his innocence, and blind the eyes of the royal party, he solemnly attested his loyalty before the high altar of Saint Paul's, in the presence of the King and the principal nobility of the realm.

It will be necessary to detain the reader, for a short time to notice the state of France. The English possessions in that kingdom had been gradually declining, and were now fast tending to utter extinction. A diversion was made in favour of the sinking cause in Gascony, under the famous Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who for twenty-four years had been the terror of France, and by his impetuous valour had been the cause of infinite calamities to that country, and the principal support of the English. On this occasion his wonted success failed him. He perished in his eightieth year together with his son, whilst leading on his troops to an unequal charge; and his, was the last noble blood of England shed in this long contest. The English troops were now recalled, unhappily to be engaged in still more dreadful and calamitous scenes in their own country, for which a long train of circumstances had been

SECTION II. CHAP. III. preparing the way. When the English soldiers were embarking, a French Captain scoffingly asked an English Knight—when they would again return to France? To whom the latter made this reply: “when your sins are greater than ours,” an answer that deserves consideration. But to return. Nothing could allay the evil spirit in the breast of the Duke of York, and it is difficult to say in what arts his vicious disposition most excelled—in dissimulation, treachery or perjury. With these spiritual weapons he sought the objects of his ambition, and was allowed to triumph. The Duke of Somerset was yet in his way, and all his powers were exerted to accomplish his destruction.

The Duke was a great man with his master—wise in counsel and brave in action; but he was unpopular for his ill success in Normandy, which was lost under his Regency. The Duke of York worked secretly upon this popular dislike; openly professing loyalty to the King, but covertly, by the most subtle artifices, undermining his authority. In this silent manner the plot advanced, till it was greatly accelerated by the addition of two other spirits, as wicked as himself, and admirably fitted to second his purposes. These two individuals were the Earl of Salisbury and his son the Earl of Warwick. The former, famous for wisdom in council, and the latter for his invincible courage in the field.

SECTION II. CHAP. III. After sowing the seeds of disaffection throughout the kingdom, they proceeded openly to attack the Duke of Somerset, whom during a temporary indisposition of the King, they arrested in the Queen's lodgings, and committed to the Tower. But on the King's recovery, the Duke was released and made Governor of Calais. Disappointed of their prey, they determined upon other measures; and retired into Wales, for the purpose of raising troops and marching to London. On their approach the King retired to St. Albans, and in accordance with the usual mildness of his disposition, sent some of his Lords to negotiate with the Duke and his confederates. But the demands of the triumvirate were too unreasonable to be complied with; and the impetuosity of the Earl of Warwick soon brought the matter to the appeal of the sword.

In this dreadful conflict the King was wounded, many of his nobles slain, and amongst them the Duke of Somerset. After the battle, the King found himself in the hands of the Duke of York. But even at this moment, dissimulation triumphed over the other atrocious qualities of his mind, which proved to him the source of unnumbered evils, and paved the way for his own destruction. He pretended he had gained all he wished by the death of Somerset; and with the greatest reverence conducted the King to London, where they spent the feast of Pentecost together. No doubt,

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. the Duke had politic reasons for his dissimulation. The King stood high with the people for his piety and clemency; and the Duke saw, it was impossible for him to strike the blow he wished, without the greatest risk. But he was intending to strike that blow in a more safe and effectual manner.

Duke of York made protector. In a parliament which was now assembled, and which he contrived to render subservient to his wishes—he was declared Protector of the realm—the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Chancellor; and the Earl of Warwick, governor of Calais. By this means the whole sovereign power was lodged in their hands, and every thing they could desire, seemed to be within their reach. But in the moment of triumph they were least secure; and their well-laid schemes are not to succeed.

The Queen once more appears upon the stage; and in conjunction with the young Duke of Somerset and other Lords, who clearly saw the designs of the Duke, determined to make an effort to save the crown. A special council was held, in which the King's authority was asserted—the irregularity of the protectorship denounced, and the Earl of Salisbury commanded to deliver up the seals.

But the Queen meditated deeper counsels; and perceiving the Earl of Salisbury and his son the Earl of Warwick, to be the chief instruments of the evil, designed their ruin. In the King's name on their allegiance, she commanded their attend-

ance. But whilst preparing to attend the summons, they were secretly warned of their danger and fled. SECTION II.  
CHAP. III.

The King was highly displeased at these violent proceedings; and having no desire but the peace and prosperity of his subjects, he summoned a grand council to arbitrate between all parties, and, if possible, to bring to an end the vexations and disputes which harrassed the land.

To shew the state of things at that time; and the stronghold, which Feudalism still maintained in the country—I shall give a brief account of the nobles and their train who attended this council.

The Duke of York, with a train of four hundred men, lived in his own house, called Baynard's Castle. The Earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men, occupied a place called the Harbour; the Duke of Exeter and the Duke of Somerset, with eight hundred men, were lodged within Temple Bar; the Earl of Warwick, with six hundred men in uniform, at the Grey Friars; and the Earl of Northumberland, with the Lords Egremont and Clifford, with fifteen hundred in Holborn. The King and Queen were entertained at the Bishop's Palace; whilst Godfrey Boleyn, the Lord Mayor,\* with six thousand men, daily rode round the city, for the purpose of preserving the peace!

The eyes of the whole nation were fixed with earnest expectation on this council. Nor in vain. A grand council summoned.

\* Ancestor of Queen Ann Boleyn.

A. D. 1458.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. After a few meetings—greatly aided by the prudent exhortations of the Archbishop, a final agreement was entered into, and a reconciliation established amongst all parties. A public rejoicing was instituted on the occasion; and a magnificent procession to St. Paul's took place, in which the King was conducted in triumph, preceded by the nobles, two and two, one of either party; and the Queen was conducted by the Duke of York!

Whether this reconciliation was as sincere as it appeared—or how long it might have retained its influence, we have no means of judging. An incident, as it seemed, re-kindled all the former animosity into still greater resentment. A retainer of the Earl of Warwick in a quarrel with a servant of the King, wounded him, which so roused the indignation of his fellows, that a general attack was made on the followers of the Earl; many were slain, and the Earl himself returning from the council, with great difficulty escaped with his life. After conferring with his father and the Duke of York, he embarked for Calais as governor of that place, taking with him all the King's ships that were in readiness.

It is not improbable that the jealousy and fear of the Queen, incited her to this violent breach of the reconciliation; and that this quarrel was designedly brought on. It is certain, that after the flight of Warwick and the strong remonstrances made by Somerset and York, she prepared for the

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. most desperate measures. She was determined that a decisive blow should be struck; and for this end, she laid her plots in the most extensive manner. Nor had she superfluous time for consideration. The Earl of Salisbury set out from his castle at Middleham, with four thousand men; and the impetuous Queen hurried off the Lord Audley to encounter him. They met at Blackheath.—The contest was obstinate, and ended in favour of the Earl of Salisbury. This victory enabled him to join the Duke of York at Ludlow, which place became the rendezvous of the party. The strife was now become mortal, every preparation was made on both sides and a collision would soon have taken place, had it not been for Sir John Trollope's going over to the King, with a select body of troops. The fears of the confederates were alarmed; and they broke up their camp and fled. The threatening storm seemed once more to be dissipated. The Parliament added their authority to the kingly power, and the three restless and mighty chiefs were outlawed. But Warwick in spite of the King's commands, obstinately retained possession of Calais; and in Ireland, the authority of the Duke of York was supreme.

The harrassed kingdom was now beginning to feel the real evils of this deadly strife; and was about to enter upon a long night of peril and calamity, in which not one of the noble families of

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. the land was to escape; and in which thousands of the common people were to suffer: so that, like the infliction on Egypt which came *immediately* from the hand of Jehovah, it may be said of this chastisement on England, which came from his hand, *mediately*, that there was "*not a house where there was not one dead.*"—Exod. xii ch. 30 v.

The triumviri still urging their unquiet and ambitious schemes, sent their emissaries throughout the kingdom. But Kent was made the chief scene of their attempts. They published the most artful and perfidious statements—full of loyalty to the King and love for their devoted country. So that, not only the common people; but persons of rank and station were carried away by their dissimulation.

Battle of  
Northampton.

The menaces of war were again heard; and the Earls of Warwick and Marche, the latter, son to the Duke of York, ventured forth to the contest against the Queen and Somerset. The two armies met at Northampton, where a bloody engagement ensued, in which the Earl of Warwick was victorious. Many of the bravest nobility were slain. The King was taken prisoner; but the Queen and the Duke of Somerset escaped to the north, and strenuously employed themselves in raising greater forces. With respect to the person of the King, the same dissimulation was practiced, and he was treated with the utmost respect by the victorious Lords.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. On hearing of this success, the Duke of York hastened from Ireland, and without delay, proceeded to London. On entering the house of Parliament he walked up the hall, and laid his hands upon the throne, as if to read the countenances of the assembly. A deep silence ensued, until the Archbishop rising, courteously asked him, if he would not pay his respects to the King. The Duke did not expect such a reply; and all the proud ambition of his soul, which had been so long smothered, burst forth with furious indignation. He answered, that he knew no person in the kingdom to whom he owed allegiance; but all owed it to him; and, then, openly asserted his claim to the crown. Accordingly, his title was produced before Parliament in writing, and was debated before that assembly.

The right\* of the Duke of York's title on the female side could not be disputed. The attainder Settlement of the dispute.

\* The substance of the Duke of York's claim to the crown of England, was as follows—King Edward III. had seven sons, Edward, Prince of Wales; William of Hatfield; Lionell, Duke of Clarence; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; Edmund, Duke of York; Thomas, Duke of Gloucester; and William of Windsor. Of these Edward the eldest died during his father's life, and left one son, King Richard II. who died without issue; King Edward's second son William died without issue. Lionell, the third son had one daughter named Philippa, she married Edward Mortimer, Earl of Marche. Their issue was Roger, Earl of Marche, who had four children of whom only one survived, Anne, sole heiress of the house, and married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III. and had by that marriage, Richard, Duke of York the present claimant. So that

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. of his grandfather was considered the greatest bar to his claim. But the long, undisputed and acknowledged succession of, Henry, and from a male stem of the same royal stock, was determined to be paramount; and it was ordained, "that forasmuch as Henry had been acknowledged King, for the space of more than thirty eight years, he should enjoy the name, and title, and possession of the kingdom during his life. And if he died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, violating any point of his contract, that the said crown and dignity should be devolved upon the Duke of York and the lawful heirs of his body to the exclusion of every other."

A document embodying in formal terms, the substance of this decree was signed, sealed and sworn to, by the King and the Duke; and in joy for the settlement of this important question, on All Saints, the King rode in solemn procession to St. Paul's, attended by the Duke of York; and on the following Saturday, the Duke himself was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, heir apparent to the crown of England!

Death of the  
Duke of York.

Here again, to all appearance, there might have been an end to the troubles of England. But dreadful evils were impending! The much exas-

on the male line, the claim of the House of Lancaster, was superior, being descended from the fourth son of Edward III. But the marriage with Anne the heiress of the third son, gave a priority to the claim of the house of York.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. perated Queen would not suffer the indignity thus cast upon her offspring, to remain, and made the greatest preparations in her power, for re-establishing her authority. If the Duke of York had not gained the eminence he wished, yet he saw that he had ascended as high as he could, with the consent of the people; and he appeared willing to be satisfied. Having so far, therefore, achieved the purposes of his breast; he was fired with indignation at the contumacy of the Queen, and determined, in the pride of his heart, to chastise a woman's insolence. Such was his precipitation on this occasion, that he set out with only part of his forces, ordering his son the Earl of Marche, to follow, as soon as possible, with all his power. But alas! he was hastening his own destruction. The punishment of his perjury and treachery, and cruelty, was at hand! The impatience of his revenge hastened his march, and precipitated his death. A furious conflict took place at Wakefield, in which the Duke of York was slain, and with him, great numbers of the southern nobility and gentry. The Earl of Clifford was the great champion on the Queen's side, and, was as pre eminent in cruelty as in station. With his own hand he struck off the head of the unfortunate man, whose heart had so lately dilated with joy as heir apparent of England; and having surmounted his pale and ghastly brow, with a mock crown of paper, he presented it to the Queen, at

Battle of  
Wakefield.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. the miserable spectacle of which, like another Tomyris, she seemed to be delighted. But this was not the whole of his punishment. A still more costly sacrifice was to be offered to the demon of revenge. His younger son the Earl of Rutland, a promising youth of twelve years of age, was in the camp attended by his tutor. He was observed by Clifford, from the circumstance of his rich garb, who, pursuing him with his dagger, asked him who he was. The poor boy struck dumb with fear, with many tears, entreated for pardon. But his tutor coming up and thinking to save his life, at once disclosed his rank. The inhuman Clifford raising his dagger, with a fearful oath, exclaimed: "As thy father's sword hath slain mine, so shall my sword do to him and all his progeny." On saying which, he plunged the barbarous weapon into his heart.

Earl of Marche  
victorious.

But the Earl of Marche was on his way to avenge these cruel deeds, and to requite his father's and brother's blood. On his way he fell in with the western army, under Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and Butler, Earl of Ormond; and encountered them at Mortimer's cross, near Ludlow. Nothing could withstand his impetuous valour. The Welsh army was routed. The Earls of Ormond and Pembroke escaped; but Sir Owen Tudor\* with many others of the nobility, were sacrificed to the manes of his father.

\* Father of the Earl of Pembroke by the widow of Henry V.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. III. In the mean time, the Queen, with her victorious, but undisciplined forces, proceeded towards London. The insolent and notorious conduct of her followers, operated unfavourably on the minds of the people, and, especially, on the citizens of London. But in the midst of their tumult and plunder, and rejoicing, the approach of the Earl of Marche was announced, and threw them into such consternation, that the whole body of their army precipitately fled towards the North. The Earl of Marche entered the metropolis, amidst the greatest demonstrations of joy. His amiable manners—his known courage—his undoubted title and the supposed breach of the late contract, all united in his favor. He was constrained to accept the crown, and was shortly after, proclaimed King, under the title of Edward IV.

## SECTION II. CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD IV.—CONTINUANCE OF THE CIVIL WAR—RISE  
OF THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV. THE character of the young King developed itself fortunately to the wishes and expectations of the people, and they flattered themselves that the vessel of the state had, at length, gained a safe mooring under his shelter. But a sudden tempest was gathering which was destined to unsettle their hopes and drive them out once more into the sea of confusion and bloodshed. The sword was not yet to slumber; and it was little foreseen by the rejoicing multitude, that even in a few days, more English blood would be shed than on any one occasion since the conquest. The forces of the Queen had rallied; and gained more than usual strength and confidence, from the circumstance of King Henry having placed himself at their head. The young King left London for the North, at

Earl of  
Marche, Duke  
of York, pro-  
claimed King,  
A. D. 1460.

the head of forty thousand men, ready to strike a decisive blow. The armies met at Pontefract. But previous to the general engagement, the retributory punishment of the atrocious Clifford was rendered conspicuous. Whilst he was making some arrangements with respect to the position of the troops, whether from the hurry of the moment, or whether, overcome with the oppressive heat, he took off his gorget—when an arrow from an unknown hand, and *without a head*, pierced his throat and put an end to his life. But as if his own death was not to suffice for his brutality to the innocent Earl of Rutland, it is remarkable, that Clifford's own son, had, as it were, the mark of Cain set upon him, and lived a beggar through the successive reigns of three Kings. \*

SECTION  
II.  
CHAP. IV.

The fatal battle of Pontefract followed, which after a contest of ten hours, ended in favour of Edward. Thirty-seven thousand men were left dead on the field, with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland and hosts of the nobility, so that it is said, the neighbouring rivers were dyed with streams of human gore.

Battle of  
Pontefract.

After this battle, Edward was crowned at Westminster with great magnificence. The vigour of the young King was shewn, in sending a strong and effective armament into France, to let that nation know, that they must no longer trifle with the English shores; and to strike a wholesome

\* Restored in the reign of Henry VII.

SECTION II. terror into any of the continental powers, who might feel inclined to assist the claims of Henry.

CHAP. IV.

King Henry taken prisoner.

But the indefatigable Queen left nothing untried, and at the head of a body of Scots made a furious irruption into England.—But to no effect, and to add to her trials, shortly after, Henry himself entering England in disguise, was taken prisoner, and committed to the tower.

The Constitution advances.

In the midst of these civil feuds and bloody contentions, the constitution of England was advancing. The common people from the value set upon their services by the contending parties, and by the frequent appeals made to their wishes, began to feel their growing importance; whilst the nobility were made deeply to mourn the evils of their own licentious liberty; and the whole community saw and lamented, that the EXECUTIVE authority should be liable to so many fluctuations, arising from its *entire* dependence on the *person* of the Prince. All this was dear bought, but valuable experience, and led the way to the most substantial improvements.

The King's abilities for government,

The King shewed that his abilities were of the most splendid character, and fitted, not only for the managing of warlike affairs, but for administering the duties of peace. Edward gathered up the reins of the executive which had been thrown loose, on the necks of mens passions. He redressed the grievances of the state—Insisted upon the impartial administration of justice, and even sat upon

the bench with the judges. He reduced the ordinary fees of the courts, and reformed and augmented the statute book. He also regulated the coin, and even went so far, as to ordain penalties against excessive pride in dress. But alas! as the brightest scenes in nature are, oftentimes, overclouded with storms, so the princely qualities of Edward were for a time—shrouded in darkness, through the violence of passion; the sinful indulgence brought on a dark night of peril upon himself and his country; and in its calamitous course, the Almighty Governor again manifested the impartiality and certainty of his punishments; and shewed, that the crimes of Princes as well as people, with dread certainty, bring on their own retribution.

The affairs of the public being established, the King's thoughts were turned to a matrimonial alliance; and Bona, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and sister to the Queen of France, was selected and approved of by the council. The Earl of Warwick at that time, the most powerful and magnificent subject of the realm, was chosen to conduct the embassy. The authority and revenue of this nobleman were too large for any subject, in those turbulent times. His retainers were lodged in every tavern in London, which were filled with his provisions, and such was the number of his domestics, and the extent of his hospitalities, that six oxen were consumed every day, in the single article of beef.

SECTION II.

CHAP. IV.

blighted by his licentious conduct.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. IV.

The Earl of  
Warwick takes  
umbrage at the  
King.

Vigorous in all his proceedings, the Earl was not long in conducting the affairs of the King's marriage, to a favorable issue. But before he could return from his embassy, a sudden and violent affection, had been conceived by the King for the beautiful and accomplished widow of Sir John Gray, slain in Henry's cause, at the battle of Saint Albans. His passion for this lady was such that it blinded his understanding, and obscured the light of reason. Never did the voice of justice and honor speak more audibly, and never were they more completely lost amidst the tempest of passion. He was placing the honor of the Earl of Warwick in jeopardy, and the word of his country—he was insultingly breaking a foreign alliance, which he had voluntarily sued for; and he was laying himself and the country, under an obligation to elevate and provide for the family of the wife he was about to choose. I do not introduce the subject in this manner, to pass a stern censure upon the conduct of the King—There are few men who have a right to pass a condemnatory sentence. I do not presume to be of that number. But the circumstance is introduced, because it is material in this history, and affords striking evidence, that violent passion, however disguised, when pursued in contradiction to justice and honor, will draw after it, certain and inevitable punishment.

The King is married. The Earl of Warwick is deeply wounded, but smothers his resentment—

the jealousy of the nobility was excited by the extravagant promotion of the Queen, and the honor of the whole nation was tarnished by the transaction.

From the moment of his marriage Edward became jealous and suspicious of Warwick, and on several occasions discovered evident signs of his uneasiness and dislike. The Earl retired to his castle in disgust, and resolved, at a fitting moment, to overthrow the man, whom he had been mainly instrumental in making a King.

Edward was no despicable rival and busily occupied himself in contracting foreign alliances, one of which, must be particularly noticed as essential in this enquiry, because, afterwards, it became the turning point of his future destiny, and the means of his restoration, after his fall and consequent punishment.—This was his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, who sent ambassadors to solicit the hand of his sister Margaret for his son Charles, the Count Caralois. The ambassadors were courteously received by all but the Earl of Warwick, and sent back loaded with presents, and with a gracious answer to their request. During these negotiations, the old Duke of Burgundy died; and Charles now raised to the Dukedom, desiring the fulfilment of the contract, Margaret proceeded with a splendid train to the continent, and was married to the Duke at Bourges.

But the sword was again furbishing for civil slaughter, and a dreadful and complicated scene

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. IV.

The King and  
the Earl of  
Warwick mu-  
tually disgusted

SECTION of confusion and bloodshed is about to pass in review before us. The Earl of Warwick, to strengthen himself for his perilous enterprize, communicates his designs to his two brothers—the Archbishop of York and the Marquess Montague, president of that city, and earnestly solicited their assistance. They acceded to his wishes, but with great unwillingness, especially Montague, whose indecision was one of the principle points in the denouement of these tragic scenes. The Earl of Warwick next essayed the Duke of Clarence brother to the King; who was a known mal-content, and had taken umbrage at the elevation of the Queen's family. The Duke is gained, and the unrighteous alliance fortified, by his accepting the Earl's daughter in marriage.

II.  
CHAP. IV.  
Earl of Warwick  
conspires  
against the  
King.

The Archbishop of York and the Marquess Montague are left to manage matters in England; and the Earl and his son-in-law retire to Calais to watch the event. The first effect of their traitorous policy was, an insurrectionary movement in Yorkshire, which at length, became formidable when they were headed by Sir Henry Neville and Sir John Conyers, the latter a man of great ability and reputation. The King on hearing of the rebellion and of the designs of Warwick and his brothers, roused himself to action. He dispatched immediately the Earl of Pembroke and his son Sir Richard Herbert to disperse the rebels in the north; and put himself in readiness to resist the threatened danger.

The hostile parties fell in with each other at Danes-moor near Banbury, and for a long time sustained an equal contest. A great slaughter took place on both sides; and it is difficult to say whether victory could be claimed by either party. But according to the barbarous custom of those times, many precious lives were afterwards sacrificed, among whom, was the Earl of Pembroke, and his heroic son, Sir Richard Herbert: whilst Sir Henry Neville one of the northern leaders, had been taken prisoner and put to death on the preceding day, by Edward's party. In the mean time, another insurrectionary banditti had broken loose from Northamptonshire, and surprised the Lord Rivers, father to the Queen, and his son John, in their mansion-house at Grafton; and, having brought them to Northampton, beheaded them in the most brutal manner!

*What monster, half so monstrous,  
As the unrul'd, licentious mob?*

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence had now arrived in England; and Warwick is made the place of rendezvous. The King hastened to meet his foes.—On the eve of battle, through the influence of some of the principal persons on both sides, a negotiation was set on foot, which threw the King entirely off his guard, as he made himself sure of an accommodation. But the wary Earl, perceiving that there was an utter want of vigilance in the King's camp, caused a sudden attack

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.  
Battle of  
Danes-moor.

The King  
thrown off his  
guard.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. IV.

to be made during the night, and with slight opposition took Edward prisoner. We are told that the Earl insultingly triumphed over the monarch; and declared to him his intention of humbling the power he had raised. This was sufficiently galling to the spirit of Edward, rendered proud by his successes and luxurious by the gratification of his desires; and, to complete the ruin of his character, he was beginning to manifest symptoms of his father's duplicity and cruelty.

Taken prisoner, but escapes.

The King was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of York, whose mild and gentle behaviour, afforded him many opportunities of making his escape. He lost not the occasion and reached London in safety.

This was an unexpected and perplexing event to the Earl of Warwick: and he thought it prudent to attend a conference, to which he was invited by Edward, for the adjustment of their affairs. But this conference ended in nothing but mutual recrimination and disgust; and they separated with minds more exasperated, and each resolved on deeds more desperate.

Battle of Stamford.

The storm next made its appearance in Lincolnshire, where Sir Robert Wells, son of Lord Wells, appeared in arms, at the head of thirty thousand men. On hearing of this insurrection, the King sent for Lord Wells, and commanded him to write to his son to desist from his seditious purposes, and taking Lord Wells with him he marched to

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. IV.

meet his enemies at Stamford. He hoped that the presence of the father would deter the son from proceeding further; but when he found him still bent upon pursuing his designs, the King, contrary to the law of justice, honour, and propriety, put Lord Wells and his son-in-law, Sir George Dymock, to death! In the battle which followed, Edward was victorious; and most of the noble prisoners, with Sir Robert Wells himself, were executed without mercy.

After this victory, Warwick and Clarence, not considering themselves in a state to meet Edward in the field, embarked for France, where they were favourably received by Louis, who promised them considerable succours; and, in order to secure success to Queen Margaret's cause, a marriage was concluded between the Queen's son and Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick! Such is the force of circumstance, and such the instability of human affairs!

Remarkable Circumstance.

On the flight of Warwick and Clarence, the King once more devoted himself to criminal indulgence and pleasure; but on receiving tidings of these transactions, he was again roused to action, and adopted severe measures against the leaders of the Lancastrian party. Many submitted themselves to his authority: amongst these, was the Marquess Montague. At the same time, a gentlewoman, whose name the historian does not mention, was sent over into France to detach the Duke

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV. of Clarence from the interest of the Earl of Warwick, which important service she accomplished, and secured the Duke's secret promise to that effect.

Warwick  
returns.

The schemes of the Earl of Warwick being now matured, he set sail from Diëppe with a formidable fleet, and landed at Dartmouth. The King, it seems, was taken by surprise; once more engulfed in pleasure, he thought not of the approach of such an enemy. He fondly hoped that Warwick was securely blockaded in the French harbour, by the Duke of Burgundy; and never dreamed a thought, that the winds of heaven had scattered his fleet, far and wide, over the ocean.—Warwick proceeded at once to London, proclaiming King Henry on his way; and such was the energy of one, and the negligence of the other, that Edward had scarcely time to escape, and retreat to Nottingham.—But no matter: there was now no rest for the sole of his foot in England.—The tide of popular affection in favour of Henry, had set in, and it was irresistible. Vast numbers flocked to the standard of Warwick. The excitement was universal. In every street, bonfires were lighted—in every church, the bells were ringing—in every house, psalms and songs were heard—every man shouted, “King Henry!” and every voice echoed, “a Warwick! a Warwick!”

The King  
fled.

Edward, attended by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Lords Hastings and Scales,

with some risk and danger, reached Lynn, where he embarked with seven hundred men, for Holland. Such, indeed was the haste and confusion of his departure, that on his landing, he had not sufficient money to pay his passage. SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.

In the mean time, the potent Earl of Warwick, attended by his brother the Archbishop of York, and other nobles, entered the tower, where King Henry had been confined for seven years; and, once more, bowed the knee before him and saluted him King. He was immediately conducted with great pomp, through the city to the Bishop's palace, where a court was held until the thirteenth of the same month, when he went in solemn procession to Saint Paul's; the Earl of Warwick bearing his train—the Earl of Oxford, his sword, and the fickle people crying—‘God bless King Henry!’

King Henry  
is released from  
Prison and re-  
stored.

A Parliament was summoned in Henry's name, which met on the sixth day of November, and proceeded, by its enactments to illustrate the sacred truth, that no confidence can be placed in Princes. nor any trust in the sons of men. Edward was decreed a traitor and usurper—his estates confiscated, and all statutes made under his authority. annulled. The crowns of England and France were confirmed to Henry and his heirs male, and in default of such, to those of the Duke of Clarence in which his interests were consulted, as son in law to the Earl of Warwick. But these were vain

SECTION projects, and doomed to be as unsubstantial, as  
II. they were unreasonable and unjust.

CHAP. IV.

Henry VII.  
twelve years of  
age, presented  
to the King.

Through the dark clouds which overshadowed the social heavens, a momentary gleam darted a ray of hope ; and the nation was permitted to have a transient view of the future King, under whose wise and prudent sway, all these deadly feuds were to be composed, and England was to receive a new impulse in her mighty course. He was then a child about twelve years of age, living in the deepest retirement, unknowing and unknown. This was Lord Henry, grandson to Queen Catharine,\* widow of Henry V, great grandson to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. He was discovered in his solitude in Pembroke-shire, where he was carefully educated under the eye of the Lady Herbert, by the Earl of Pembroke, and was by him brought to London and presented to King Henry, soon after his restoration. It is asserted by historians that, the King viewing him with much seriousness, predicted his future greatness ; and presenting him to the nobility present, uttered these words : ‘ Lo ! this is the person to whom, after all our violent struggles, both we and our adversaries must at length, submit.’

\* Owen Tudor, married the widow of King Henry V. and from him sprung Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond father of this Lord Henry. This descent had no affinity with the house of Lancaster. But his mother the Lady Margaret, was grand-daughter to the Duke of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward III. Though even this affinity to the crown of England is not without defect.

SECTION This may be thought to border on the marvelous.—It is given as history : but with so many  
II. marvels, both within us, and without, in nature  
CHAP. IV. and morals, a wise man will pause and consider. Yet I do not think I should have quoted the words of Henry’s prophecy, had it not been for a splendid passage I lately met with, in Sir Humphrey Davy, which has a strong tendency to humble the pride of reason ; and which, as it contains the result of his long and matured experience, is an invaluable addition to the stores of human wisdom.—It is as follows.

“ In my opinion, profound minds are the most  
“ likely to think lightly of the resources of human  
“ reason : And it is the pert, superficial thinker,  
“ who is generally strongest in every kind of unbelief. The deep philosopher sees changes of  
“ causes and effects so wonderfully and strangely  
“ linked together, that he is usually the last person,  
“ to decide upon the impossibility of any two  
“ series of events being independent of each other ;  
“ and in science so many natural miracles, as it  
“ were, have been brought to light, such as the  
“ fall of stones from meteors in the atmosphere, the  
“ disarming a thunder cloud by a metallic point, the  
“ production of fire from ice by a metal white as  
“ silver, and referring certain laws of motions of the  
“ sea to the moon, that the physical enquirer is  
“ seldom disposed to assert confidently, on any abstract  
“ subjects belonging to the order of natural

SECTION II. CHAP. IV. "things; and still less so, on those relating to the more mysterious relations of moral events, and intellectual natures. Again, I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others, not genius, power, will, or fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief, to every other blessing; for it makes life a thorough discipline of goodness; creates new hopes, when all earthly hopes vanish; and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay, calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of torture and shame, the ladder of ascent to paradise; and far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths in the gardens of the blessed; and the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair."

The presentation of Henry VII. to the English nation, has broken in upon the course of the history more than I intended—but there was another "marvellous" circumstance in connection with it, which must be mentioned. At the very moment when the royal boy stood in the presence of Henry, the daughter of the *exiled Edward*, Elizabeth, who was designed to be his *future Queen*, was then an infant in her mother's arms, pre-

served from violence, within the sanctuary of SECTION II. Westminster.

But we must now return to our more immediate enquiry. King Edward was busily engaged in pushing his interest with the Duke of Burgundy upon whom all his hopes depended. But that Duke's situation with respect to France, prevented him from openly espousing his cause. He secretly, however, assisted him, and after many vexatious delays, provided him with a slender armament, with which he landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. But we behold him without satisfaction. He had thrown off the honor and frankness of youth; and following his father's pernicious example, had recourse to falsehood and perjury. He solemnly avowed his allegiance to Henry, and that he came solely for the purpose of claiming his patrimony of York; and under this false pretence, took formal possession of the city. Things remarkably conspired in his favor and he is permitted once more to mount the throne.

The Earl of Warwick had stationed his brother the Marquess Montague in the north, with sufficient force to intercept Edward. But we have seen that he was never ardent in his brother's cause, and his conduct on this occasion, chiefly contributed to the King's success. Edward passed without molestation, through the midst of those, who ought to have opposed him, which gave the people an idea that his return was encouraged

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.  
by those in power. At Nottingham great numbers flocked to his standard. He hastened directly to Warwick to meet his potent adversary, who astonished and enraged at his brother's conduct, had sent a message to the Duke of Clarence, to join him with all speed.

Duke of  
Gloucester,  
afterwards  
Richard III.  
interferes.

The contending parties had now met, when Edward's brother the Duke of Gloucester, for the first time appears on the stage. Whilst the armies were drawn up in order of battle, he rushed through the lines—made his way to the tent of the Duke of Clarence, and having entered, pretended to deliberate on what we know had long been determined. He soon re-appeared, leading the Duke of Clarence by the hand, and conducting him to the tent of Edward, the two brothers warmly embraced with assurances of mutual forgiveness.

The Earl of Warwick was now alone. Clarence sent him the best excuse he could frame, for his conduct; and in his brother's name, offered the fairest conditions if he would submit. But it was now too late; he had entangled himself beyond recovery, by the marriage of his daughter with King Henry's son. Besides, he was highly exasperated by the defection of Clarence, and the disobedience of his brother. He was like a chafed lion. His stubborn soul was resolved to act its part; in determining which, he was hastening his own destruction.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.  
Edward, in his external manners, was one of the most plausible men that ever lived. He determined, if possible, on this important occasion, to secure the good-will of the citizens of London, and, by an artful mixture of severity and clemency completely gained his object. The Earl of Warwick had advanced as far as Saint Albans; and Edward, to cut off all his hopes of supply from the city, stationed his army between London and Saint Albans. The two armies approached each other, both armed with the most deadly resolution. Edward encamped on Gladmore Heath near Barnet. The Duke of Gloucester was appointed to the van—the rear was to be conducted by Lord Hastings—the main battle by himself. Warwick entrusted his right wing to the Earl of Oxford and the Marquess Montague; his left to the Duke of Exeter; and the main body to the Duke of Somerset. When all was ready, he alighted from horseback, sent away his horse and embraced his generals. It was a parting embrace.

Battle of St.  
Albans.

For six well contested hours the battle was in favour of Warwick, and was lost by the simplest incident. The Earl of Oxford had given as a badge to his men, a star with streams.—The badge of Edward, was the sun in his brightness. Whilst Oxford was pushing on his men from the right wing, they were mistaken by the Duke of Somerset's men in the van, for the flying adherents of Edward, and they attacked them with great

Death of the  
Earl of War-  
wick.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV. fury. Oxford astonished, and fearful of treachery, fled with his men, which rendered the affair desperate on the side of Warwick. In vain he attempted to re-establish his position and regain the day. His efforts were utterly ineffectual, and at length, in despair of the contest, he furiously rushed into the thickest of the fight; on observing which, his brother the Marquess Montague hastened to his rescue. But there was no rescue.

Earl of Warwick slain.

They both fell covered with wounds. Thus perished this powerful Earl, and with him ten thousand men. His character is worth a delineator. He appeared to be governed more by resolute enterprize, than by low ambition; and by his gigantic efforts he laid the most extensive foundation for the future greatness of his family. He married his two daughters to two princes; one to Edward, the son of Henry and heir to the house of Lancaster, and the other, to the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward of the house of York. But notwithstanding, the future greatness of his family was denied to him. His sons in law, as we shall see, met with violent and untimely deaths. All the sons of the Duke of Clarence, who arrived at any age, died by the axe of the executioner; whilst his youngest daughter, the only one who arrived at any eminence, by her marriage with the Duke of Gloucester, was the miserable Queen of an usurper, and was exterminated by poison. Just Heaven! what a lesson! if posterity would

only have been instructed by it, and have learnt, SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV. that violent dealing, in opposition to thy just and holy law, will sooner or later, experience its due reward and punishment!

Decisive as was the late victory, yet the chastisement of England and her Queen, was not yet complete. Queen Margaret and her French allies, with Prince Edward, landed at Weymouth, and took up their quarters at Bath, where the Duke of Somerset had great influence. But Edward determined to allow them as short a time as possible for increasing their strength; and a general engagement, which was the twelfth, was brought about at Tewkesbury. This Battle was won by a stratagem of the Duke of Gloucester, who commanded the right wing. The evil machinations of Queen Margaret, which were, in a great measure, the source of all these evils, were now about to receive the most anguish-stirring punishment. Before the battle, she counselled her generals, that her son should be sent back to France for safety, as upon him, rested all their future hopes. Her counsel was good, but fatally for her happiness, it was overruled by her Captains. In the battle her son was taken prisoner, and being conducted into the presence of Edward, he was asked by the Conqueror, how he dared to set his foot, in an hostile manner, upon the shores of England?—the noble minded youth answered, that he came to recover his father's kingdom, and to claim his own

Queen Margaret reduced to despair.

SECTION II. CHAP. IV. Her son murdered. inheritance, descended to him, through many generations. At this answer, Edward was ungenerously offended, and pushed him aside, disdainfully with his spear. It was a sufficient signal. The ignoble Duke of Gloucester assisted by Clarence, Dorset and Hastings, dispatched the helpless youth with their poinards. I mention their names thus distinctly, because we shall find the retributory vengeance of the Most High speedily overtaking them.

Death of King Henry. This barbarous act was shortly after followed by another, in some respects more monstrous, in which, the Duke of Gloucester was the sole actor. This wicked man, whose mind was full of every evil device, like the prowling felon of the forest, ever intent upon deeds of violence, visited the unfortunate Henry in prison. Of the peculiar circumstances of this interview, we know nothing, except that the Duke became his assassin, and stabbed the mild and patient Monarch to the heart! Such a deed was reserved for such a man. In the midst of the unprecedented dangers and treasons, to which this Monarch had been exposed, there never was found one sufficiently abandoned, who could lift his hand against King Henry!—not even, the Duke of York!—

Character of Henry VI. Henry VI. possessed every monastic virtue without their accompanying vices. He was mild and merciful—patient—humble—chaste—temperate and self denying. He never inflicted an injury,

SECTION II. CHAP. IV. and never had a personal enemy. One might have expected that so many virtues owed their existence to the powerful influence of Christianity. But christianity, does not consist, solely, in the self denying virtues. It gives, indeed, the command over the passions, by filling the mind with objects more worthy of its pursuit, and by instilling new principles of action. But its direct tendency, is, to enlarge the understanding, to arm the active powers with energy, and to teach the subject of its influence, that the performance of the duties attached to his station, is a PARAMOUNT OBLIGATION. In council, therefore, it renders a man prudent, wise and just—in public, mild and unassuming; in private, holy and temperate—under injury, patient and submissive—in prosperity, equable and condescending; in adversity, contented and cheerful, and in the field of battle, courageous. These are its legitimate results upon the character. Of its power in the closet, we are not now speaking. If we try King Henry by this standard, his moral acquirements will be found defective. He was eminently deficient in the performance of the active duties of his high station; and the time which ought to have been allotted to their energetic discharge, was consumed in those religious exercises, which had usurped the place of christianity. He is a correct example of being “righteous overmuch” He was the “beau ideale” of Popery. He was the perfect representation of a christian

He affords the best example of Popery.

SECTION II. CHAP. IV. on the model of that church, and, in some points of view, it was a beautiful portraiture. But truth is proportionate; and Christianity, which is its essence, never leaves, the character fully under its influence, defective in any essential parts. But Henry's character was exceedingly defective in the active virtues. Yet he was scrupulously attentive in the performance of the minutest directions of the church. It is therefore evident, that if the system of that church does not involve principles, inconsistent with truth, *i. e.* with christianity, Henry must have been one of the most splendid characters that ever existed. I do not mean to intimate, that christianity did not exist in Henry. But if it did, it was ill directed. And this we consider to have been the genius of Popery.—Where christianity exists in the heart, it destroys its energy, where it does not, it holds out temptation to perjury and crime. So that, it has a tendency to nullify the genuine influence of christianity, driving men to the extremes of virtue and vice, for the truth of which, let Henry VI. and the Duke of York stand for examples.—One, is an anchorite in virtue, the other, a felon in guilt.—

This defect in Henry's character drew after it, its necessary results, which were overruled by the moral Governor, not only to his own punishment, but in himself and his son, to the expiation of the treason and blood and usurpation of his Grandfather. The facts connected with this assertion

are so palpable, that there can be no occasion to retrace the subject. SECTION II. CHAP. IV.

In Henry VI., the glory of Henry IV.—for the establishment of which, he waded through so many crimes, was utterly extinguished—affording a monitory lesson to all posterity, that “Riches profit not in the day of wrath;” \* and, that “the house of the wicked shall be overthrown”.†

Margaret the Queen of the unfortunate Henry, was still alive, and of necessity, plunged into the depths of the most bitter grief. A woman as we have seen, of masculine courage—proud, imperious and factious in prosperity—in adversity, vindictive and resolute. She had warm affections. She was a tried and faithful wife; and a careful and affectionate mother. But she was ambitious, treacherous and cruel.

Throughout the whole of the period which has just passed under review, she stood forth as the most prominent person in England, and had she pursued the well-being of her family, on just and legitimate grounds, she had not, at last, become so utterly destitute. But after the death of her husband and son, she sunk into such obscurity, that history does not tell us where she died! Lamentable end of Queen Margaret.

*Can this be Margaret's lot? Fair England's Queen—Rival, in counsel, to the wise—in Valour, to the brave; and single-handed, Sole antagonist of Kings!*

\* Prov. xi. 4.

† Prov. xiv. 11.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.  
Duke of Richmond escapes.

Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, who had been conspicuous throughout the civil war, upon the last overthrow of his party—retired with his nephew the Duke of Richmond, the only remaining scion of the family of Lancaster; and fled into Bretagne. It was indeed a narrow escape. Such an one as manifests the interference of a superior and superintending power, watching over the future King of England.

In the mean time, the Duke of Burgundy sent an embassy to solicit assistance against the French King. A request from such a quarter could not be denied. Edward accordingly, conducted one of the best appointed English armies, that had ever appeared in that country. Its approach created considerable alarm, but Louis, by his courtesy and bribery, turned aside the threatened blow. A treaty of peace was entered into, and it was solemnly stipulated, that the Dauphin should marry the King's daughter Elizabeth. The prospect of such an alliance was highly gratifying to Edward, and he returned to England in great pomp.

Henry VII.  
saved from destruction.

Every thing was now settled to the King's mind, and he would fain have indulged himself in those luxurious and sinful pleasures, which were congenial to his disposition. But one thing still oppressed him. There was yet one obstacle to the full fruition of the happiness which seemed within his reach, and he resolved upon the most

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV.

guilty measures to remove it. For this purpose he sent a chosen embassy, laden with bribes and promises, into Bretagne, to obtain possession of the Earl of Richmond, at any price. His price was sufficient to buy the whole court of the Duke of Bretagne; and it was agreed, that the young Prince should be delivered up to his will. His destruction now appeared inevitable.—But he was still to be saved; and the betrayed and deserted youth found one friend, in that venal court. Let his name be recorded:—Peter Landoès, treasurer to the Duke of Bretagne.—By means of this person, he escaped from the English ambassador, to whom he had been delivered by the Duke of Bretagne, to a sanctuary, from whence he could not be removed. On the return of the embassy without their prey, though Edward was greatly mortified, yet he endeavoured to bear the evil which could not be remedied; gave full license to every indulgence of his heart, and studied all the arts of popularity.

Whilst thus living in pleasure,—jealousy and treachery were at work within the bosom of his own family. The Queen suspected the ambitious designs of the Duke of Clarence, in case of the King's death. This jealousy was inflamed where it originated, by the Duke of Gloucester, in whose deep soul, the darkest and deadliest deeds were preparing. The smothered flame at length, burst forth, and the Duke of Clarence was accused of

Duke of Clarence circumvented.

SECTION II. CHAP. IV. treason—a crime, of which he had never thought; and it is said, that he was drowned by his own choice, in a vessel of wine. He was the first of the murderers of the late Prince of Wales, who suffered the Divine vengeance. In his destruction the King was an unwilling accomplice.—It afterwards cost him many a bitter pang, and he was often heard to exclaim, when any person interceded with him for a malefactor.—“Oh my unfortunate brother! there was none to plead for thee!”—His natural gaiety and affableness of manner forsook him, and he became, it is said, *avaricious*!

The King's anxiety to marry his daughter to the Dauphin. The great object of his anxiety was now the consummation of the marriage of his daughter, with the Dauphin of France; and which, if it had taken place would have proved alike injurious to his own family, and fatal to the peace and happiness of England. No: his daughter was to become the wife of the man, whom he had diligently sought to destroy; and by that alliance, the foundations of England's glory were to be established and her happiness cemented! Her marriage with the Dauphin was frustrated, solely by the caprice of the French Monarch, whose falsehood, perjury, and avarice, were all employed on the occasion. He indulged Edward's fondest hopes, by the fairest promises and the most solemn oaths; and so secure was the King of his fidelity, that when it was told him, that, the Dauphin was married, he would not credit the intelligence, till the same

person affirmed, that he had seen the celebration of the nuptials. SECTION II. CHAP. IV.

The outraged father and insulted Monarch, made instant preparations for war. But his days were numbered. He was seized with a sudden melancholy. Some historians say, that he died of a surfeit, which is not improbable, when his habits are considered. Be that as it may, his death was accompanied with the most bitter reflections; and he left the world, under the most terrifying apprehensions. King's death.

Never surely was there a more atrocious family than that of York; and never was a family more signally punished. The father the Duke of York, perished in battle: of his three brothers, the Earl of Rutland, was murdered in cold blood, the Duke of Clarence, came to a violent end by intrigue and treachery; and the Duke of Gloucester, as we shall see, died in battle, and was treated with every ignominy. His two sons were murdered by their unnatural uncle; and his seven daughters died without issue! affording demonstrative evidence of the truth of the divine oracle, which declares: “that the lamp of the wicked shall be put out, and their name covered with darkness.”\* Character of the House of York.

\* Book of Job. xviii. G. xxi. 17. Proverbs xiii. 9.

## SECTION II. CHAPTER V.

EDWARD V.—RETRIBUTION ON THE HOUSE OF YORK.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. V.  
Edward V.  
April 9.  
A. D. 1483.

EDWARD V. eldest son of the deceased monarch, was only twelve years old, on the death of his father, and was proclaimed King of England, under the above title; but his reign was a brief and tragic span, and was hurried to its unnatural close, by the monstrous Duke of Gloucester, who appears to be set forth for the purpose of shewing, to what extent of atrocity, human nature can advance. At the time of his father's death, the young King and his brother the Duke of York, were at Ludlow, in Shropshire, with their mother; and in the midst of her relatives and friends. The wily traitor, their uncle, saw that he could not advance a single step in his designs, whilst the young Princes were thus surrounded by their natural guardians and allies. He determined there-

fore, to detach such protectors from the persons of his nephews; and to remove the latter, entirely out of the sphere of their influence. To effect this, he insinuated to the more ancient nobility, that they were unjustly deprived of their constitutional right of waiting upon the King; and that their exclusion from his presence, was an implied insult. He addressed himself, in particular, to the haughty Duke of Buckingham, and to Lord Hastings, lord chamberlain.—He succeeded, and a league of ambition, pride and avarice was formed, the legitimate fruits of which, soon made their appearance.

The time appointed for the coronation was approaching, and when they found the King was to be attended from Shropshire, with an unusual guard, they wrote in strong terms to the King's mother, pointing out the danger of such a step: that it would give birth to suspicions and jealousies, and unsettle the minds of many who had been just reconciled.—At the same time, they wrote the most reverential letters to the young King.—Their scheme succeeded: and the King moved forward with a very slender retinue.

The Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, proceeded to Northampton, to shew all honor to the royal progress. On the King's arrival, they pretended there was no suitable convenience for his entertainment, on account of the crowded state of the town, and conducted him to Stoney Strat-

SECTION II.  
CHAP. V.  
Plots of the Duke of Gloucester.

SECTION II. CHAP. V. ford. They themselves took up their quarters at Northampton; and under pretence of shewing him honour, detained with them the Lord Rivers, uncle to the King. They entertained Rivers to a late hour, and when he retired to his lodging, they ordered the keys of the gates to be brought to them. Their servants, who were billeted in the neighbouring villages, they ordered to occupy all the passes to Stratford, and to let no one pass before them. In the morning, before they left Northampton, they secured Lord Rivers; and hasting to Stratford, found the young King mounting his horse, whom they reverently saluted; but the next moment, arrested the King's half-brother, the Lord Richard Grey, whom they accused together with the Marquess of Dorset and Lord Rivers, of a conspiracy to get possession of the kingdom.

Queen flies to sanctuary.

The King was now in the hands of the Protector, but he could proceed no further in his designs, unless he could gain possession of his brother the Duke of York. But this was a difficult task.—The Queen was now alive to the perfidy of Gloucester, and had fled with her son to the sanctuary of Westminster.

A council was summoned, in which it was resolved, through the artifices of Gloucester and the vehemence of Buckingham, that it was inconsistent with the dignity of the nation, and the respect due to the King and to themselves, that the

SECTION II. CHAP. V. King's brother should be held in sanctuary; and it was further determined, that he must be brought away, either by persuasion or force. A deputation of Lords was appointed, at the head of which was Russel, Archbishop of York.—The deputation waited upon the Queen, and proceeded from persuasion to threats, till the terrified Queen, at length, moved by the entreaties and solemn assurances of the Archbishop, delivered up her son, under the most agonizing forebodings of his fate.

The Protector, up to this period, confined within his own breast, his ultimate designs; but he now felt, that the concurrence of others was necessary to his full success; he addressed himself accordingly, to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he had hitherto made use of as an unconscious instrument. I should be in danger of writing a novel were I to detail the particulars. Suffice it to say, that the Duke was gained by the most extravagant promises. The Duke of Gloucester contracting, to give his only son in marriage to the Duke's daughter.

The great matter of consultation in the council chamber, where the chief men of the nation were assembled, and at the head of whom, was Hastings Lord Chamberlain, was the approaching coronation. The Protector was at the head of another council, whose deliberations were secret; and whose object was to frustrate the deliberations of the grand council; and to place the Protector upon

A secret council.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. V.

the throne. The first victim to the machinations of the secret council was *Lord Hastings*, who was stricken down, at a moment when he thought himself most secure, and highest in the Protector's favor. He had a spy in the secret council—a man of the name of Catesby—a person bound to Hastings by every obligation, and, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. This misplaced confidence was the ruin of himself and his friends. For, when Lord Stanley intimated his fears, lest dangerous things were deliberated in the secret council, he was silenced by Lord Hastings, with the assurance, that nothing of importance could be transacted without his knowledge. The Protector was greatly attached to Hastings, and had always found him a steady adherent and friend; and no man could have assisted him more in his ulterior designs. Catesby was commissioned by the Protector to open the subject to the Chamberlain, and, if possible, to gain his concurrence. But he never fulfilled his commission. He was faithless to one master, and treacherous to the other. He determined to undermine his benefactor and to enrich himself with the spoils. He took every opportunity of whispering suspicions into the ear of the Protector; and, at length, intimated that the death of Hastings was the only means of their security—the Protector admitted the demon into his breast, all the jealousy and fury of his nature were roused, and he lost no time in exe-

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. V.

cuting the purpose upon which he had determined. —On the 13th day of June, 1483, he entered the council chamber of the tower, in great haste and with an angry countenance: having seated himself, he accused the Queen and others of forming a conspiracy against him. The accusation was so preposterous, that the Chamberlain demurred as to the possibility of its existence. The Protector rising up, vehemently accused him of being a party; and striking the council table with his hand, the room was filled with armed men.—Lord Hastings was arrested by the command of the Protector; and after a brief moment allowed for confession, he was hurried into the court, and beheaded on a log of wood which happened to be there. This circumstance in our history would not have been mentioned, had it not been to shew the avenging hand of Heaven.—Hastings was ANOTHER OF THE MURDERERS OF EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES. The event of his death took place on the very day appointed for the execution of the Lords Rivers and Grey, and in which, he was a principal agent. The circumstances of his fate were such, as to induce the learned and contemplative Raleigh to remark that, “he never in any history, observed a clearer manifestation of the judgment of God, than in the death of Hastings.”\*

Death of  
Hastings.

The toilsome and arduous path of the Duke of Gloucester, was thus far cleared of the obstacles

\* Echard.


SECTION II. CHAP. V. which opposed its fatal progress. It was now time to sound the inclinations of the people, and to prepare them for becoming parties to his elevation.—To carry his intentions into effect, he was obliged to enlarge his plan, and to increase the number of his instruments.—One of these, was Sir Edward Shaw the Lord Mayor; and, even ecclesiastics were found, who refused not to desecrate their office, and to cover themselves with disgrace and infamy.—Two are particularly named, John Shaw brother to the Mayor, and Parker, provincial of the Augustine friars. Both these men were in high repute with the people as preachers; and their object was to make the best use of the influence it gave them; and, if possible, to gain the people to the designs of the Protector. The former, was to harangue at the Spittal, and the latter, at St. Paul's cross. Their instructions were, to intimate the illegitimacy of the late King—but to dwell forcibly on that of the young Princes, from the circumstance of their father's former contract of marriage, which had been broken by him. The Spittal preacher in the midst of his discourse, lost his voice and was obliged to desist. The other at St. Paul's cross, was still more unfortunate. His eloquence, no doubt, was as irresistible, as the ingenuity of his text, was beyond comparison: "The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips."\* And

\* Apoc. Wisd. iv. 3.


SECTION II. CHAP. V. to gain a complete triumph over the minds of the assembled multitude, it was agreed that at the very height of his panegyric, the Protector was to make his appearance. But alas! the panegyric on rapid wings mounted to its climax,—but no Protector appeared! and the preacher had descended to a humbler strain of common place, before he arrived. It was an awkward predicament: the happy moment had been lost: he endeavoured to retrace his flight, but in vain. The aerial path would not be retraced. He essayed again and again, and threw out some flatteries which were so gross, that they appeared more like libels, than panegyric, and the people, instead of throwing up their caps, and crying King Richard, stood like statues. The preacher became confused, and hastily closed his sermon; and, the two personages retired, equally mortified and chagrined. The vexation and disappointment of the preacher were so great, that he died, in consequence.—So let all traitors to God and their King perish!

The Protector, however, in no way deterred by this inauspicious beginning, proceeded to form new plans. In the scenes which followed, the Duke of Buckingham became the principal actor; and, in conjunction with the Lord Mayor, undertook to bring the citizens to an acknowledgment of Richard's title. For this purpose, with a noble retinue of lords and gentlemen, he attended a grand meeting of the common council and citizens, con-

The tragic Plot proceeds.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. V.  vened in the Guild Hall. The Duke addressed them in an elaborate speech, in which he exaggerated the mismanagement of the last reign, insisted on the illegitimacy of the young Princes, and magnified the pretensions and abilities of the Protector. But when he had concluded, much to his chagrin, not a voice cried, "King Richard!" The mayor, who had been expected to prepare the people for the occasion, suggested that he could not be understood. The Duke, then, in a louder and plainer manner, went over the same ground. But to the same effect: there was silence still. The Duke a third time, in rather an angry tone, resumed: He declared that his affection for the citizens brought him to consult them. He had no doubt, he said, that the rest of the nation, with the nobility, would approve of his proposition, without their aid; but his regard for them induced, him to make them the offer, that they might be foremost in promoting a matter, in which, the prosperity of the kingdom was so deeply involved.

On the conclusion of these observations the citizens began to look at each other, when some of Buckingham's servants threw up their hats and cried "King Richard!" and, the Duke seizing the moment, applauded their wisdom and unanimity, and begged them to be in readiness, early next morning, to attend him with a petition to the Protector, by which he might be induced to com-

ply with a request so much desired by them, and SECTION II.  
CHAP. V.  the whole nation.

This miserable farce was enacted next morning, and the Duke at the head of a deputation waited upon the Protector, to crave his acceptance of the crown. The Protector appeared to be greatly amazed at the proposition. The Duke of Buckingham, then, at some length, entered into the grievances of the state—the illegitimacy of the Princes, and the wishes of the citizens, and earnestly solicited him that he would vouchsafe to accept the crown, to the honor of God and the safety of the realm. The Protector with an angry look replied, that though there was some truth in what he had said, yet, that his love for his brother Edward, and affection for his children, would not allow him to accept their offer; and further, that it would afford too fair an opportunity to the envious and malignant, to accuse him of ambitious views. At the same time, he would kindly accept their wishes, inasmuch as they proceeded from honest affection to his person, and sincere love for their country; that his best abilities should be given to the service of the King; and in such a way, as to leave them nothing to desire. This answer being given, the Duke stepped aside, as if to confer with the deputation, and, in a short time returning under the balcony, where the Protector was stationed, requested pardon,—which being obtained, he proceeded in a louder voice and with a fuller tone,

SECTION II.  
CHAP. V. to declare, that the nation was resolved not to admit the title of the sons of Edward; and that if he refused the offer now made to him, they should be obliged to tender it, in another quarter.

The Protector affected some surprise at this threat; and answered, that he was sorry they entertained such an opinion of his brother's children; but as there was none beside himself, who could have any title to the throne, and that to his right of inheritance, they had been pleased to add that of election, he should yield to their entreaties, and from that time, take upon him the title and pre-eminence of the two states of England and France.—He then entreated God to continue him no longer in life, than, that life should be serviceable to his country!

By such miserable pretences, and under such blasphemous asseverations, did Richard III. gain possession of the English throne; in which transaction, none were more miserably deceived than the principal actors themselves, who in every step, were plotting their own eventual destruction, whilst they were promising to themselves the sweets of ambition.

## SECTION II.—CHAPTER VI.

RICHARD III.—EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF YORK—  
CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR.—BREAKING UP OF THE  
ARISTOCRATIC POWER.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. VI. RICHARD Duke of Gloucester, the eighth and youngest son of Richard Duke of York, was proclaimed King of England on the twenty-second day of June, under the title of Richard III. For the space of two years, he was allowed to hold his badly acquired pre-eminence—but not in peace.—By his excessive ambition and cruelty, he not only became the extirpator of his own house, of which he was the last, but, was the instrument of removing every obstacle out of the way, and facilitating to the utmost, the advance of the house of Lancaster. His acts of falsehood and his deeds of blood, were remarkably overruled; and, he became the wicked and unconscious instrument of hastening a new era in the career and prosperity of England!

A. D. 1483.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. VI.

Nothing now seemed to him, to be wanting to the full establishment of his usurped authority, but the ceremonial of his coronation ; which he determined to celebrate in the most sumptuous manner, and with the most splendid accompaniments. The preceding day he went in procession, with great pomp, to the tower, for the purpose of exercising the regal prerogative, in conferring titles of honor. The usurper, on that day of his triumph, when he was about to create new forms of grandeur, as the emblems of his power, little suspected that, his chief errand to the tower, was to liberate from its dungeons, the man, who was to lay the foundation of his overthrow.

He created Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas Howard, his son, Earl of Surrey ; and Lord Francis Lovell, viscount and Lord Chamberlain, with seventeen Knights of the Bath. At the same time, he proceeded to dispose of the state prisoners who had been immured, since the arrest and execution of Hastings. The Archbishop of York he restored to liberty. The Lord Stanley was merely retained as an hostage for the conduct of his Son, the Lord Strange, who was raising forces in Lancashire. The Bishop of Ely whose integrity was equal to his ability, and whose devotion to the children of Edward, was unalterable, was detained—yet that his restraint might be removed from the public eye, and the Bishop himself, be as remote as pos-

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. IV.

sible, from the politics of the day, he was committed to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his castle in Brecknockshire,— Upon this single circumstance, unimportant as it appears, turned, in a great measure, the future destinies of England !

But previous even to the coronation, the Duke of Buckingham was disgusted with the conduct of the King, and probably, ashamed, of the part he had taken in his elevation. Certain it is, that he pleaded indisposition, and desired to be excused attendance at the approaching ceremony. The King, however, was not to be deceived ; and he commanded his attendance, which the Duke gave ; but attended with such a magnificent and pompous train, that it effectually widened the breach.

The next thing for Richard, was to look abroad, and to ascertain, in what manner his title was likely to be recognized by foreign powers. His first step was to send an embassy to the King of France, respecting the league and tribute, which had been settled between him and his brother.—But the embassy was delayed, and did not arrive at their destination, till after the murder of the two Princes, whose death he had, in that short interval, contrived and accomplished. It is impossible to dwell upon this tragical story. His Ambassadors were treated with the indignity which the conduct of their master deserved : and the King of France would not condescend to give them an audience.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. VI.

As so little support was to be expected from without, he determined to befriend himself. He proceeded to strengthen his usurped authority, by a second coronation, which he caused to take place at York; at which time, also, he invested his Son with the principality of Wales. But these bright and flattering prospects were suddenly overcast with deepest gloom, by the death of this only son: whilst his throne itself, was undermined by the intrigues of the dissatisfied Buckingham.

The Duke and  
the Bishop of  
Ely conspire.

Under the colour of a feigned indisposition, he had retired to his castle at Brecknock, to brood over his revenge. It was not long before his dissatisfaction was discovered by his prisoner, the Bishop of Ely. The prudent Bishop sounded the Duke as to his own intentions respecting the crown, and finding that the Duke abandoned all his pretensions, in favour of the Earl of Richmond, as the nearest heir to the house of Lancaster, it was agreed, that immediate steps should be taken to raise him to the throne. It was proposed by the Bishop as the most probable means of healing the distractions of England, to unite the two houses of York and Lancaster, by the marriage of the Earl of Richmond with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late King Edward IV. It was next determined to treat with the Countess of Richmond, mother to the Earl; and for this purpose, the Bishop proposed to send for a trusty servant of the Countess, whom he knew to be discreet and faith-

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. VI.

ful in matters of trust and importance. The name of this person was Reginald Gray; and on his arrival, they gave him the following instructions to his mistress. 'That considering the kingdom could not be reduced to quiet, but by advancing the Earl of Richmond to the crown, and uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster by marriage—that the Countess of Richmond should treat of this matter with Queen Elizabeth, and having obtained her eldest daughter, she should send into Bretagne to her son; and if he promised to marry her, whenever he was crowned, they engaged by joining the forces of the faction to make him King.'

This foundation being laid, the Bishop escaped into Flanders, where he was made the instrument of saving the scheme from destruction. The Queen was yet in sanctuary; and the Countess of Richmond conveyed to her the instructions she had received, through her physician. The Queen was overjoyed at the proposal, and felt as if her misfortunes were about to receive a termination. But alas! she was doomed to afford one of the most striking examples of woman's inconstancy. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the Earl, in Bretagne. He fully acquiesced in the plan, and, in conjunction with the Duke of Bretagne, entered into active preparations, and for the present, sent over a very encouraging message.

The adherents of the Earl of Richmond were now, every where, in a state of activity; and the

## SECTION II.

CHAP. VI.

Civil War  
begins.

Bishop of Ely, did much to forward the design by his letters from Flanders. But although the greatest secrecy was observed, yet the wary and jealous King was on his guard; and suspecting the Duke of Buckingham to be the prime mover of the disaffection which he could not fail to observe, he endeavoured more effectually to gain him by greater and more extravagant promises. But the Duke was not to be ensnared a second time, and sent continual excuses on account of indisposition.

At length, the King dissatisfied with his evasions, sent him a peremptory command to appear before him. This was as peremptorily refused, and, became the immediate signal for war. The Marquess of Dorset, son to the Queen Dowager, left his sanctuary, and went into Lancashire, for the purpose of levying troops. In Devonshire and Cornwall, Sir Edward Courtney and his brother, the Bishop of Exeter, were in arms; and Sir Richard Guilford was making preparations in Kent.

The King understanding these movements, set out, at the head of his army, and marched to Shrewsbury, whilst the Duke of Buckingham, who was now about to receive the due reward of his past treachery and crimes, directed his course towards Gloucester, intending to pass the Severn, for the purpose of forming a junction with the other leaders of the party. But when he ap-

## SECTION II.

CHAP. VI.

proached the banks of that river, he found it swollen to such an unusual degree, that the passage was impossible. The waters which were never known, in the memory of man, to have risen to such a height, covered the neighbouring hills. The Duke was, therefore, necessarily detained; which led to his ruin; for, the sufferings of his army were so great, from the incessant rains and want of provisions—that with one consent, they disbanded themselves and returned home.

The Duke thus deserted, instead of following their example, became infatuated; and took refuge in the house of an old servant of the family, who was under infinite obligations to him; and hoped there to find a safe asylum from the pursuit of his enemies.

The other leaders hearing of the Duke's misfortune fled, and reached Bretagne in safety. Whilst the King used the most vigorous methods for breaking up the conspiracy: he blockaded all the sea ports—fitted out a fleet to observe the motions of the Earl of Richmond; and issued a proclamation of a general pardon, and one thousand pounds reward, to any person who would deliver up the Duke of Buckingham. To his eternal disgrace, Bannister with whom he had secreted himself, betrayed his benefactor to the Sheriff of Shropshire, who apprehended the once high, and noble, and potent Duke, digging in a potatoe field, in the disguise of a day labourer!

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
perishes.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. VI. He was conducted to Shrewsbury, and the King denying him his presence, he was beheaded without process, in the Market-place.

This brief campaign did nothing towards the furtherance of the great catastrophe of the reign, and seems intended, by the Almighty Governor, to exhibit, in the most open and public manner, the downfall and punishment of the proud, and treacherous, and capricious Duke of Buckingham. He was allowed, and so far it was well for him, to retrace his steps, to be the first mover in the restoration of the line of Lancaster; but he was not counted worthy to behold it. SO FALL THE WICKED! Whilst these things were going on, and the Duke of Buckingham was receiving the due reward of his deeds—the Earl of Richmond had put to sea; but his fleet, was dispersed by a storm. He stood however, towards the English shore, in hopes of hearing some intelligence respecting his adherents; but finding none to receive him—he returned to Normandy. He there learnt the entire failure of the first attempt, and the death of the English leader. The party, however, did not despair of final success; and in the Cathedral of Rennes, swore to the execution of the compact, as at first proposed; and all present, gave their fealty to the Earl of Richmond, as King of England.

Richard was not idle. In a parliament convened in London, the Earl and his adherents were outlawed, and their estates confiscated, whilst he

himself determined, if possible, by arts of his own, to get the Earl into his possession. He sent a messenger to the Duke of Bretagne, entrusted with the most magnificent presents, and still more munificent promises—offering all Richmondshire—all the Earl's revenues—and the estates of all those who had fled from England into Bretagne! On the arrival of the ambassadors, the Duke of Bretagne was under the influence of a delirium to which he was subject; and the whole Dukedom was under the management of *Peter Landoës*, a name which has been before introduced to the reader. On both occasions, he was made the instrument of saving the future King of England, but in different ways. On the former occasion, as we have seen, the Earl was saved by his VIRTUE—on the present, by his AVARICE. The virtue of Peter Landoës was to be bought. He was captivated with the golden bribe of Richard. He did not forget his incapacitated master, but demanded Richmondshire for his own share. It was thus necessary to write to England, for directions.—This delay saved the Earl. The ever watchful Bishop of Ely became acquainted with their design, and gave as timely notice as he could, to the Earl of Richmond, who escaped into France; but, so narrowly was his escape effected, that another hour would have proved his ruin.

The attentive reader will pause, over the circumstances of this transaction, in which he will

SECTION II.  
CHAP. VI. The Earl of Richmond providentially saved by Landoës who demands a whole district in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. VI.

discern the hand of a controlling power, that can cause the wicked to be taken "in the crafty williness which they have imagined" and can render the vices of men subservient to the purposes of his goodness.

At Montargis, the Earl was joined by John Vere, Earl of Oxford, who, since the battle of Barnet had been confined in the Castle of Vannes. He not only contrived his own escape, but prevailed on Sir John Blunt the Governor of the Castle, and Sir John Fortesque, porter of Calais, to join the cause of Richmond.

Active measures of the King.

In the mean time, Richard was incessantly employed in propping up his already tottering throne, and meditated schemes more and more heinous. The first was, to decoy the Queen Dowager and her daughter, into his hands—the second was, to rid himself of his wife, and the third, to marry his niece the Princess Elizabeth! It is not necessary to enlarge. He completely succeeded in his first design. The Queen and the two Princesses left their sanctuary at Westminster and were conducted, with great solemnity, to court.

The destruction of his amiable and unhappy wife, was not quite so easy a task. Although he was seared in conscience, and brutal in disposition, yet he could not coolly contemplate the taking her life. She must have been lovely to disarm the rigour of his savage breast! Historians relate

that she was of a soft and tender disposition, and Richard thought, by a little delay, he could destroy her by continued ill usage and neglect. He forbore her company—refused to speak to her, and took every opportunity of agonizing her mind. This scheme it is thought, succeeded, although it is uncertain whether she was not taken off by poison.

Thus was he well nigh the accomplishing of his schemes, and he was doubtless, allowed to proceed thus far, in order, the more signally, to display the avenging hand that pursued him; which, whilst it gave the most unlimited range to his furious passions, was able by the simplest means, and, in a moment to check his furious career.

We find him now congratulating himself on the dexterity, with which he had executed his two first schemes; and without delay, he was proceeding to the marriage of his niece—the future hope of the peace of England—when the storm of vengeance that was to overwhelm him, gathered so quickly, and grew so suddenly black about him, that his progress was interrupted. *His crimes and his days were numbered.* A slight advantage which he had obtained in the reduction of Hanes Castle, and the reports he heard of the weakness of the Earl of Richmond, disarmed him of his usual vigilance, and threw him off his guard. He recalled his fleet and disbanded his army.

## SECTION

## II.

## CHAP. VI.

Success of the King infatuates him.

SECTION II. CHAP. VI. The Earl of Richmond desponds.

The Earl of Richmond, who had experienced some disappointment in the backwardness of the French King to grant him supplies, was now at Roanne with the chief of his adherents; and to their inexpressible mortification, they heard of the death of the Queen, and of the immediate intention of the usurper to marry his niece. They were thrown by the intelligence into despair; and after a solemn consultation, they concluded the further pursuit of their enterprize, rash, and its success, visionary. They were thus at the point of abandoning their project altogether, when they received intelligence that Rice-ap-Thomas and Captain Savage, two persons of considerable experience, were ready to declare for Richmond. This good news was, indeed but like a little cloud in the west—but it was the fore-runner of the destructive tempest. Wearied with delay and disappointment, they seized the hope, however slender, and determined to strike an immediate and resolute blow. They lost no time in embarking what forces they had: and, after seven days, landed at Milford Haven, from whence they advanced to West Hereford: and the Earl, hearing that his uncle, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, was at the head of a considerable body of men in Pembroke-shire, he proceeded to Cardigan.

His prospects brighten.

This Earl of Pembroke seems to have been one of the most active and prudent men of any age or country; and must be considered as having given the first impulse to the success of this expedition

SECTION II. CHAP. VI. after it reached the shores of England. You never hear of this man, till you find him in action. Richmond's army, thus augmented, directed its march to Shrewsbury, where Sir Rice-ap-Thomas swore fealty to him. His next advance was to Newport, where Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with two thousand men. At Stafford he fell in with Sir Gilbert Stanley.—But Lord Stanley who was at Lichfield, on the Earl's approach, drew off his men, lest the King should take vengeance upon his son, whom he held in possession, as a hostage.

Richard was at Nottingham, and hearing of the passage of the Severn, he thought it high time to bestir himself. He advanced by forced marches, to Leicester, which place he entered at night-fall, on a white steed, and attended by his guards. His countenance, it is reported, was wild, and his language furious. Next day he hastened to meet his enemy, and receiving intelligence of his near approach, drew up his army in order of battle, near Market Bosworth.

When the Earl of Richmond heard of this movement, he gave orders for the breaking up of his camp at Tamworth, and for the advance of his troops. He himself was at Atherstone; and the house is now shewn, where, the night previous to the battle, himself and Lord Stanley held a secret conference.

That fatal day was now arrived; and Richard drew out his army with great ability and precision.

SECTION II.  
CHAP. IV. He committed the van to the Duke of Norfolk, the main body was led by himself, whilst Lord Stanley was posted between them, holding as it were, the balance of victory in his hands. The temporizing of Richard put this into his power. The King was, throughout, suspicious of Lord Stanley's fidelity, and threatened him, in case of treachery, with the immediate death of his son. Had he struck the blow, or delivered up his son, the conduct of Stanley would have been decided. He hesitated, till it was too late, for after the battle was set in array, Richard sent a message to Stanley, threatening the execution of his son, to which Stanley replied: 'Let him do as he likes, I have more sons than one.' By this answer he saved his son: for the King, perceiving his revolt at that time, would be fatal to his cause, durst not put his threat into execution.

The Earl of Richmond committed the van of his army to the Earl of Oxford,—the right wing was placed under the conduct of Sir Gilbert Talbot. His left was commanded by Sir John Savage; whilst himself and the Earl of Pembroke, took charge of the reserve.

The battle soon became general, but there was a want of energy in the army of Richard, which, although he far outnumbered his adversary, soon manifested itself in the decided superiority of Richmond. Richard, like an enraged wild beast, ran furiously through his lines, endeavouring, in

SECTION II.  
CHAP. VI. vain, to animate his lifeless troops; and perceiving the Earl of Richmond, at a short distance, with a slight attendance, he rushed upon him with his lance. The Earl rejoiced at the opportunity of meeting his antagonist, and was preparing to receive him, but was prevented by his attendants. Richard disappointed of his prey rushed upon the great standard, and slew Sir W. Brandon, the standard bearer; and advancing, bore down to the ground, Sir John Cheney, a knight of great strength and valour. At this point, his fury was stopped by the Earl of Richmond, who presented himself to him, sword in hand; but at the same moment, the Lord Stanley who had been watching his opportunity, surrounded the King's squadron; which Richard perceiving, like a chased boar driven to the last extremity, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, and perished like a second Cataline, with his sword grasped in his hand, and with all the fury of revenge depicted in his countenance. But this was not all. The retributory justice of Heaven did not end in hurling him at one blow, from the lofty seat of his guilty ambition, and cutting him off from the land of the living, in the prime of his days—but he was made an ignominious spectacle in the sight of all men, and a lesson to all future generations: his dead body was plundered and stripped by the avaricious soldiery, and his naked corpse thrown carelessly over a horse, was carried to Leicester; where, for two

King Richard  
perishes.

SECTION II. days, it lay exposed on the bare earth, as if it were beyond the pale of humanity—and, at last, as if out of the pale of Christendom, he was buried without funeral rites.

CHAP. VI.

Thus perished the last male descendant of the house of York; of which, whilst in his own thoughts he was pursuing its aggrandisement, he in reality became the great extirpator.

House of York. This branch of the royal house had undoubtedly the best claim to the crown; but it must be apparent that its destruction was a felicitous event for England. The whole lineage was unprincipled—vicious, blood-thirsty, false, and inconstant. Their personal licentiousness, whilst it corrupted by its example, obliged them to wink at the crimes of others; and, the laxity with which they held the reins of government, although attended in the result, with advantage to our constitutional liberty, yet inflicted great temporary evils upon the community. It is evident the family was too flagitious to live; and in consistency with the divine system and moral government of the world, they were cut off from the earth.

The battle of Bosworth, was the thirteenth, and last of the civil wars, which had lasted for thirty years; and in which, according to an eminent historian,\* there perished EIGHTY Princes of the blood—HOSTS of the nobility, and *one hundred thousand* of the common people.

\* Comines.

SECTION II. To the dear bought experience of this period, may be traced the downfall of the feudal power by the destruction of the aristocracy, and the full establishment of that great principle of the English constitution—the hereditary succession of the crown, which succeeding statesmen have guarded with jealous care; and to which, as long as a sane person is at the head of her policy, this country will invariably adhere.

CHAP. VI.  
Progress of  
the Country.

We observe also, during the irregular transactions of this time, the growing importance attached to parliament. It was incessantly appealed to by both parties; and became the arbiter among Kings, of their power and their thrones.

But the times gave encouragement and influence to a more formidable power than parliament—the middle and lower classes of the people. To them, both parties were obliged to sue for the purpose of asserting their claims; and in consequence, flattered and indulged them. The yoke of feudal slavery was greatly alleviated; and the growth of the middling and lower classes of the community, must be regarded as receiving a great and effectual impulse from this date.

We may further add, that the authority of the crown, became paramount and undisputed, not only from the series of victories which the sovereigns had obtained—but by the immense slaughter of the nobility, and the confiscation of their estates, which crippled their power, and made them less able to compete with the supreme authority.

SECTION II. Nor was learning without its ornaments, We may record the names of Basset, Walsingham, Lyttleton, Fortesque.

CHAP. VI.

But more than all, this age gave birth to the art of Printing, which was brought into England by William Caxton, a mercer of London, whose first Printing press was set to work in the *Abbey of Westminster*, 1471. Its Popish Masters at that time, little thinking, that that simple machine was to be the great instrument of their overthrow.

We can say little respecting religion. Popery, without any open opposition, retained its dark dominion over the minds of men—but the doctrines of the immortal Wicliffe, watered by the blood of martyrs, was taking deep, but silent root in the hearts of thousands; and were only waiting a favorable opportunity to burst forth and adorn the land.

We evidently perceive, that if great civil perfection had not been attained by our country, that mighty preparations were making for its future destination; and we shall not be disappointed in the succeeding era of our history at the progress which it attained. And we shall further perceive, whilst evils of such magnitude were transacting and bringing swift punishment upon the immediate actors—the main interest of the nation was secured, by HIM “WHOSE PATHS, ARE IN THE SEA, AND WHOSE JUDGMENTS ARE IN THE GREAT DEEP.”

## THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY, &c.

### SECTION III. CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII.—UNION OF THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER—CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVEREIGN POWER.

THE time had now arrived when the Almighty Governor, after having severely punished the whole nation, was intending to raise its drooping head—to give a more rapid impulse to its prosperity, and, to cause it to stand forth more prominently, as an EXEMPLAR STATE. For this end He raised up an individual, eminently fitted for the intended work,—a man of great capacity, deep penetration, unwearied diligence, unshaken courage, habitual temperance, and, as all such men are,—deeply imbued with religious reverence. Like William the Conqueror, he had not, in his early years, been fondled on the lap of ease; but nurtured for great deeds, amidst hardships and dangers.

SECTION III.

CHAP. I.

Henry VII.  
proclaimed  
King, Aug. 22.  
A. D. 1485.

SECTION III. CHAP. I. Whoever considers the extraordinary manner in which his life was, more than once, preserved—the unlikely means by which his elevation was secured, and the personal fitness with which he entered upon it, will not fail to perceive in the steps by which he was led to the throne, the high and superintending Providence of God. What could have been more improbable than such an event, during the reign of Edward IV. in whom centred all the glory of the house of York? What more improbable on the death of that Prince, who left behind him two sons and a daughter—two sisters and two nephews? We have, indeed, seen how the way was opened by Richard III. in order to gratify his own lust of ambition; and how signally his crimes were punished by the just Arbiter of human affairs: and now we perceive the same Supreme Being “educing good out of evil,” and raising up the fittest man in the world, for the purpose of carrying on the scheme of his benevolence.

His Exile in  
Bretagne.

During his long exile, he had both time and opportunity for making observation, and meditating upon the affairs of England.—Nor did he neglect the opportunity. He was well acquainted with the evils which harrassed his country; and long before he reached its shores, he had formed those schemes for remedying them, which he, afterwards, so vigorously carried into execution.

SECTION III. CHAP. I. He was now about thirty years of age, and was considered the representative of the house of Lancaster—but for what reason, the line of his succession has been called the *House of Tudor*, it is not easy to determine.—His father, Edmund Earl of Richmond, was son to Owen Tudor and Catharine, the Queen and widow of Henry IV.—This descent could not possibly have made his father the heir of the house of Lancaster, or given him a title to the crown of England. The claim of Henry, arose from the marriage of his father with Margaret, youngest daughter of the Duke of Somerset, who was grandson to the Duke of Lancaster; so that, if the succession is to have a name, it ought to be denominated the “House of Somerset.”

The great principles on which this distinguished Monarch had determined to conduct his government were *law* and *policy*; his designs for establishing the foundations of the British Monarchy, as they had been long and deliberately formed, so were they carried into execution with unusual promptness and perseverance.

Principles of  
Henry's  
Government.

After the battle of Bosworth, he proceeded by easy stages, to London—not as a conqueror, but as a long recognized King, who was making a progress through his dominions—and he entered the capital City, not with military pomp, but in a close carriage, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The proclamation of a general pardon gave universal satisfaction. At Saint Paul's, he offered

SECTION solemn thanksgiving to God; and the "Te Deum"

III.

CHAP. I.

Houses of  
York and Lan-  
caster united.

was chaunted in demonstration of the public joy. His prudence and foresight were discovered in the very commencement of his reign, by resolving not to allow his claim to the throne, to depend solely upon his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which he saw would be attended with many serious inconveniences, both to himself, and the peace of the country. Elizabeth was the sole surviving representative of the House of York; and the nation, wearied with its long dissensions, was extremely anxious for her union with Henry, and all men felt a deep interest in the final settlement of the question. Whilst therefore he quieted the minds of the nobility and the people, by renewing, in the most solemn manner, his intention of marrying the heiress of the House of York, and putting an end to all distinctions for the future, he caused himself to be crowned, alone, on the title of the House of Lancaster.

Henry mar-  
ries the Prin-  
cess Elizabeth:

After his coronation, he fulfilled his pledge, and married Elizabeth; an event which created universal joy, and filled all hearts with gladness.\*—It was indeed a happy consummation for England, and brought about by a series of events, contrary to all human expectation and hope! Yet the King's unconquerable aversion to the House of York, deeply affected his conduct towards his Queen; and indeed, to the whole of her family. By his unjust and implacable conduct, he embittered

\* Bacon Hist. 7.

tered all her domestic enjoyments, and in his public capacity he was severely punished, by the intrigues of two illustrious females of that still persecuted house,—the Duchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. residing in Flanders, and his august widow, mother of Queen Elizabeth. The latter, soon commenced her machinations against

SECTION

III.

CHAP. I.

Scheme to  
personate the  
Earl of War-  
wick.

the peace of her son-in-law, by forming a shallow scheme, the whole narration of which, is unworthy the dignity of History; and would, certainly, find no place here, were it not to shew, that folly and pride generally prepare the means for their own correction. Her design was to find some one to personate the Earl of Warwick, who was the nearest male heir to the throne, and who had been made prisoner by Richard III. and was, by an unjust and mistaken policy, still confined in the Tower. This unfortunate young man was son to the late Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. In his case, the crimes of the father were still punished in the son, who was imprisoned from his earliest days, and came to an early and violent death, for no other reason, but, because he was the son of the Duke of Clarence; and had in consequence, a near relation to the throne.

The Queen and her counsellors were not long in finding a person who bore some resemblance to the family; and was of equal age to the unfortunate youth in the Tower. He was trained and instructed, with great care, for the part he was to act; and with great success, so far as persona-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I.

tion was concerned.—But the scheme itself, had nothing to rest upon; the true Earl of Warwick, was in the Tower, and the King could demonstrate it, which he did, by shewing him openly to the people. The plot, however, was sent on its progress; and Ireland was to be the first scene of trial. Many in that country, were deceived by his pretensions; and amongst the rest, the Earl of Kildare.—But the principal victim in this foolish enterprize, was the next heir of York, after the Earl of Warwick!—This was the Earl of Lincoln, son of Elizabeth the sister of Edward IV. a youth of an enterprising spirit, martial talents, and ambitious aims. He eagerly rushed into the scheme, and making use of the Pretender as his tool, he trusted, amidst the horrors and confusion of civil war, to be able to guide the storm and secure himself on the throne. Assisted by his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy, with money and a considerable body of Germans, and attended by the pretended Warwick, who was proclaimed and crowned as King; he advanced as far as Stoke in Nottinghamshire. In this place, he was met by Henry; his army was routed and himself slain.—The just reward of his ambition and perfidy! Many other restless spirits fell with him, as Kildare, Lovell, and Broughton; whilst the counterfeit Warwick, was appointed to a menial office in the King's household; and the Queen Dowager confined to a nunnery, the rest of her days.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I.

The King had commenced and studiously pursued his plan of enriching his Exchequer. The supplies granted by Parliament, were rigidly collected, which caused loud complaints, and at length, broke out into insurrection in Yorkshire, and Cornwall. But these commotions—the remnant of those turbulent times which had just passed away, though truly formidable, were dispersed as much by the King's policy, as by the force of his arms.

The account of this reign by historians, and even by Hume, is much engrossed with the affairs of France; by the details of which, a great deal of French dissimulation and treachery are manifest. But the whole of these transactions, as they lead to nothing important in the affairs of England, may be dispensed with in few words—Henry obtained supplies from his Parliament—led an army into France—compelled the French King to pay his expenses—concluded peace and returned home.

Soon after the King's return, a singular and important embassy arrived from Spain, to inform him of the expulsion of the Moors, by the victorious arms of Ferdinand and Isabella; and of a still more glorious event, the discovery of America, by Christopher Columbus, under the same enterprising Sovereigns. This latter event is worthy of a more minute examination, and would, no doubt, develop, in a remarkable manner, the overruling Providence of the Most High—but we must re-

Affairs of France occupies the King's attention.  
A. D. 1487.

Ambassador from Spain.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I. frain, because it belongs to the history of Spain, or rather of the world. On the occasion of this embassy, solemn thanksgivings were offered in the cathedral of Saint Paul.

But unfortunately, Henry was his own tormentor. His steady and unrelenting persecution of the House of York, served to keep that party in a constant state of excitement, and the close confinement of the Earl of Warwick, filled the nation with disgust; whilst his uncompromising severity in the administration of the law and the levying of the taxes, rendered the unruly and avaricious, ever ready to disturb his government.

Queen's College founded.

The Queen-mother was now dead, and far removed from those scenes of trouble in which she had been engaged; but her life was prolonged till she had completed the foundation of Queen's College, Cambridge, which had been commenced by that noble-spirited woman, Margaret, Queen of Henry VI.

Duchess of Burgundy, instructs Warbeck,  
A. D. 1492.

But there was another distinguished female of that house still surviving, endued with much greater abilities, and formed for deeper intrigues, who was determined not to permit the insults and injuries offered to her family to pass without revenge. This was the Duchess of Burgundy. She laid her schemes accordingly; but however skilful and full of mischief they might be, they were laid for her own mortification, and the further punishment of her devoted family.

Under her tuition, a youth of the name of SECTION III.  
CHAP. I. Warbeck was instructed to personate the Duke of York, son to Edward the IV. and the younger of the brothers, murdered by order of Richard III. His education was conducted with the greatest secrecy and success: By the artifices of the Duchess, he was acknowledged by the King of France, and treated as a Royal personage. King James of Scotland, not only received him as the legitimate heir to the English Throne—but gave him a noble and beautiful lady for his wife, who was a near kinswoman of his own. But the policy of Henry frustrated the whole of this well laid plot. He had a spy in the closet of the Duchess herself; and in the councils of the Personator. He became acquainted, familiarly, with every circumstance and event of Warbeck's history; and with the names of all the English nobility, who favored the scheme. The most conspicuous person that, fell an easy victim to this plot was Sir W. Stanley, Lord High Chamberlain, the very person who turned the scale of victory at Bosworth Field; and who till then, stood deservedly high in the opinion of Henry. Warbeck obstinately continued the imposture, and, for some years, kept the King's mind in a constant state of uneasiness. At length he landed in Cornwall, determined to make a grand effort for his cause. He was defeated near Exeter, by Henry, to whom he made a full con-

SECTION III. fession, on which account, his life was spared, and he was confined to the Tower.

### III.

#### CHAP. I.

The Earl of Warwick executed, which ended the Plantaganets.  
A. D. 1499.

fession, on which account, his life was spared, and he was confined to the Tower.

But on this very circumstance, I mean the pardon of the Impostor, was to turn the punishment of the Duchess of Burgundy, for her studied revenge and falsehood. The restless spirit of Warbeck, induced him to intrigue with his keepers, and through them, with the Earl of Warwick; a plot was laid, in which the Governor of the Tower was to be assassinated and their escape secured. But it was prevented, and not only Warbeck suffered, but the miserable Earl of Warwick, the last remnant of the House of York, was sacrificed!—Not really for this meditated escape, but for another reason, which I would gladly pass over, had not the Hand of God as the just avenger of crime, been afterwards recognised by one of the indirect actors concerned in it.

### Policy of the King.

The policy of the King had been altogether triumphant. He was a man endued with the most eminent courage, but his study was Peace; and when violent measures were proposed to him, he was accustomed to answer: "When the Son of God came into the world, Peace was sang; when he went out of it, Peace was bequeathed." His great object was attained; and peace and tranquility succeeded his labours, and smiled, propitious, on the happy land; whilst his reputation, for wisdom and prudence, at this period of his life, stood pre-eminent amongst the Potentates of the earth.

We are now approaching the consideration of SECTION  
events, which, if not in themselves of striking III.  
moment, yet involve in the course of time, results CHAP. I.  
of surpassing magnitude.

The first important transaction to which our attention is directed, is the marriage of Prince Arthur, who was now sixteen years of age, with the Infanta of Spain—an alliance which Henry had long coveted, as well for its political advantages, as for the costly dower with which the Princess was to be accompanied. But it was an unhappy marriage, and no wonder, for it was cemented with blood! The ostensible reason for the execution of the Earl of Warwick, and the plea which was alleged, was his premeditated escape with Warbeck; but the real and impulsive cause, was the determination of the King of Spain, not to allow his daughter to marry, whilst Warwick was alive! This fact was asserted many years after by the *Infanta herself*, when greater troubles assailed her—as the ground and reason of her misfortunes.—She acknowledged in her sufferings, the retributory hand of the Most High, saying: “It was no wonder that God should make her so unfortunate in her marriages, inasmuch as they were both sealed with the blood of Warwick.”

Prince Arthur died within six months of his marriage, but the King had another son; and he determined if possible, not to lose the valuable

SECTION III. CHAP. I. prize which had been put into his hands, and he insisted that his younger son, afterwards the renowned Henry VIII. should be contracted to his brother's widow. This alliance was much against the stripling's will; and he opposed the paternal authority, as far as a boy of twelve years of age could be supposed capable of opposition. But in vain. The Infanta of Spain, was in proper time married to Henry, now the heir apparent to the English throne; and upon the circumstances of this marriage turned in after time, the Reformation of the Church of England! The influence it had, so many years after, upon that ever-memorable event, could not have been exerted, had it not been for the Infanta's previous marriage with Prince Arthur. This was the pretext upon which Henry founded his appeal for a divorce. Catharine was an excellent Queen and most exemplary woman: and no other plea could have been devised, as she was free from every stain of dishonor. It was this fact, which had originated in very different intentions, and which had no connection or similarity with the result, that enabled Henry VIII. to shake the Papal throne to its foundations, and to rescue the Church of England from its long-usurped and tyrannical sway!

The King's daughter married to the King of Scotland. A. D. 1502. But a similar event was about to follow, which was intended in the overruling counsels of Heaven, still more to secure the prosperity of England. This was the marriage of James, King of Scot-

SECTION III. CHAP. I. land, with Henry's eldest daughter—an alliance which, in after times, was to give a succession of Princes to the English throne—afford stability to the realm, and affix the name of Great Britain to the Island. This contract was a splendid political act; and it is worthy of remark, that whilst the subject was under discussion at the wary council board of Henry VII. it was suggested by one of the Councillors—that, probably, if the King's sons should die without issue, the Kingdom of England might devolve to the King of Scotland, to the prejudice of the English monarchy. To this the prudent Monarch with prophetic sagacity replied—that if such a circumstance should happen, *Scotland would become an accession to England, not England to Scotland, because the greater would certainly draw the less.*

Whilst the King was thus promoting foreign alliances, and laying strong foundations for the stability and splendour of the throne, he was not inattentive to the welfare and prosperity of the body politic. By his well directed efforts, he changed entirely the balance of power in the state; and gave the fullest impulse to the growth of the middle orders in England, which at this day, form its greatest stability and wealth. It was his leading policy to restrain the licentiousness, and abridge the power of the nobility, which he did, not by the strength of his own prerogative, which was fluctuating in its nature—but by the provi-

Improvements  
in the body  
politic.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I. sions of Law, which are permanent. He went to the root of deep and intolerable evils, which had long oppressed the land. He caused a law to be enacted, by which the lands of the Barons were made alienable,—a law which was intended to cause their exorbitant power to crumble to pieces, of itself.

His next endeavour was, to bind the tenant more to the soil, than to the fortunes of his Lord; and he caused certain proportions of land to be allotted for tillage, in order that the comforts of the husbandman being increased, he might less easily be seduced by his master, to quit the ploughshare for the sword, and leave his tranquil employments for the purpose of disturbing the public peace. And the more effectually to cripple the present power of the nobility—a law was enacted, by which the multitude of their retainers was abridged, and a certain specified number allowed.

King's visit to the Earl of Oxford. An anecdote in reference to this subject is related of the King, which, as it has a tendency to illustrate his character, is worth retaining. The King had honored the Earl of Oxford his prime minister, with a visit at Henningham Castle, where he was entertained with great splendor, and hospitality. To greet the King on his departure, the Earl assembled all, that by any title held land of him—gentlemen, yeomen, and retainers. As the King passed through the long line of vassals, he enquired of the Earl, whether these were all

his servants: to which the Earl with a smile returned: 'they were his tenants and retainers.' SECTION III.  
CHAP. I. The King then thanked him for his entertainment, saying that the report of his hospitality did not even reach the truth—but, looking round, he added: "I cannot allow my laws to be broken in my presence, my attorney must talk with you about it," and the Prime Minister was obliged to compound for this breach of the law, with no less a sum, than fifteen thousand marks.

It is impossible to estimate, too highly, the effect of his salutary enactments on the state of our present policy. He was laying the foundation of a mighty monarchy, and raising the scaffolding for the completion of a magnificent edifice, which was to be an EXEMPLAR among states.—Its construction was not that of a baseless fabric, liable to be disturbed by every gust of fortune: but formed to endure; built on Law, and cemented by Justice.

His act against the arbitrary enclosure of land, which had caused great local distress, by depopulating large districts, is, deservedly, celebrated for its wisdom. It both served to check the nobility, and to encourage the growth of the lower orders of society. In short, it was now that the strong links, which, in the system of feudalism, had bound together the elements of society, were severed; that the illusive glory of chivalry vanished, and the foundations of rational freedom and solid improvement, were laid.

## SECTION

III.

CHAP. I.

The King next turned his attention to the patrimony of the crown, which had, during the civil wars, fallen into great disorder. Leases of considerable length had been granted, and the exigency of public affairs preventing all enquiry, the individuals in possession, considered the lands as their own, and devised them as if they were held in fee simple. To rectify these abuses, and, to call into operation many wholesome laws, which had fallen into disuse, the King issued one of those commissions of inquiry, which are always odious to the people of this Country, and which nothing can justify but urgent necessity.

Commissions  
unpopular.

The power with which these commissions are necessarily armed, being unconstitutional and arbitrary, few of those persons who have been selected to carry them into execution, have escaped the temptation they offer, for the exercise of tyranny and rapacity. In the present instance, the names of Empson and Dudley, have become justly execrable, for the manner in which they conducted this inquiry: their cruelty, rapacity, and tyranny excited the indignation of the whole kingdom: whilst, their intolerable pride hurried them on to acts of the most illegal and arbitrary character, which, in the following reign, ended in their own destruction.

But the policy of the King was answered:—the laws were enforced, and the executive was fortified and enriched—wealth flowed into his treasury,

not from this only, but from many other sources; until, at length, he was acknowledged to be the richest Prince in Europe. But he was not laying up treasures for himself, but for the nation—His, were not the accumulations of avarice, but of foresight and enlarged views! He had perceived the misery and ruin to which the throne had frequently been exposed for want of a well furnished exchequer, and it was his policy, to the utmost of his power, to guard against this evil for the future,

But in reality, it was for another purpose which he never contemplated. All this wealth was absolutely necessary for carrying on the GREAT EVENT which will soon be before us; and indeed enabled the executive power, in the succeeding reign, to stem the torrent of opposition which was opposed to it.

Whilst then, it is certain, that the King was actuated with the desire of aggrandizing the Monarchy; it is not impossible, that he might have been gratifying a more ignoble passion, which, indeed all historians attribute to him. I confess, I do not. I cannot trace its low bred, insidious working, in the great events of his reign; nor will I be so ungenerous as to record without sufficient proof, that his great mind was a prey to the debasing crime of avarice. If he was eager to accumulate wealth, he was princely in bestowing it upon noble objects; and he freely left it to be enjoyed by his successor.—These are not the

SECTION characteristics of avarice. But be this as it may,  
 III. his accumulating policy was overruled for greater  
 CHAP. I. purposes, than ever entered into his calculation—  
 purposes, intimately connected with the scheme  
 of the Divine benevolence, and rendered, as an  
 instrument, greatly subservient to their accom-  
 plishment. Not that Henry, on this account, is  
 excusable for the wrongs he committed.—These,  
 in the Divine Judgement, stand recorded against  
 him: nor, was he himself insensible to the claims  
 of justice. The loud complaints against the rapa-  
 ciousness of his ministers reached his ears; the  
 ministers of religion from the pulpit exhorted  
 him to interfere; and he was so far open to con-  
 viction, as to order a clause to be inserted in his  
 will, for the purpose of making restitution to all,  
 who had been unjustly deprived by the rigorous  
 inquisition of his officers.

A circumstance now occurred, which, although  
 it relates to a private individual, must not be  
 omitted, because it has a tendency to discover the  
 retributory Providence of God. I allude to the  
 public execution of that barbarous instrument in  
 murder, Sir Walter Tyrrell.

Earl of Suffolk leaves the Kingdom. The person whose birth entitled him to be  
 second to the King, in eminence, was Edmund,  
 Earl of Suffolk, the heir and representative of the  
 house of York.—But he was a person of a proud  
 and haughty disposition; and on some occasion,  
 in the heat of his resentment, he committed homi-

cide. “He flattered himself in his own eyes,” and SECTION  
 thought of committing this flagrant act with im- III.  
 punity; but, he was in some measure, mistaken; CHAP. I.  
 for, whilst the King promised him a pardon,  
 he insisted that, he should go through the form-  
 ality of a trial, and receive the sentence of the law.  
 Irritated at this, which he esteemed an indignity,  
 he fled from the kingdom and took refuge in Flan-  
 ders, with his relative the Duchess of Burgundy.  
 But the King, fearing lest his residence there,  
 should be the cause of new disturbances, had re-  
 course to his never failing policy; and by fair  
 speeches and large promises, prevailed upon him  
 to return.

After the lapse of a few years, the Earl was A second time,  
 induced to leave the kingdom a second time, and A. D. 1504.  
 under such circumstances as afforded strong sus-  
 picion of treasonable designs. The King imme-  
 diately applied himself to those methods, which  
 he had found so successful on former and similar  
 occasions.

Through the instrumentality of Sir Robert  
 Curzon, governor of Calais, he became fully  
 apprised of all the circumstances, connected with  
 the Earl's departure, and acquainted with the  
 names of all the eminent persons in England, who  
 favored his evil intentions. Amongst these was Sir  
 Walter Tyrrell. Many other persons of distinc-  
 tion were implicated; but the fatal lot fell only  
 upon two—Sir Walter Tyrrell and Sir John Wynd-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I. ham, who were brought to the scaffold and beheaded as traitors. With the character of Sir John Wyndham we are unacquainted; but we cannot fail to recognize in the untimely and infamous death of Sir. Walter Tyrrell, the just vengeance of an Almighty hand, which will not suffer the guilty to escape. It will be necessary to observe, in connexion with this event, because the subject will again be brought before us, that the Earl of Suffolk by a strange concurrence of circumstances was secured, and lodged by Henry, in the Tower!

Henry had now reigned more than twenty years, and concluded his long and able system of state policy, by affiancing his daughter the Princess Mary, to Charles of Spain, afterwards the celebrated Emperor Charles V. It was on this occasion, that he said, on a review of the various alliances he had been enabled to form—"I think I have built a wall of brass around my kingdom." And which indeed was true. In the wisdom and prudence of his administration he surpassed all the Princes of Europe, and has justly acquired for himself the appellation of the "Solomon of England."

The King's  
health declines.  
A. D. 1507.

He had now completed his well-laid plans, and accomplished his utmost wishes. He had frustrated the designs, and ruined the projects of his enemies. He had repaired all the breaches of hatred, contention, and strife, which had been

created by the civil wars. He had enriched the public treasury to an immense extent, so that he was not only reported to be the wisest, but the richest Prince in Christendom. He had multiplied to the people, both the means and conveniences of living. He protected the arts. He had extended commerce; he encouraged enterprise, and to conclude the acts of his public beneficence, he furnished and endowed the ancient Palace of the Lancastrians in the Savoy, for a Metropolitan Hospital; nor should it in this place be omitted in honor to the memory of his mother, Margaret, Duchess of Richmond, that by her generosity, aided by her Son, the colleges of Christ's and Saint John's were founded in the University of Cambridge. Whilst the splendid Chapel in Westminster Abbey, which bears his name, will long continue a noble monument of his taste and munificence.

His physical powers were in unison with the qualities of his mind. He possessed great strength and vigour of body, and is said to have been remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the attraction of his manners.

His regard for religion was simple and uniform, without ostentation on the one hand, or superstition on the other; and it is remarkable that, the father of Henry VIII. received more marked and signal honors from the Popes of Rome, than any individual Monarch. He was thrice elected, in

SECTION III.  
CHAP. I.

SECTION  
III.  
CHAP. I.

the several Pontificates of Alexander VI. Pius III. and Julius II. "Chief defender of Christ's Church," in preference to all other Christian Kings; and, in the year preceding his death, and in virtue of this title, he received as a present from Pius II. a cap of maintenance and a sword, as badges of this high distinction.

So little can the foresight of the most politic statesmen scan the changes which await their most favorite projects in a few revolving years. How little could these subtle Potentates of Rome; have foreseen that the immediate Son and successor of the man they "delighted to honor," would be the first to break their usurping yoke, and to annihilate every vestige of their power and authority in England!

But the work of Henry VII. was now accomplished, and he must yield up the sceptre he had so much honored, to other hands, which should carry into execution those great measures, for which he had made such extensive preparations, without having the least perception of their character.

The work to be accomplished, and for which he had been laying the deep foundations, was the reform of the Church of England, which neither he, nor his successor contemplated. But, both, were fitting instruments in the hands of Him, who in a prophetic vision, said of the all-conquering Cyrus: "That saith of Cyrus, he is my

SECTION  
III.  
CHAP. I.

shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, Thy foundations shall be laid."\*

In like manner, Henry VII. of England, endowed and fortified by divine power to carry on the designs of the Eternal Providence, having with signal prudence aggrandized both his kingdom and family, now approached the end of his course at the early age of fifty three, with dignity and composure. He consecrated the few remaining days of his life to acts of charity and devotion, and with solemn seriousness awaited the final hour,† when he should be summoned by the Supreme Governor, to lay down his delegated authority, and to exchange time for eternity.

His death.  
A. D. 1509.

\* Isaiah xl. 28.

† April 2.

## SECTION III.—CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII.—REJECTION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE  
POPE, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL PRO-  
TESTANTISM.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
Henry VIII.  
A. D. 1509.

ON the death of Henry VII., the importance of his persevering policy began to appear; and the course of national events forthwith rushed to their accomplishment. His prudence, wisdom, and experience were gone; but in their place, succeeded vigour, dispatch, and enterprise. His son who now mounted the throne, was in the pride of youth, and adorned with every manly and noble grace. He was endowed with uncommon abilities, and with such variety of temper and disposition, that he is said to have inherited and united in himself, all the good and bad qualities of the two Houses of York and Lancaster. In personal endowments he was unrivalled.—He was tall, and

majestic;—and, possessed of such remarkable strength and agility, that few would venture to contend with him in the joust, or oppose him in the tournament.

To these external advantages, was added a considerable share of the abstruse learning of that day, which, combined with the lighter and more attractive accomplishments of poetry and music, gave a captivating polish to his character.

In the commencement of his reign, he discovered a remarkable modesty and noble ingenuousness of mind; and under the direction of his grandmother, the Duchess of Richmond, with the advice of the wise counsellors bequeathed to him by his father, the acts of his Government were distinguished by prudence and moderation.

He had now an opportunity, if he had pleased, to have broken off the contract of marriage into which he had been urged against his will, with Catharine, the Infanta of Spain, and widow to his brother Arthur. Indeed, the way had been opened to him by his father, who on his death bed stated his doubts as to the propriety of proceeding with it. But the desire of the young Monarch to fulfil, what he considered the deliberate judgment and long cherished design of his father, prevailed over every consideration; and within six weeks of his father's death, on the third of June, his marriage with the Infanta was solemnized. The coronation took place, on the

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. midsummer day following, with great magnificence; and attended with every circumstance of pomp and festivity.

Empson and  
Dudley suffer  
for their evil  
deeds.

His next object was to fulfil that clause of his Father's will, which enjoined a general pardon, and restitution of property to all who might have been unjustly wronged by the extortions of his officers. To honor the triumph of this general pardon, Empson and Dudley, were committed to the Tower. The King by no means, intended their execution. But their injustice and rapaciousness demanded the heaviest doom. The Parliament which was immediately summoned, was led to institute a strict inquiry into their proceedings, and to abolish many of the obnoxious statutes under which they had acted. The imprisonment of these unfortunate commissioners, so far from satisfying the people, only made them more importunate for their capital punishment, and the King was obliged to comply. How short sometimes is the interval between pride and its overthrow, between injustice and its punishment!

By this sacrifice to the national will, and by the abolishing of many arbitrary fines, the King acquired the universal admiration of his subjects. His youthful ardour, his skill and ability in chivalrous exercises, his shining endowments and ardent pursuits of literary knowledge, attracted the attention of the nobility, who fired by his illustrious example, entered into a generous and

successful emulation; whilst foreign Princes hearing of the splendor and elegance of his court, were induced to cultivate his friendship and alliance. SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

Such were the commanding auspices under which Henry VIII. commenced his reign. Congratulations on his accession, poured in from every side. Embassies crowded to his shores from the most powerful Monarchs of Europe. It will be necessary to introduce these personages to the reader, because they will be chief actors in the scenes, which are about to open before us, and the influence of some of them will be largely exerted on the transactions of this reign.

Lewis XII. King of France, engaged as he was in the pursuit of territorial ambition, lost no time in soliciting Henry for the continuance of peace. James IV. of Scotland, who had married the King's sister, hastened to congratulate him, and to assure him of his esteem and regard. Ferdinand of Spain was anxious to obtain his assistance against the Moors. The Emperor Maximilian was equally anxious to secure him as a friend and ally. The King of Denmark solicited a treaty of trade and commerce; whilst Pope Julius II. earnestly entreated for effectual aid against the encroachments of the French in Italy, offering to constitute Henry the head of the "Italian League." Such were the several powers under whose sway the destinies of Europe were then conducted, and by their unanimous consent, Henry

Princes and  
Potentates of  
Europe.

SECTION at the opening of his reign, was exalted as the  
 III. Arbiter of European affairs, and the "Balance of  
 CHAP. II. Power" placed in his hands.

His penetrating mind perceived the lofty station to which he had been raised by the election of his compeers. His ardent temperament would not permit him to reject the offered distinction, and his wealth and ability enabled him to hold the pre-eminence, generally, with honor to himself and his country. Indeed, it was the commencement of a new era in European politics, and England was called to occupy a position, in her advances from which, she has never since retreated.

A. D. 1510. The political scene now opens. The King's first step was to answer the solicitations of the Pope; and he dispatched Bambridge, Archbishop of York to make arrangements with the Sovereign Pontiff. But his Holiness was in need of more effectual assistance than the counsel of an Archbishop; for, the French had advanced their conquests in Italy; and had now invested Bognonia, where the Pope himself was confined with sickness; and, after a brief resistance, the place was obliged to surrender on very severe conditions.

This success of the French arms, created general alarm, and it was determined to check its further advance. For this purpose, Henry immediately entered into an alliance with Ferdinand, the King of Spain.

It would not be necessary for me, in a history SECTION  
 of this kind, to cause a digression by narrating a III.  
 trifling circumstance, which gave umbrage to the CHAP. II.  
 King of Scotland, were it not, that it laid the Origin of the  
 foundation in his mind of a smothered resentment, Battle of Flod-  
 which never could be allayed till it expired with den Field.  
 his life, amidst the slaughters of Flodden Field!  
 The circumstances were these; King James had granted letters of marque to one of his subjects, against the Portuguese Nation, from whom he could gain no redress, for injuries which they had committed. Not content with making reprisals of the vessels of Portugal, the Captain attacked and plundered several English ships, under a pretence that they conveyed Portuguese goods. In consequence, his ships were captured by the English Admiral. The principal was slain in the action, and his comrades conveyed to London, and presented to the King, who pardoned them, and sent them to Scotland. King James demanded satisfaction; but the English Monarch answered his messenger, "That it did not become him to impute a breach of treaty to an ally for shewing mercy to pirates." Whatever influence the disastrous Battle of Flodden Field may have upon the history of Scotland—it was this incident that gave rise to it—so fatal in its results, may be the guilty indulgence of secret revenge!

But to return. The alliance with Ferdinand for the protection of Italy and the Popedom,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. necessarily involved a war with France. A Parliament was called, in which soldiers were granted; and preparations made for the immediate invasion of France.

War with France.

Many disasters attended this first equipment, owing to the treachery of the King of Spain; but at length, an alliance having been formed with the Emperor Maximilian, and preparations having been made on a grand scale, the King determined to invade France in person. The prodigious expense of fitting out this immense armament, both by sea and land, must of itself discover, the rapid advance which the country had made in riches and power. The fleet was increased to forty-two sail, and some of them, ships of considerable bulk, conveying six or seven hundred men—a circumstance, which will tend to shew how much the knowledge of navigation and maritime affairs had progressed, since the commencement of the reign of Henry VII.

During these preparations, it was thought necessary to engage the King of Scotland in a treaty of peace—but his passions had been before-hand. His revenge had seized the first opportunity for which it had been anxiously waiting; and he had, already, entered into an alliance with the King of France.

Every precaution had been taken for the security of the kingdom, during Henry's absence, the Queen had been appointed Regent; the brave

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. Earl of Surrey was placed at the head of the army, and the King was about to embark with all his forces. But the tragical part of these preparations was still to be enacted. The guilt of the House of York had not yet been fully expiated; and another victim was now to be added, to its list of illustrious sufferers. The wary council of Henry intimated, that it would not be safe for him to hazard his person in war, whilst Edmund De-la-Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the representative of the House of York was yet alive; and who, in case of his death, might exchange the Tower for the Palace, and once more plunge the kingdom in civil war. This voice prevailed: and De-la-Pole, who must, long since, have considered the bitterness of death as past, was summoned to his fate and fell under the stroke of the executioner!

At length the expedition set sail, and on the fourth of August, the army invested Terouenne. The King's pavilion was of the most sumptuous description, and in the midst of martial array, he failed not to discover his taste for magnificence and display. The Emperor too, condescended to serve under him, an honor for the first time conferred upon a King; and which no doubt, was highly flattering to the lofty and aspiring temper of Henry. After the "Battle of the Spurs," a name which it acquired, from the rapidity of the flight of the French horse. Terouenne despairing of effectual relief, surrendered; and on enter-

The King sails for France  
A. D. 1513.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. ing the city, the King took precedence of the Emperor. Every thing indeed was propitious. Tournay was next invested, and in a short time, compelled to surrender. It was here, as if he had been on a royal progress, that Henry established his court. He invited the young Prince Charles of Spain, to a splendid entertainment, and celebrated solemn jousts and tournaments, in which himself and Sir Charles Brandon answered all comers, performing prodigies of valor. But these feats of arms and chivalry, have nothing to do with the solemn facts of history, further than they can be shewn to exert an influence upon those facts. In this case, it is evident, that in the education of Henry VIII. these gay and splendid exercises gained the ascendant; and that when he came to the throne he exerted all his influence, to establish them on their ancient foundations; and to obtain for them, a portion of their ancient splendor. But the day of chivalry was gone; and his attempt was preposterous. Another era had burst upon the world; knowledge and science, navigation and commerce, the discovery of new worlds and the pervading light of truth, had given a new impulse to the human mind; and an expansion of thought, which looked with contempt on the display of mere physical strength and dexterity. Certainly, Henry, for a time, conducted these games with great spirit, and greater magnificence; but, it was their expiring blaze: for,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. shortly they were totally extinguished by the increasing light of learning and Christianity.

But Tournay, was the scene of a much greater event, than the festive entertainments of Henry— an event, which opened a new scene in the history of his reign, and introduces to us a person of high genius, upon whose commanding energies, the history of England, is for a season, to depend. This was Thomas Wolsey, a person of unknown origin, but who, by his abilities and the instrumentality of the Grammar school of his native town, had passed through the University with honour, and accompanied the King in this expedition as Almoner, in the train of Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Whatever advances in the King's favor, this individual might, previously, have made, he was now suddenly exalted to honor, and appointed Bishop of Tournay, by the King: and in virtue of that office, administered to the citizens, the oath of fealty to their new Sovereign.

In the mean time, England itself is made the theatre of war. James IV. of Scotland, hurried on by his restless impatience for revenge, invades the borders of England with a formidable army of fifty thousand. But the project was to end in his dishonor and destruction. He was encountered by the Earl of Surrey, at Flodden, where after a desperate fight of three hours, the King was slain, with a vast number of his chief nobility and about ten thousand men. The events connected with

Battle of  
Flodden Field,  
A. D. 1513.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. this defeat belong to the History of Scotland; but in this brief episode of our history, we may trace the fatal effects of revenge, which like every other inordinate passion, ends in its own overthrow.\*

Nothing further is transacted in France; and the King leaving his new acquisitions in that country, under the government of Sir Edward Poynings, returned to England.

Although nothing of very great importance to this country, appears to depend upon this gorgeous expedition into France; and though the conquest of Terouenne and Tournay, appear but a very indifferent equivalent for the wealth and treasure expended upon the expedition; yet it must not be admitted that it was nothing more than an empty show of kingly pride and magnificence.

A little reflection will tell us, that such an expedition, and attended with such success, must have had a very decisive effect in establishing amongst foreign nations the reputation of England. The courage and enterprize of her soldiers—the skill and hardihood of her sailors—the prowess and chivalry of her nobility, had a tendency to inspire that respect for her naval and military glory, which the country at that time certainly obtained, and which it has never relinquished.

Honors conferred on the Leaders. In celebration of his late successes, the King determined to confer signal honors, upon the

A. D. 1514.

\* Apostle James, Epis. i. 15.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. distinguished men, who had graced the expedition by their courage and abilities. Accordingly, on the second of February, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, was created Duke of Norfolk. Sir Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester; Sir Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; and Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Mont-eagle. Nor was Bishop Wolsey forgotten: the aspiring almoner was made Bishop of Lincoln. and to crown the whole, the King himself received; a cap of maintenance and a sword, from Pope Leo X. who had now succeeded to Julius II. And that the gift might want nothing to render it acceptable, it was accompanied with a decree of the Lateran Council, which transferred the title of “MOST CHRISTIAN KING” from the French Monarch, and conferred it upon Henry.

The scene now suddenly changes: and an incident occurred of a more romantic and tender character; but as it was in reality, no romance, but exercised an influence on the aspect of public events, it must not be omitted in this history. It was the marriage of the Princess Mary, the King's sister. It will be remembered, that Henry VII. solemnly contracted this Princess, when very young, to Prince Charles of Spain. The parties had now arrived at the appointed age; and the King sent an embassy to the Court of Flanders, to make arrangements for the completion of the treaty. But he soon found there was no intention on the part of that Court to fulfil the contract,

## SECTION

III.  
CHAP. II.

and, he was more disgusted with their frivolous excuses and unnecessary delays, then he would have been with an open and determined refusal. The King of France, wearied with the fatigues of war, thought this a favorable opportunity of making up the breach between himself and Henry, and having gained the mediation of the Pope, he sued for the hand of the illustrious Princess. Her affections had long been placed upon Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the most princely and accomplished nobleman of his day; but the suit of Lewis prevailed, and she was doomed to be immolated as another victim on the altar of political expediency. But it would ill suit the character of this work to enter into the details of this event, suffice it to say, that Lewis, worn out with age and sickness, did not long survive. In three months the Queen of France was a widow; and shortly after, with the full consent of her brother, bestowed her hand on the Duke of Suffolk, from this union descended the Lady Jane Gray, who is afterwards to act a brief and mournful part in our history.

Reputation  
of England.  
A. D. 1515.

At this period by the success which attended their arms; and the splendor and influence of their government, the English people had acquired in a very great degree, the respect and admiration of the world, in which their generous and accomplished King justly obtained an ample share. But unfortunately for *himself*, he found in Wolsey

Bishop of Lincoln, a man, whose abilities enabled him to manage the most difficult affairs of state with wisdom and prudence; and to him, the King consigned the chief management of public affairs. We must now follow the acts of this extraordinary individual, under whose conduct, the kingdom advanced in its course.

We have already noticed his appointment to the Bishopricks of Tournay and Lincoln. He now succeeds on the death of Bambridge, to the Archbishoprick of York, whilst through the influence of the Kings of France and England, he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal, appointed Legate to the Pope, and armed with such peculiar authority, that his power was superior to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. And to render his dignity and authority complete, he was made Lord High Chancellor. His ecclesiastical preferments were so rich, and the sources of wealth at his command, so many, that his annual income equalled, if it did not exceed the revenues of the crown. His state and magnificence were equal to his rank and dignity. His household consisted of eight hundred persons; among whom were ten Lords, fifteen Baronets, and fifty Esquires; and when he made his appearance in public, he affected the greatest pomp and splendor—riding on a mule nobly caparisoned.

Henry, having thus found a person upon whom he might devolve the cares of government, gave

## SECTION

III.  
CHAP. II.

Wolsey's  
greatness.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. himself up to the more splendid exercises of the joust and tournament, and to the pomp and pleasures of his court. His tried and prudent ministers remonstrated with him, on the fatal tendency of his conduct; and exhorted him to attend to the business of the nation. But in vain. Wolsey it is to be feared, acted in this, a treacherous part; and for the purpose of securing his own advancement, encouraged the King in his pernicious course, and in every possible way, administered to his luxurious ease, magnificent pursuits, and licentious pleasures. This may be considered as the period of the King's moral ruin, engulfed, as he was, in pleasure and enslaved by passion.

The whole power and patronage of the state were now engrossed by Wolsey; and the old and prudent ministers of the King began to retire from their attendance at the council table, where their presence had become unnecessary. Even the Duke of Suffolk, who of all Henry's friends, never lost his confidence, through the influence of the Cardinal, was an exile from court. Notwithstanding, such was the versatile talent, princely generosity, and firm bearing of the Cardinal, that if he had been left to himself without injudicious interference, and if he had not set his heart on the Papal chair, in all probability, the King might have lived and died in peace. But this was not to be. Great events were to be accomplished, in which, both were to be actors against

their will. The King was to be roused from the luxurious and dignified repose in which he vainly thought to consume his days; whilst the Cardinal by his intricate policy, wrought out that, which, beyond all things, he would have deprecated; and in which he was at last ensnared and destroyed. But many a step was yet to be taken. The unravelling of the divine plan was as slow as it was sure; and we have before us, two men, of elevated minds and noble character, ruined by the prosperity of their situation. Their unbounded means allowed full scope for the natural bias of the heart, to display itself without control; and whilst they were both fitted by the powers of their understanding to elevate and advance the interests of their country, yet all the good that was accomplished, resulted from the overruling of their licentiousness. A phenomenon, in the moral government of the world, divinely announced by the Sacred Penman. Book of Psalms lxxvi. 10.

The Cardinal's superior abilities, as a ruler, were soon developed in the administration of the Commonwealth. He was indefatigable in business, and vigorous in the execution of the laws. Nothing escaped his vigilance. His scrutiny extended to ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. He brought all public extortioners to a severe account. He visited perjury with condign punishment; and established courts for the purpose of defending the poor against the oppression of

Able administration of the Cardinal.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. the rich. In short, he was a determined reformer; and wherever disorders existed, his powerful mind was always prepared to apply a remedy. But he was not popular; and this, perhaps, may be a proof of his impartiality and sincerity. During an insurrection in London, which was caused by the jealousy of the citizens against the Foreign mechanics and artizans; the all-powerful Cardinal, instead of hastening to the place of tumult as the first magistrate under the King, was glad to shut himself up in his palace, and to fortify it with cannon. A fact sufficient in itself; to convey to us a distinct idea, of the barbarous arrangement, of the civil power, at that time.

The great purpose of God begins to unfold.

The REFORMATION! the most important and glorious event of this or any other age, since the promulgation of christianity, is now before us. It is the great object which is to guide our inquiries, and to which, for a long time, we have seen every event in our history tending; and it is in the sudden and effectual deliverance from the usurpations of Popery, fraught with such inconceivable blessings to millions of the human race, that we are to look for the manifest FINGER OF GOD. Had we been following the rise of the Popedom, we should have found at this time, that the Popish church had arrived at the "ne plus ultra" of error in doctrine—superstition in worship, and viciousness in practice; and that the measure of her iniquities was full; whilst her Lords, the

SECTION III. CHAP. II. Popes, had arrived at a most prodigious height of pride, presumption and impiety. Indeed, nothing can more fully discover the truth of these imputations, than the open and profligate sale of what were termed "INDULGENCES;" the conditions of which were: "That without distinction of persons or sins, whoever performed certain religious rites, and paid certain sums of money, should obtain a full remission of their sins." The agents employed in the transfer of these indulgences, carried on their infamous traffic, in a manner the most undisguised; and opened their courts or shops even in taverns, brothels, and gaming houses. Such open licentiousness and blasphemy could not escape general observation. Discussions on the lawfulness of such extraordinary assumptions, were excited throughout Europe. The flagitious lives of the clergy—the increase of learning, and the discovery of printing, gave strength and vigour and extension to the inquiry. The immortal name of Luther is well known in conjunction with this subject, and indeed, is closely connected with the whole of this extraordinary ecclesiastical revolution, as it respects the Continent of Europe.

But our design is to trace the progress of the *Reformation in England*, which did not depend upon the same causes, nor the same persons—was more slowly developed, and thus providentially escaped those innovations which characterized the Lutheran and Genevese Reformation. And

SECTION III. it will appear, not a little remarkable that, the  
CHAP. II. Cardinal himself was the first great Instrument. He had been appointed as we have seen, the Pope's legate plenipotentiary, with full power to inquire into, and correct all ecclesiastical abuses. He exerted this authority with such vigour and dispatch, that he became extremely odious with all ranks of the Clergy. Loud complaints were made against the rigorous severity and exactions of the Cardinal, which at length, through the Archbishop, reached the ears of the King, who so far interfered, as to rebuke the severity of his Minister.

It is well known that the Cardinal's ambition had, for a long time, been placed on the dignity of the Popedom, and this object he steadily pursued through all his course. He never lost sight of the dazzling prize, night or day. It was the key-stone of all his policy, and was mixed up with all the national treaties which he had power to control. He courted the favour of foreign Princes, whose influence could avail, and especially at this time, of Francis King of France, for whom he obtained the restoration of Tournay; on which occasion also the Princess Mary, not one year old, was affianced to the infant Dauphin of France.

Charles V.  
 Emperor,  
 A. D. 1519.

Another eminent personage, whose actions had a powerful influence on the future events of this reign, must now be introduced to the reader. This was Charles V. of Spain, who was elected Emperor, in the room of Maximilian. This saga-

SECTION III. cious Prince, whose mind was occupied with the  
CHAP. II. splendid schemes of an unbounded ambition, soon perceived that it was his interest to stand well with the prime minister of England. With this great man, to resolve and to act, were the same thing. He lost no time, but though somewhat behind his rival, yet, by munificent presents and well-timed flattery, he contended *successfully* with Francis for the post of favour.

The Cardinal cautiously weighing the balance, of things—perceived that the Emperor was the more potent Monarch, and reflecting, that in case of a rupture between him and Francis, the power of the King of England must decide the contest, resolved to give all his influence to the Emperor; in ratification of which, he sent him more valuable presents than he had received. This deep policy, by which he rejected the interest of the French party, although it is said, France had promised him the votes of thirteen Cardinals, was as unsuccessful as it was dishonest. It was, as we shall see, a false step for his own interests, and could never be retrieved.

An interlude now occurs in the political drama, with the details of which, I must forbear to emblazon my pages, as I do not find that it bears any reference to the course of events. It was a long-projected interview between the Kings of France and England; and conducted on such a scale of expensive magnificence, that it defies all compari-

Interview between the  
 King's of  
 France and  
 England.  
 A. D. 1520.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
son with similar displays, whether ancient or modern, and acquired for the plains of Ardres, where the interview took place, the name of "the field of the cloth of gold".

The King immediately on his return, not content with the honors he had gained on the plains of Ardres, determined to display his learning; and entered into a theological dispute with the celebrated Luther, whose writings had now acquired great celebrity. The King, it is said, was more induced to undertake the work, because Luther had attacked his favorite author, Thomas Aquinas, with great asperity. Be this as it may, the work entitled "De septem Sacramentis" was accomplished, and in a splendid dress, was presented to the Pope, by Doctor John Clark, dean of Windsor; and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy and triumph: and there is nothing, if succeeding events would have allowed, which Henry might not have obtained from the See of Rome. His writings were compared to those of Saint Austin and Jerome: and in the very next consistory, the high and honorable title of "DEFENDER OF THE FAITH" was conferred upon him. Nor was this all—the fame of his scholarship resounded through all the states of Christendom. Innumerable authors dedicated their works to him, as the first in rank and letters; and his name was everywhere lauded by sages, revered by saints, and celebrated by poets. Nor must

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
all this be considered as empty flattery. The work had real merit.—It was superior to that of his learned antagonist in propriety of language, in the force of his reasoning, and the learning of its citations: but as the learned Collier says of it.—  
"It is true he leans too much upon his character, argues in his garter-robcs, and writes as it were, with his sceptre.\*"

But alas! a tragical event which now happened threw a gloom over these innocent employments. The House of Buckingham had not yet expiated the guilt of their fathers, and Edward the present accomplished Duke, was destined to fall a victim to unerring justice. His high and haughty bearing towards the Cardinal, had provoked his resentment, and from secret intelligence, he was made acquainted with certain expressions which had been uttered, in private, by the Duke, which when brought into light, seemed to bear the construction of treason. He was, in consequence, apprehended and tried; and, on very slight grounds, condemned to die. He refused to sue for pardon, and was beheaded in the Tower; and whatever portion of guilt may attach to his character, it is manifest his life was in the power of the Cardinal, and it is to be feared, that he was instigated to destroy him, through the influence of revenge.

At length the war which had long been foreseen, broke out between the Emperor and the King of

\* Curiosities of Literature.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. France, and which continued, with partial interruptions, to devastate the fairest portion of Southern Europe for the space of forty years. Wolsey, with a splendid retinue, was sent as ambassador and umpire, to settle the dispute. Great preparations were made by all parties to give solemnity and importance to the embassy. The Cardinal, at first, appears honestly intent on fulfilling the object of his mission, and of bringing the war to a conclusion. But in the midst of the negotiations, a private interview with the Emperor, changed his purposes; and after forming a private treaty with the Emperor, by which he lost the confidence and friendship of the French Monarch, he returned to England.

But this deceitful policy whilst it ended in his own disappointment, was one of those *necessary* links in the course of events, which led to the Reformation in England. But no doubt it had a still more striking influence in the affairs transacted on the Continent, but which belong to another portion of history.

Vacancy in  
the Papacy,  
A. D. 1522.

At this very juncture, the heart stirring ambition of the Cardinal was awakened in all its intensity by the death of Leo X. The Cardinal had certainly laid his plans with great care, and no person on public grounds, could have higher pretensions to the Popedom. But his ambitious hopes were to meet with a severe check. The very King whom he had selected as his patron,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. and in whom he had reposed his confidence, failed him. Wolsey lost no time, but before his envoy could even arrive at Rome, Adrian, who had been tutor to the Emperor, was elected to the Papal chair. No doubt as we have hinted above, this failure may be traced in a great measure, to the alienation of the French Monarch from Wolsey, on account of his private treaty with the Emperor, and which soon after led him to declare war against England. But the conduct of the Emperor inflicted a deep wound on the mind of the Cardinal, which he did not fail to resent; and which led to a new course of policy, on which great events are made to depend!

But whatever might be the feelings of Wolsey, he is obliged to dissemble; for one part of the private Treaty, was to secure an interview between the Emperor and the King of England—one principal reason of which was, to treat of a marriage between him and the Princess Mary. The Marquess of Dorset and the Cardinal with a noble retinue, met the Emperor at Calais. He was received in London by the King with great pomp and rejoicings, and on the nineteenth of June was installed a Knight of the Garter, with great magnificence. But nothing surpassed the dignity and splendor of Wolsey. In all things he affected the ceremonial and dignity of the Pope. On Whitsunday the King and Emperor, rode in great state, to St. Paul's Cathedral; where the Cardinal

The Emperor  
visits England.  
A. D. 1522.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. performed high mass, with unusual pomp. At the commencement of the service, two Barons presented him with the bason and water; after the Gospels, the ceremony was performed by two Earls; and at the last lavatory, by two Dukes: a priestly state, which it is said, raised the indignation even of some of the Spaniards. But what ought chiefly to be remarked is, that, the two Monarchs, received the Sacrament together, and swore upon the holy gospel to observe the league concluded between them—to unite their forces against Francis, and to marry the Princess Mary, when of a proper age to the Emperor—we shall see how remarkably these solemn engagements were frustrated, affording high proof of the vanity of human wisdom, and a striking illustration of the truth of Holy Writ.\*

The Emperor departed under the convoy of the Earl of Surrey, the English Admiral, who carried on a desultory and merciless warfare on the coast of France, whilst the Marquess of Dorset, enacts the same predatory scenes on the borders of Scotland. The amount of private suffering inflicted on families, villages, and towns, by these torturing expeditions must have been fearful. But preparations were making on a more extensive scale, and to raise the necessary supplies, the King caused a survey of the whole kingdom to be made, which, manifested the rapidly increasing wealth

\* Prophecy of Isaiah liv. 24, 25.

of the nation; and induced the King by the exercise of his own authority, to command loans of his richer subjects. But this method was utterly insufficient, and the King and his Minister were obliged to summon a Parliament. The arbitrary authority, and munificent disposition of the Cardinal, were unfriendly to these popular assemblies. He knew their power, and disliked to encounter them. He had carried on the government for seven years without their assistance; and nothing but a sense of necessity could have induced him to assemble them. The Cardinal exerted all his eloquence to induce the House of Commons, to grant a liberal supply; but when that failed, he attempted to overawe their deliberations. He entered the House with great warmth, and told them "that he desired to reason with those who opposed his demands," to which he received in answer, "It was the order of that House, to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves." With this rebuke the Cardinal departed, resolving no doubt, to have as little, as possible, to do with such refractory materials; nor did he court another interview with them of seven years.

This line of policy was most injurious to the commonwealth. There was wealth in the country, and ability in the people, which might have been turned to great advantage; but these, by not being called into exercise, were in a great measure lost, to the community. In this Parliament, the College

Wolsey and  
the house of  
Commons.

College of  
Physicians  
founded.

SECTION of Physicians was instituted; and important privileges granted to its members. An act was also  
III.  
CHAP. II. passed to enable the King by his letters patent to annul all attainders of High Treason, and to restore their heirs; and the subsidies being granted, this septennial *session* ended.

In the mean time the Duke of Suffolk with a train of the first nobility, entered France at the head of thirteen thousand well disciplined and effective troops, and having formed a junction with the forces of the Emperor, they were victorious, and advanced within a few miles of Paris; but from the extreme coldness of the weather, by which it is said, all the corn in France \* was frozen and destroyed, they were compelled to put an end to the campaign. It would be useless and tedious to enter into a minute detail of the military exploits of this period. But it should be remarked, that during this inroad of the English into France, their King, Francis, was conducting his forces into Italy; and that in the midst of his successes, his arms received a temporary check by the death of Pope Adrian VI.

Wolsey arrives  
 at great power.  
 A. D. 1523.

Wolsey's ambition was again roused. Every possible effort was made, and at the intercession of Wolsey, the King with his own hand, wrote in his favor, to the Emperor. Notwithstanding, the Emperor again failed him, and Julio dé Medici was made Pope by the name of Clement VII.

\* Echard.

SECTION  
III.  
CHAP. II. Wolsey though greatly mortified, still concealed his resentment, and endeavoured to make the best terms he could with the new Pope. Nothing that he asked was denied; and his powers in Ecclesiastical matters, were increased to the authority of a Pope, in England. At this juncture, the mind of Wolsey appears to have contemplated great designs; and his first object was, to build two colleges, one at his native town Ipswich; and the other, at Oxford. And in order to fulfil his designs, he readily obtained a license from the Pope, to suppress some of the lesser monasteries, and to apply their revenues to these important institutions. But he had more difficulty with the King, who, for some time, refused to give his consent. This may be considered as the first invasion of the Papal superstition in England; and, we may well stop to admire the conscientious scruples of a Monarch, who, led on by circumstances, and taught by this example, afterwards, and in a few short years from the time of which we are speaking, destroyed every vestige of the Monastic institutions in England! How little was any thing of the kind contemplated by him at this time! How little could he have imagined, that he, should be guilty of such excesses! and that he, the "Defender of the Faith," should be the greatest enemy the Papal church ever had, in England! Had such things then been proposed to him, would he not have answered in the words

SECTION of Hazael: "But what! Is thy servant a dog that  
 III. he should do this great thing?"

CHAP. II.

Whilst these projects were entertained by the Cardinal, the Scots, at the instigation of France, under the Duke of Albany, invaded the English frontiers. The Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, at the head of a formidable army, repelled the invasion. The Scots shortly after, made overtures of peace, and stipulated to give up the French interest, on condition, that the King would consent to contract a marriage, between the Princess Mary and their young Monarch. It will be remembered, that the Princess had been solemnly affianced to the Emperor; and this offer, afforded an opportunity of putting the intentions of the Emperor to the test. He did not wait for a formal communication on the subject, but hearing of the treaty, he was the first to despatch an embassy to require, that the Princess should immediately be delivered into his hands, promising to proclaim her Empress, and to appoint her Regent of the Low Countries. But this negotiation which would have changed the whole complexion of English affairs, and *might have proved fatal*, as we shall see, *to the English Reformation*, was suddenly interrupted, and never renewed, by an event, which filled all Europe with surprise and astonishment!

King of France  
 taken prisoner.  
 A. D. 1525.

The war between the King of France and the Emperor was vigorously carried on in Italy, and

Francis after a series of brilliant exploits, closely SECTION  
 pursued the forces of the Duke of Bourbon, the III.  
 Emperor's General; and was now besieging him CHAP. II.  
 in the town of Pavia. The vigour of the French King afforded slender hope, that the city would be able, long to sustain the siege; and the Duke was dubious what course to adopt. But a singular circumstance decided the fate of the contest. Wolsey ever vigilant for an occasion to gratify his smothered resentment, thought this a favourable opportunity, by an unexpected stroke, to throw the affairs of the Emperor, into embarrassment. Accordingly, he suddenly stopped the pay of the Duke of Bourbon's soldiers, which depended upon the English treasury. This "untoward" affair, exasperated the Duke, and drove him to utter despair; and he resolved to attempt the most desperate measures. On a dark night, he ordered part of his men, to attack the besiegers on the worst defended part of the town; whilst he himself, with a select body, issued from a postern gate, which by a circuitous path brought him into the rear of the enemy. Every thing succeeded to his wishes. The watch was slender and the soldiers being suddenly awoke out of sleep, were seized with fear; and whilst their whole attention was directed to that part of the town, from which the assault was made, and the Duke of Bourbon attacking them at the same time in the rear, the terror was greatly increased. The moment was

SECTION favorable for the Duke, nor did he neglect it.  
 III. He seized their artillery, and discharged it upon  
 CHAP. II. the confused camp. Great numbers of the enemy  
 were slain, whilst to complete their overthrow, the French King, himself, bravely fighting with his own hand, and endeavouring to restore courage to his men, was taken prisoner in the field. This remarkable event happened on the 24th day of February, A. D. 1525.

States of Europe alarmed at the success of the Emperor.

This surprising change, when the tide of victory seemed to be on the point of declaring for Francis, threw the King of England and his Prime Minister into great perplexity. Nor indeed, Henry and Wolsey alone. Every Monarch and Prime Minister in Europe were alarmed at the gigantic power, which this turn of fortune had placed in the hands of the Emperor. The balance of power was in imminent danger of being destroyed, and the independence of their several kingdoms and states threatened with destruction. Henry, by a tacit consent, without a formal recognition of his title, assumed, that it was his duty to come forward on this emergency, as the Arbiter of Europe. A council was summoned, in which it was determined, that Henry, as an ally in chief, should claim a share in the success of their arms, and demand the restoration of his inheritance in France; and stipulate, that when the Princess Mary should be delivered into the hands of the Emperor, Francis should be set at liberty, under the auspices of

the King of England. But late events had enlarged the views of the Emperor; and the prospect of universal Monarchy now opened before him. The embassy of the King of England met with a very cold reception in Spain; and to discover more effectually his intentions, and how little he regarded his long contemplated alliance with England, he married the Infanta of Portugal, as more in unison with his ambitious views. From this moment we may date the separation between the Emperor and the King of England. Their solemn vows and engagements came to an end.—Even their private friendship ceased, and the English ambassadors were recalled.

In the mean time, every effort was made by Henry and the other Princes of Europe, to obtain the release of the King of France. But in vain: the Emperor remained inflexible, and made such exorbitant demands, that the King of France though cruelly suffering under his confinement, could not, in honor, accede to them. At length, however, after a year's painful captivity, the French Monarch was released; and to secure the stipulation of the treaty concluded at Madrid, Francis was required to deliver up his two sons as hostages. The exchange was made on the borders of France, with great formality. It was on this occasion, after fulfilling the agreement and delivering up his sons—the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans—the chivalrous and impatient Monarch

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. mounted a spirited charger, and giving him the reins, galloped off exclaiming "I am King! "I am King!"

King Francis  
departs from  
his engage-  
ments.  
A. D. 1526.

The interpretation of this brief but emphatic declaration, soon made itself manifest; we have already remarked, that the conduct and success of the Emperor, had alarmed the fears of the European States; and the Pope and Venetians and Princes of Italy, had combined for their mutual safety and independence; nor did the King of France hesitate to unite with them in a treaty, which is celebrated under the name of the "Clementine League." But how, we ask in astonishment, could Francis be a party to such a League, in contradiction to his most solemn oaths and engagements? Undoubtedly, Francis was a man of high honor, and would not for his crown, have been thought guilty of a breach of his word, much less of his oath. Upon what principles then, are we to account for a line of conduct, which, to all unsophisticated minds, must expose him to a charge of the blackest perjury?

The cause of it By a stipulation of the "Clementine League," that *iniquitous Power*, which arrogates to itself a supremacy in impiety, undertook to absolve him from his oath. The Pope discharged him from the obligation of an oath, which had been taken in the name of God, and ratified in Heaven! Unhappy Monarch! still more unhappy Pontiff, thus to dispense with the immutable laws of mor-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. ality and religion, and to fasten the impiety on the Son of God, by violating them, as his vicegerent, in his Name!

The King of England was honored with the title of "Protector" of this famous league. But the King stood out upon his prerogative of Arbiter, and refused to become a party where he was competent to act as judge. Francis however, lost no time in acknowledging the friendship of Henry in promoting his deliverance from prison, and honored him with every mark of respect and affection; and never, afterwards, seemed to forget the obligation he was under to his generous sympathy, and unwearied exertions in his favor.

Indeed, such was now the good-will manifested towards each other by these two Monarchs, that a treaty of peace and alliance was entered into, in which it was stipulated that the Princess Mary, should be given in marriage either to Francis himself, or to his second son the Duke of Orleans; and that Henry should unite with him for the purpose of compelling the Emperor to reasonable conditions, in the restoration of his children. But how little of all this was to be accomplished! and how different from that contemplated in this treaty, was to be the destiny of the august parties concerned! Nay such is the obscurity and darkness which cloud, in human minds, the vision of the future, that in the settlement of this treaty, the first hint was thrown out; and the first seeds

First causes of  
the Reforma-  
tion.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. of that prolific harvest of good and evil were sown, which changed the whole face of civil society. I mean the illegitimacy of the Princess Mary, which was suggested, during this negotiation, by the Bishop of Tarbe, as a question which might admit of doubt!

Other events were also transacting essentially connected with the approaching crisis, which was now fast hastening to its accomplishment, in which we shall perceive the overruling hand of a BENEVOLENT PROVIDENCE, inasmuch as not one of the happy results, was contemplated by the actors in the preparatory causes. So far from it, the events themselves being so entirely different from the intentions of the parties, by whose instrumentality they were accomplished, that it would be *absurd* to suppose them the results of *their* contrivance. Yet it would be still greater folly, to suppose events of such magnitude, and fraught with such inconceivable blessings to mankind, not to be the result of contrivance:—The contrivance, doubtless, of that Almighty Being, who is “excellent in Power;”\* and “worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.”

Dreadful visitation on the Pope.  
A. D. 1527. But to proceed. Dreadful disorders continued in Italy; and the Pope made heavy complaints to Henry, and sought his immediate assistance. The King like a faithful son of the church, answered the appeal of the Pontiff, by sending

\* Book of Job xxxvii. 23.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. him a sum of money, upon the receipt of which the Pope, at the head of a great army, took the field against the Imperialists. For a time he was successful; but Heaven was preparing a dreadful punishment for this perfidious man. His intrigues, treachery, and resources were boundless; but, at length all failed him; and the wily plotter was besieged in the city of Rome itself, by the Duke of Bourbon. An assault was made, the Duke in the moment of attack, received a mortal wound, but the city was carried by storm. That proud city never saw a more calamitous day, no, not even when sacked by the barbarous Goths. The churches and monasteries were spoiled—the palaces of the Pope and Cardinals ransacked—the warehouses of the merchants plundered. Heaps of wealth and riches were piled in the streets, and the spoil was increased to a vast amount from the ransom of innumerable prisoners, whilst the slaughter was immense, and the streets flowed with blood. To increase the indignity, the Prelates and Ecclesiastics of rank, were placed on mules and asses, and led in procession, through the miserable streets, and, to complete the overthrow, the Pope was taken prisoner.

Nothing could exceed the excitement caused throughout Europe, by the capture of the Pope. The Emperor himself was almost alarmed at the success of his own arms, and in answer to the representations of Henry VIII. condescended to

SECTION III.   
 CHAP. II. apologize for the unexampled ruin which had been caused. But the Emperor temporized, which roused the indignation of the King of England, and he resolved to enter into a stricter alliance with Francis, which was accomplished under the auspices of Wolsey. The Emperor somewhat alarmed by these new treaties, came to the resolution of making peace, and allowing the claims of the two Kings, with respect to the Pope, and the two sons of Francis. But whilst the terms were preparing, the Emperor determined on new projects; and in order that he might divide the counsels of the two Kings, he once more tempted the Cardinal by an offer of an extravagant bribe. But it was now too late, the settled wrath of Wolsey was not to be moved, and he remained inexorable; whilst the Emperor was obliged to encounter the united power and resentment of the kings of France and England.

Brilliant period of the Reign.   
 A. D. 1528.

This was a memorable period of English history. Under the wise and vigorous policy of the Cardinal, the country had rapidly increased in wealth and dignity. In all transactions with Foreign powers, England was regarded as the Head of the balance of Power. The King was justly considered as the most powerful Monarch in Europe. The Emperor courted his approval as the Arbiter of Christendom. The Pontiff acknowledged him to be the bulwark of the Papal throne. Francis embraced him as his deliverer and ally. His own

kingdoms were in great peace and prosperity; and had he died at this time, in the nineteenth year of his reign, he would have been considered a most fortunate Monarch; and in all probability, would have been canonized by the Church of Rome. But he was yet to live, to develop his own character, and to disclose those hidden evils of his heart, which were to be visited with great personal calamity and anguish to himself, but providentially overruled, in their ultimate effects, to great national advantages.

We are now approaching the era of the Reformation, which was wrought out of circumstances not in the remotest degree, connected with it—nay, which arose out of a circumstance connected with and recognizing the SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY OF THE PAPAL CHURCH; and which in its carrying out, shewed a retributory providence on that profane and impious power.

The question of the King's marriage.

It will be remembered that Henry VII. on the death of his son Arthur, obtained a *dispensation* from the Pope to overrule the law of nature and God; and to contract his son's widow to his next son, Henry VIII. Nor was this flagrant violation of the divine law, the only evil connected with this ill-omened alliance with the Princess of Spain. Her first marriage with Arthur was propitiated by the sacrifice of an innocent victim, the unfortunate Earl of Warwick; and her nuptials, as she herself represented, solemnized in blood. Yet

SECTION III.   
 CHAP. II.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. she herself, as far as we can learn from history, was an amiable and excellent person, and won the esteem of all who approached her. Her husband too, to whom she had now been married eighteen years, could find no fault in her. But none of these things prevailed to avert the blow which was now impending; and which every circumstance declared to be from Heaven.

The King's  
divorce.

We should not be justified from the facts of history, to admit the suggestion for a moment, that the King's latent affection for Anne Boleyn, made him resolve to divorce his Queen—at the same time, that it confirmed and strengthened his resolve, will not admit of dispute. But for some time, foreigners had suggested that the King's marriage was illegitimate; and that the authority of the Pope had not power to render it lawful. This suggestion, no doubt, had a powerful effect on the haughty spirit of the King, in whose mind there was a peculiarly ardent desire to live in his posterity. Besides, at a very early period, when the divorce was only in contemplation, Wolsey had proposed a marriage with the sister of the King of France,\* a very improbable circumstance, had the King's affections been prepos-  
sessed; and of which, Wolsey could not have been ignorant. But be this as it may, the King determined upon a divorce, as the only satisfactory redress, and formally propounded the question to

\* Echard.

the Bishops of England. These with one excep-  
tion, Fisher, of Rochester, pronounced the marriage *unlawful*. By this decision, the King's mind was confirmed in all its fears, respecting the succession to the crown; which indeed, as appears from the annals of the time, became a matter of interest to the whole nation.

An embassy was immediately dispatched to Rome, to obtain a divorce; and *nothing could surpass the desire of the Pope, to gratify the wishes of the King*. In this he was heartily *sincere*, and longed for nothing so much, as such an opportunity of shewing his gratitude to Henry. But his hands were tied! He was in captivity; and at the mercy of the Emperor, and it was this circumstance alone, which prevented him from immediately granting the divorce. He promised the ambassador, that as soon as he was at liberty, he would grant the dispensation; and to shew that he was sincere, he gave them such advice, that if it had been followed, the whole complexion of this affair would have been changed. He advised the King to cause judgment to be passed in England, and on authority of that sentence, contract another marriage, and afterwards send to Rome for a confirmation, which must, of necessity, be granted.

But the King's councillors saw that, if by any possibility this confirmation should be denied, the nation would be plunged into all the evils of a

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. disputed succession. This decision of the council was followed by endless discussions and delays, upon which were suspended events of signal importance to the nation !

Another embassy was now sent to Rome for Legantine authority, to try the cause in England ; and a Legate was desired, who should be armed with a decretal Bull, to confirm his authority on passing judgment for the divorce. In answer to this request, Campeggio was sent to England, with the authority required. But he was strictly charged, not to allow the Bull to go out of his hands. It was at first, the policy of the Pope to temporize, in order that Henry might be induced to use his influence more effectually with the Emperor, to obtain his release. By this delay, England was lost to the Papacy. At last, however, the Pope's self-interest prevailed over every other consideration ; and he devoted himself entirely to the wishes of the Emperor, as the only means by which himself and his family, could be restored to their estates and dignity.

From this moment, the King's suit became entangled with inextricable difficulties. The Pope had resolved to establish himself in the Imperial favour, the Emperor was bound in honor to defend the cause of the Queen of England, not only as being her kinsman, but as having been solemnly appealed to, by herself.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. The Pope meantime, with all the subtilty and craft, for which he was notorious, sent Campana, one of his most faithful and honored adherents to England, who might, in the most flattering manner, assure the King of his unshaken friendship and devoted service ; and openly command his Legates to expedite the business of their commission : but he had sent instructions for Campeggio, who was ordered to burn the decretal Bull, with which he had been entrusted, and to delay the adjudication by every possible expedient. He also pledged himself to Henry's ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome, that he would confirm the sentence of the court in England, whilst at the same time he was bound by strict engagements to the Emperor, not to confirm it ! Indeed, the Imperial party at Rome, became stronger every day : and at length, they demanded an avocation of the suit. But this was a bold step ; and one for which the Pope was not yet prepared : and he determined, for the present, till his treaty with the Emperor was completed, to uphold the authority of his Legantine Court in England.

This Court was formally opened with great pomp and ceremony at the great hall, Blackfriars, on the thirty-first of May, by Cardinal Wolsey in conjunction with Campeggio. Citations were immediately issued for the appearance of the parties in the suit, on the eighteenth day of June following. The Queen twice appeared before this Tri-

The Popes deceit.

The imperialists demand that the suit should be tried at Rome.

The process formally opened. A. D. 1529.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. bunal; and, both times, solemnly protested against the Place, the Judges, and the Lawyers; and appealed to the Pope and the Emperor. The Court pronounced the Queen contumacious, and proceeded to examine witnesses, and to debate the subject of the divorce; and, in a few days, they might have determined this important affair. But the Pope's treaty with the Emperor was nearly concluded, and on the Emperor's stipulating to restore the family of the Pope to the government of Florence, the Pope agreed to the "Avocation" which was proclaimed in England, on the nineteenth of July. Campeggio having now played his part, abruptly broke up the Court, and left the English Cardinal to the tender mercies of his enraged Monarch. The King, however, delayed the execution of his wrath, till he could take a review of his situation. Every evil seemed to crowd upon him, at once. The political sky was black with storms. His future policy seemed to be involved in impenetrable darkness. The Emperor and Pope were in firm alliance, and the Pope's nephew married to the Emperor's daughter. Through the interest of the Lady Margaret of Flanders, a peace had been concluded between the Emperor and the King of France; and to complete his difficulties, he was deprived of the counsels of his sagacious Minister.

The King's wise determination. In this dilemma he determined to throw himself upon the good-will of his people, and to summon

SECTION III. CHAP. II. a Parliament. In the mean time, to punish the Cardinal, not with a view of utterly destroying him, but chiefly to strike a wholesome terror into the see of Rome, he was commanded to give up the Great Seal, which was immediately transferred to Sir Thomas More, the greatest lawyer of his age, and remarkable for his piety and learning. The Attorney General was next ordered to file an information against him, because he had, contrary to the statute of Richard II., procured Bulls from Rome. To this he pleaded guilty, through ignorance of the Statute; upon which he was sentenced, according to the law, to forfeit all his possessions to the King. These proceedings produced a very unhappy effect upon the mind of Wolsey; and he began to sink under the pressure of his past labours and his threatened fall. But the affection of the King for his long-tried and devoted Minister, still lingered, and he frequently sent him messages, with assurances of his protection, and promises of pardon. But his enemies were on the alert, and found means to have him impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.—The articles of impeachment passed the upper house; but were rejected by the house of Commons, through the strenuous exertions of his faithful secretary, Thomas Cromwell, whose name must ever stand high in the annals of his country.

The King finding that the court of Rome took little concern in the calamities of the Cardinal, Fall and death of Wolsey. A. D. 1530.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. ceased to punish him; and he was permitted to retire to his Archiepiscopal palace at York. His spirit was now broken, and he appeared humble and submissive; but the very ruins of his greatness were considerable.—In this journey he travelled with a hundred and sixty horses in his train, followed by seventy-two waggons. In his retirement he spent some months in acts of religion and charity. But it was too peaceful and honorable a conclusion for such a career as his. Perhaps his pride and ostentation might have been sufficiently visited by such a change of fortune; but he had a principal share in the death of Buckingham, whom he had sacrificed to his pride and revenge. The divine chastisement pursued him to his retreat. His enemies again conspire, and accuse him of treason, and he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, who had authority to convey him to the Tower. The Cardinal now saw that his end was near; and he was seized with deep remorse for the evils of his eventful life. A consciousness of guilt depressed his spirit. His religion offered him no consolation, and he rapidly declined, under the agonizing tortures of his mind. His shattered frame could not sustain the fatigues of his journey. He sickened on his arrival at Sheffield, and with the greatest difficulty, reached the town of Leicester. After his arrival at the Abbey, where he was hospitably received by the Monks, his illness rapidly increased, and with it,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. his remorse for the past. He expired on the twenty-eighth day of November, and with his latest breath shewed how deeply he felt, when it was too late to rectify it, the whole error of his life. “Had I” said he, “served my God as zealously as I have served my King, *He* would not have forsaken me in my grey hairs.”

Thus died this extraordinary man, who, with all his advantages of mind and station, left the world, without establishing for himself the regard of posterity. In council, he was more cunning than wise, more temporizing than prudent. In prosperity, he was ostentatious and haughty. In adversity, abject and dispirited. In morals, he was licentious and base. In religion, INFIDEL. In his judgments, he was stern and inflexible. His reforms were dictated by his extravagances. He was adulatory and subservient, where his interests could be served; proud and disdainful where his influence could be serviceable. And to conclude, he was effeminate in parade, pusillanimous in danger, and revengeful of injuries.

Notwithstanding this almost total absence of moral excellency from his character, his memory has been preserved from utter contempt and execration, by his more than princely munificence and endowments; and amongst others, Christ Church, Oxford, will testify to a late period, the extent of his power, and the capaciousness of his mind.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. What he might have been, had he not been a Romanist and a Cardinal, it is impossible to say : as it was, his unwearied ambition in pursuit of the Papacy, gave a direction to the whole external policy of his country. The course which he pursued, as we have seen, brought the whole power of the Emperor, to act in opposition to the wishes of the King his master—a circumstance which eventually hastened his own destruction, and gave an extraordinary impulse to the destinies of England!

The Reformation proceeds.

The scene now changed : Wolsey had run his course, and disappeared. He had brought the Church, his Country, and the King's suit, exactly to that point, which it is evident, his talents, his prejudices, and his connexion with the Popedom, permitted him. We are now, to follow the rise and advancement of another remarkable individual, under whose auspices, a new era was to commence. This was Doctor Thomas Cranmer, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, whom the famous divorce case of the unhappy Catharine, was destined to bring into public view. Cranmer being in the company of Bishop Fox and Gardiner, at Waltham, he gave it as his opinion, that the King should obtain the judgment of the principal Universities and Divines of Europe ; and, that if they declared against the lawfulness of the marriage, it must necessarily be void, inasmuch as the Pope's dispensation could not dero-

SECTION III. CHAP. II. gate from the laws of God. The novelty and reasonableness of this judgment pleased the King, and he desired to see the person who had spoken with such penetration and wisdom. Cranmer appeared at Court, and conducted himself with such candour and modesty, that the King conceived an high opinion of his learning and probity, which he could never be induced, by the artifices and calumnies of his enemies, to alter.

In accordance with the suggestion of Cranmer, the case of the King's divorce was propounded to the chief Universities and Divines, who declared the King's marriage unlawful. An earnest appeal was now made to Rome, seconded by the remonstrance of the Bishops and the chief Nobility of the realm : but to no purpose, the Pope was now obliged to conform to his treaty with the Emperor, and to insist upon an "avocation" of the suit, in order that it might be determined in the supreme court at Rome.

But a Power was at hand, more irresistible than that of Kings and Cardinals—a POWER which was to lay the deep foundations of the REFORMATION, the most striking event that ever occurred in the annals of mankind—this was the BRITISH PARLIAMENT. Happily, after the death of Wolsey whose mind fertile in expedients, had rendered his Master independent of every power but his own, the King was obliged to have recourse to Parliaments : and nothing will tend to shew more

The Parliament and Convocation assists

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. forcibly the strength of mind and freedom of thought, to which the body of the nation had attained, than the energy and wisdom displayed by these assemblies. There had been but two parliaments summoned in fourteen years. Their dispatch of business could not arise from exercise or skill in debate. Their decisions and enactments discover the mind of the people. It is said that the parliaments of that day were obsequious to the will of the Monarch. I can discern no reasonable ground for this calumny. If by obsequiousness, is meant a compliance, which involved the sacrifice of their independence, I can find no attempt, on the part of the King, to overawe their deliberations; nor can I perceive any symptoms in them, of a spirit, that would have submitted to such a dictation. Their decisions, therefore, were independent; and if the King and his Parliament willingly concurred in their enactments—the circumstance cannot be imputed as a reproach to either party. It is an important and interesting fact to discover, that the Reformation proceeded from the Nation; and that their representatives in parliament, were made the grand instrument of recovering the nation from the ignominious bondage of Papal usurpation: and of restoring to our forefathers, their lost rights of civil and religious liberty. But at that period, there was another constituent, if I may so express myself, in parliament—the Convocation of the Clergy:—and it is not a little remarkable, that the

very FIRST act of the *Reformation*; and that too, SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. in which its essential principle was involved, was passed by the Convocation of the Church of England.

It will be remembered, that Cardinal Wolsey, was found guilty of a “*Premunire*” under statutes, which had been enacted in the reign of Richard II. against all persons who should execute any constitution from the court of Rome, without a Royal license. The matter was debated in Convocation, and it was clearly perceived, that the whole body of the Clergy were guilty of a breach of the same Statutes. The Convocation agreed to submit their case to the King’s clemency: and in their address he was styled, “*Protector and supreme head of the Church of England*,” to which however, was added on the representation of certain scrupulous members, “as far as is agreeable to the law of Christ.”

If any thing can place in a strong and overwhelming light, the fact, that the exercise of the Papal authority in England, was a usurpation, both in Church and State, and directly at variance with the spirit and letter of the constitution, it is, that the whole authority of the Pope was destroyed, at one blow, by the revival of statutes, which had been in slumbering existence for two hundred years! So that through that long period, at least, the constitution of England had been PROTESTANT. It might be shown that it existed

The constitution was always anti-Papal.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. at a period long antecedent.\* But this is not the place. Suffice it to say, that what occurred in the reign of Henry VIII. was only a revival of Protestantism which slumbered in the constitution; and Englishmen will deserve to lose their liberty, when they passively submit, and allow the Pope of Rome to exercise any Jurisdiction, whether temporal or spiritual, within the boundaries of their dominions. But I must not enlarge; my object is now to trace the rise and full development of this great principle in the history of our Country. I have elsewhere expounded the reasons, upon which we ought, at present, to be determined in our adherence to this inherent principle of our constitution.†

Important  
act of the Le-  
gislation.  
A. D. 1531.

In this new Session of Parliament, loud complaints were made against the usages of the Ecclesiastical court; and the parliament vigorously pursuing their object, passed an act which was the foundation of the national protest against the Papal supremacy. This was an act for restraining the payment of annates, or first fruits, to the Court of Rome. It is important to observe, as it corroborates the observations which I have just offered, that respecting these *first fruits*, it was observed in the Act—"that they were founded on NO LAW, but being first granted to defend Christendom against the infidels, they had since been kept up as a revenue to the Papacy."

\* Elements of the British Constitution, by the Author.

† Catechism of the Constitution of England.—"Whittaker."

SECTION III. CHAP. II. These proceedings in England, caused great anxiety at Rome; and a correspondence ensued between the Pope and the King, which ended in a formal citation of the King to appear in person at Rome, or by proxy, to answer to the appeal of the Queen of England; Sir Robert Carne was despatched as the King's excusator. The Imperialists urged an immediate sentence in favor of the Queen; but the wiser Cardinals, fearful of an entire breach with England, advised caution. The King's agents made use of every expedient, and bribes and promises gained many of the Cardinals to the King's interest, and especially the Cardinal of Ravenna, the great oracle of Rome and of the Consistory. But still nothing was done. Endless debate and contention arose in the Court; and they concluded, by advising the King to send a proxy to Rome to answer to the merits of the cause.

But in the mean time, another session of Parliament was opened in England; and from the delays and confusions which attended the discussion of this matter at Rome, the King and the people clearly perceived, that in case of any difference between the Pope and the King, the Clergy must necessarily, on account of their oath, coincide with the former, against their lawful Monarch. This result of a Foreign jurisdiction within the Realm, *was THEN too palpable not to be discovered*; and in an interview which the King desired with

Principles of  
Protestantism  
unfold.

SECTION III. CHAP. II. the Speaker of the House of Commons, his Majesty addressing him, said, "*that he had found that the chief Clergy, were but half subjects, or something less, for that every Bishop and Abbot on entering upon his dignity took an oath to the Pope, inconsistent with that of his fidelity to their King, a contradiction which he desired might be remedied by Parliament.*" This matter was thus seriously debated in Parliament and so treated, that shortly afterwards, it led to the final renunciation of the Pope's authority. Towards the end of this session, the Lord Chancellor More, who deprecated these innovations on the Papal Supremacy laid down his office, and retired into private life. The seals were immediately conferred on Sir Thomas Audley.

Church of  
England al-  
ways indepen-  
dent.

In answer to the citation from Rome, for the King of England to appear in person or by proxy, the King's agents were instructed to refuse obedience, on the grounds—that it would be inconsistent with his Coronation Oath, by which he was bound to maintain the dignity of the Crown, and the rights of his subjects. A Protest was subsequently made in the King's name: to the effect, "*that as He was a Sovereign Prince, so the Church of England was a free and independent Church over which the Pope had no just authority!*"

I mention this for the purpose of shewing that, the Church of England was never, in reality, an integral portion of the Church of Rome; that is,

SECTION III. CHAP. II. legally subjected to the Pope of Rome; and that, whatever power he claimed or exercised, was by usurpation, allowance, or the force of circumstances. But we shall perceive more of this at every step, which will serve to demonstrate that the Church of England, was always a free and independent branch of "the Holy Catholic Church."

The King had now been harrassed for five years in the toils and perplexities of his divorce, and it was now evident to him and the nation, that no decision ever could be expected, from the Roman court; and it was determined that he should proceed under the sanction of his own authority. He had now for a considerable time, separated from the company of his discarded Queen, who, conscious of her own integrity, resisted all persuasions and threats, and determined to rest her cause on the decision of the Pope. But the hour of her degradation was at hand; and her share of that throne which she had never tarnished, was to be given to another, in her very presence, and at a moment, when she was persuaded it was her own indisputable right: and this was true as far as Catharine herself, was concerned. She was the lawfully married and long recognized wife of the King; and she had done nothing to forfeit the title. But it was an evil project from the beginning. She ought never to have been the wife of her husband's brother: and the crime, as we have shewn, rests with those who contracted the mar-

Fall of Queen  
Catharine.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. riage. Nor was she guilty of the blood of Warwick.—The same parties must account for that bloody deed. But the punishment fell upon her comparatively innocent head; and she was visited for the sins of her fathers. In the midst of her indignities, she acknowledged the hand of Heaven in her affliction, and submitted.

The King marries, during his visit at the French Court. A. D. 1532.

The King was married to her rival, the celebrated Anne Boleyn, on the fourteenth of November, at Calais; a lady of extraordinary beauty, great abilities, and dazzling accomplishments.—Anne Boleyn had attained by this union, the full accomplishment of her ambitious wishes; and like all simply ambitious persons, in the pursuit of their object, she was not over scrupulous in the manner by which it was obtained. It is recorded, that she lived in the court of Queen Catharine, and openly received in her very presence, the attentions of the King, during the process of the divorce. From her earliest infancy she was instructed to please and dazzle, and to make the best advantage of those exterior graces, with which she was adorned by nature. Wealth, alliance, and distinction, were the grand and exclusive objects pointed out to her aspiring mind, as worthy of her pursuit. The lessons inculcated, she learnt to perfection—and they had their reward. Her family were enriched—they received titles and honors, and she became Queen of England. But it was a short lived splendor—a brief career of

glory; she was soon called to experience greater calamity, than the unfortunate Queen whom she had supplanted!

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

We are now entering upon a most important period of our history, full of great and striking events. This year began with an act of Parliament, which shewed the steady progress of the Reformation. All appeals to Rome were strictly prohibited by statute; and it was enacted that all who attempted to execute censures from Rome, should incur a premunire. And what is chiefly worthy of remark is, that the act itself observes, *that the statute proceeded on the ground, that all former Kings had asserted the independence, and defended the liberty of the Kingdom against the usurpations of Rome, and that the state of England was a complete body, and competent within itself of dispatching all suits, whether ecclesiastical or civil.\**

Political Protestantism advances. A. D. 1533.

In this manner, POLITICAL PROTESTANTISM was advancing to occupy its legitimate and lasting position in the constitution, when the see of Canterbury became vacant, by the death of Archbishop Wareham. He was a man of great attainments as a canonist, a clever statesman and a patron of men of letters, but he was credulous, superstitious and persecuting. The person who succeeded him in his high and responsible office, was Thomas Cranmer, a person who has been already introduced to the reader,—a man eminent-

\* Echard.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. ly fitted by his learning and temper, and religion, for the work to which he was appointed. It was to be his distinguished lot as the instrument of God, to lay the still more imperishable foundations of RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM, in our favored land. Little did Fox and Gardiner, those wary politicians imagine, that such an elevation awaited the retired and humble fellow of Jesus College, when they had condescended to mention his name before the King.—Least of all, did Cranmer himself entertain such ambitious thoughts. But his first interview with the King had made such a favorable impression upon the Royal mind, that without hesitation, a messenger was dispatched to Germany, where Cranmer then was, to announce to him his appointment to the Archiepiscopate. He was astonished and confounded at the intelligence; and with characteristic humility and modesty, shrunk from the responsibility of such an office; and declined to accept it. He used every endeavour to be excused; but by the command of his Sovereign, he gave way and was, at length, consecrated to his high functions.

Archbishop Cranmer gives sentence, and stands God-father to the Princess Elizabeth. The first judicial act of the Archbishop, under the recent act of Parliament, was to give sentence in the case of the King's divorce, which was declared null and void from the beginning. This took place in May, and on the thirteenth of September, the Princess Elizabeth was born, destined, after many vicissitudes, to be the future

Queen of England; and Cranmer had the peculiar honor of standing her Godfather. SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

These were the events transpiring in England; and, which created, as might be expected, great sensation in the different courts of Europe. The Emperor was filled with resentment—the King of France received the Ambassadors of Henry, with greater coldness than he had a right to expect;—whilst the Pope and his Conclave were both indignant and alarmed. The Imperial Cardinals were extremely violent, and urged the Pope to inflict immediate censure and excommunication upon the contumacious King. But the Pope was too subtle a politician, to enter rashly upon such violent measures; and, shortly after, in an interview which he had with the King of France, he entered into a secret treaty with that Monarch, to give Henry every satisfaction if he would return to his obedience to the Church, and place matters in the same condition in which they were, prior to the sentence of Archbishop Cranmer. This proposition of the Pope was made in earnest. There was nothing he desired so much as a reconciliation with England. Henry also, received the overture with evident satisfaction; and, the Bishop of Paris, although it was winter, undertook a journey to Rome with a message from the King, that he would consent to the conditions. The matter appeared now to be finally settled; and the Consistory appointed a day, within which time, Henry was to certify his intentions

SECTION in writing. The King lost no time; and dispatched a messenger with the required document, *signed by himself*. Reconciliation between England and the Papacy, now appeared inevitable, and the steps of the Reformation seemed as if they must be retraced. But the Providence of God, frustrated the designs of all parties.

His intention  
strangely frus-  
trated.

The King's messenger who had to encounter seas, and mountains, and tempestuous weather, was delayed considerably beyond the appointed day.—The Imperialists seized the opportunity of inflaming the mind of the Pope against King Henry, whom they accused of dishonest intentions; and of seeking delays and concessions for the purpose of deluding him; and urged him to take immediate steps for pronouncing sentence against a person, who set at nought their authority, and treated his kindness, with contempt. They succeeded; and the Pope, forgetting to consult his ordinary prudence, brought the whole subject of the divorce before the Consistory. The cause was hurried through the court with such precipitancy, that a final sentence was passed; and, in one session, the work of three was accomplished. It was declared that the King's marriage with his brother's widow was good, and he was required, on pain of censure, to live with her, as his wife. Two days after this sentence, the messenger arrived. But it was now too late! The die was cast. The Pope and some of the wiser Cardinals wished, if possible, to re-

trace their steps; and another Consistory was called: but they were now infatuated.—Their pride overcame their discretion; and it was resolved, that their former sentence should be confirmed; and the execution of it, by the temporal sword, was confided to the hands of the Emperor.

Upon what a slender thread, appear, sometimes, to hang the destinies of States and Kingdoms!—Had the messenger of Henry VIII, arrived at Rome at the time appointed,—in all human probability, reconciliation would have ensued. But the Almighty Ruler had benevolent purposes in view, for this Country; and those great and beneficial changes which were in progress, might have been prevented by such an occurrence. But by the simplest means, over which, neither the King nor his messenger could exercise any control, the artifices of the Pope and the desires of the King were frustrated; and when, on the arrival of the messenger, the mistake appeared, and the matter once more placed within their own power, their pride was made the means of their own overthrow, and the advancement of the Divine purposes!

The breach as might be expected, was final; and the REFORMATION rapidly advanced. We have seen how steadily and firmly, the Parliament proceeded, step by step, to break down the towering fabric of Papal authority, which had been erected in this Kingdom. Other important acts quickly followed: forbidding all appeals to the

SECTION  
III.  
CHAP. II.

Reformation  
proceeds.  
A. D. 1534.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
court of Rome, on the alleged ground, that no power could dispense with the law of the land, except the King and Parliament—confirming the King's divorce—settling the succession to the heirs of Queen Ann—and transferring to the King, the power of appointing Bishops. The Clergy also in Convocation, were most explicit on all these important topics. They *acknowledged that the Convocation was of right to be summoned by the King, and that no Canons should be enacted or executed, without his assent, and formally condemned all appeals to the Court of Rome.*

These proceedings became deeply interesting to the whole nation. The authority of the Pope was made the common subject of conversation in public, of argument in books, and, of long debates in Parliament; while great preparations were making to strike the final blow. But there were some dissentients of high rank, whose character and conduct we must notice, in order to shew the true grounds upon which they suffered.—For as yet, scarcely a single step was taken for the establishment of RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM.

Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.  
A. D. 1535.

Sir Thomas More, the late Chancellor, who had retired into private life, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; both men of learning, and of unblemished character, obstinately refused to concur with the nation's will in these legislative enactments; and even went so far as to encourage, by their sanction, the plot of the maid of Kent, which

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
was set on foot by some of the intriguing dissatisfied Monks. These eminent individuals were committed to the Tower, for refusing to take the oath of succession, because it implied, that the King's former marriage was unlawful, to which they would not assent, inasmuch as it was an attack upon the Pope's authority: and shortly after, the Parliament passed the Act which placed the top-stone on the pinnacle of *Political Protestantism*, by transferring the usurped authority of the Pope to the Sovereign; and adding to his other titles—"Supreme Head *on earth*, of the Church of England!" This, if any thing, was a still greater stumbling-block in the way of More and Fisher. They adhered to the lawfulness of the King's former marriage, and to the supremacy of the Pope, and died on the scaffold as traitors to the laws of their country. They were certainly, in every respect, the Martyrs of the Pope—for *his* authority, they contended, and died. It is lamentable, that such Englishmen should ever have died in such a cause, and against the independence of their country. Their courage and firmness in suffering, were worthy of a better service. And if their sentence should now be deemed severe, it will be sufficient to observe, that it is almost impossible for us to judge, with accuracy, on that question.

The Parliament of that day, had to contend with great difficulties in breaking down the barriers of a powerful usurpation, which had been

Jurisdictional authority of the Pope, given to the King.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. long exercised over the Church and Kingdom of England. Their measures were not hasty and violent; but sure and effectual; and, such were the evils they discovered to exist in that system, which had become interwoven with all parts of our polity—that they determined to crush for ever, that *monstrous power* which had, for so long a time, preyed upon the vitals of the country: and finding it necessary to establish some order in ecclesiastical affairs, they transferred the authority of the Pope to the Monarch. A most happy change! and as much as it could be expected they should accomplish at that period. Indeed, with all our enlightened views on civil and ecclesiastical polity, I know not that we can arrive at any other conclusion. What was intended, and *only* intended, was “supreme head” in temporal affairs. In any other sense it has never been assumed; and in this point of view the title is certainly correct.\*


Thomas Cromwell succeeds Wolsey.

Great events and changes were now at hand. Light broke in upon the darkness and superstition of ages, and laid the foundation of the transcendent principle of *Religious Protestantism*; and, it is now time to introduce to the notice of the reader, an individual, who had the principal share in these, and future transactions of vast importance; this was Thomas Cromwell, whose name deserves a

\* “Elements of the British Constitution,” by the Author. Vide “Ecclesiastical Power” *Brown, Leicester, Whittaker and Co. London.*

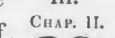
SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. very high place in the annals of his country. He was of humble birth, the son of a blacksmith; but a person of enlarged mind, and shining talents; and at the time of Wolsey's death he had advanced himself to the rank of secretary to that practiced Statesman. The Cardinal's degradation, brought him into public notice—not by a base desertion of his patron—but from a noble ingenuousness of mind, which led him to use all his powers of eloquence, in defence of the fallen Premier, against the accusations of his enemies. Besides, his great qualifications, and knowledge of public affairs, pointed him out to the King, as a most suitable successor to his late minister; and in promoting those well directed Acts of the legislature which we have recapitulated, he no doubt, was the chief instrument. He was accordingly raised to the highest honors in the State, created a Baron and Lord Privy Seal; and appointed visitor, by delegation from the King, of all the monasteries in England. He was also constituted the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical matters, and took precedence of all subjects, next to the members of the Royal Family. Vigour despatch and integrity marked his proceedings.

He was not long in making use of the power vested in him, and issued commissions to enquire into the state of the religious houses. There were at this time more than six hundred monasteries in England, possessing immense wealth and influ-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  once in the country. Their enormous power and pride, with their accompanying vices, were at their height; and the Divine Judgments, even now impended over their heads. The most monstrous impieties and disorders were discovered. Their iniquities reached to Heaven, and cried for vengeance. They were the strong-holds of crime and imposture.—Dens of profligacy. Some were the abodes of luxurious ease and debauchery. Others were the seats of factious contentions and angry resentments. Some were the habitations of cruelty, whilst in others, were found instruments for the coining of money. These were the off-shoots of Popery and its legitimate productions! For it ought to be observed, that these institutions were really the Pope's own children; and not under the jurisdiction of the Bishops—a circumstance which, in some measure, accounts for this strict and searching investigation under the sole authority of the King.

Wales annexed to England.  
A. D. 1536. The report of the Commissioners was laid before Parliament, which was followed by an act for the suppression of all the lesser monasteries, amounting in number, to three hundred and seventy-two. It may be observed, that in the same session, an act was passed for the incorporation of the Principality of Wales with the Kingdom of England.

Translation of the BIBLE first proposed by convocation. But we are now approaching an event of superlative importance, which was to lay the chief corner stone in the foundation of RELIGIOUS PRO-

TESTANTISM—the translation of the BIBLE; and SECTION III.  
I rejoice to find, that it sprung from the same source as that, which gave rise to the first act of political Protestantism—the CONVOCATION OF THE CLERGY. 

Nor must Anne Boleyn lose her share in the glory of this work. She forwarded the advancement of the project at Court, with all her power, and prevailed upon the King to give his consent. Insuperable would have been the prejudices of the King to such an innovation, had it not been for the judicious management and eloquence of this accomplished Queen. And we may remark, that had she been elevated to her high dignity for the accomplishment of this one object, such a result would have been sufficient. Soon after her marriage with the King, she became strongly attached to the doctrines of the Reformation; which, indeed, she openly avowed by appointing Latimer and Shaxton as her Chaplains, and procuring their appointment to the Bishopricks of Worcester and Salisbury. Through her influence, Latimer was rescued from very imminent danger, into which he had been brought by his bold and uncompromising language. The Queen even committed her household to his management, and listened with great attention and delight to his discourses. Indeed, her conduct was most exemplary. She was constantly employed in doing good; and expended great sums in acts of charity and bene-

Queen Anne,  
favors Protest-  
antism.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. volence. But her career had been ambitious. Her path like the brief splendour of a shooting star, was short, and she fell, an early victim to the malignant spirit of revenge and faction.

It would not be necessary to say more upon this subject were it not the design of this work to search into the moral causes of things; and to shew the results of the actions of intelligent agents, under the superintendence of an All-wise and Almighty Being. It is in such transactions as these, which stand out so prominently in history, that we are to find materials for our inquiry, and which must be lighted up as beacons to warn, or as stars, to direct our course.

The Queen's  
disgrace and  
fall.

These great and important changes in the civil and ecclesiastical management of affairs, did not take place without great opposition from the Popish party in the nation: add to which, that these discontents were fomented by the unceasing efforts of the agents employed by the Pope and the Emperor. Every artifice was made use of, to instigate the minds of the people against the Queen, the Archbishop, and the Secretary Cromwell. The Queen was the first victim. Her ruin was effected through the machinations of the most artful and infamous of women, assisted by the power of the Duke of Norfolk. This degraded woman, was Lady Guilford and wife to the brother of the Queen. Her mind was inflamed with jealousy and hatred against her husband,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. and, to gratify her malignity and resentment, she filled the King's mind with representations of the Queen's indiscretions and infidelity, and even implicated her own husband, the Queen's brother, in the guilt! The King was completely entangled in the toils of this artful female. The Queen was arrested. The inhuman Duke of Norfolk presided at her trial. The result had been determined and is well known. She was beheaded on Tower Hill, after she had shared the throne of England nearly five years.

Of her innocence there cannot exist the shadow of a doubt. Posterity, in this respect, have awarded a just sentence. Her innocence.

But is there no clue by which we may be enabled to trace the progress of this fatal dispensation? There is no doubt, as we have shown, that Queen Anne was instructed in, and was too much actuated with, the spirit of ambition, and that she sought her elevation, by an abandonment of that decorum and propriety by which true moral integrity is always directed. She not only permitted the marked attentions of the King, whilst maid of honor to the Queen; but consented to marry him before his divorce had been legally pronounced; and consequently, whilst he had yet a wife. To some, this may appear drawing the bonds of morality too strictly; but it is Christian morality; and which none ever yet transgressed with impunity. Some persons consider such frailty pardon- Moral causes of her ruin.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. able in a woman.—But the same inflexible law of morality holds its authority over women as well as men: and the frailties of Anne Boleyn, met with a severe and fearful retribution. Under the preaching of Latimer, both her moral and religious views were enlightened and improved; and she died *politically and religiously*, a Protestant. Her last words were: “To Christ I commend my soul.”—And she has the singular honor of being the first English Protestant, whose death is recorded in history!

The King marries.

The marriage of the King with Jane Seymour, two days after the execution of his Queen, does by no means, shew that this new passion was the cause of her death. I do not suppose that it hastened it a single hour, except that it served to estrange the King's mind, and overthrow this barrier to her protection. But wicked and licentious men often burst through the hallowed bonds of marriage, to indulge a wayward and capricious fancy, without contemplating a divorce. No—her doom arose from other causes, the King was fully influenced with a persuasion of her guilt, and infuriated with anger and jealousy; and his early marriage with Jane Seymour, was to testify his abhorrence of her conduct and memory. His violent and unbridled passions were his tormentors.

Princess Mary makes a solemn avowal.

These transactions were followed by a change of counsel. The Emperor again appears on the scene of English history; and seizes the opportu-

nity, for bringing about a reconciliation between the King and the Princess Mary, who was now about twenty years of age: this was accomplished on the condition that she would make a full submission in writing, which she did to the following effect—*‘She acknowledged the King to be Head of the Church of England, under Christ—utterly renounced the authority of the Bishop of Rome—promised to be obedient to the laws then made;—all which she declared to flow from her inward belief and judgement, in which she would ever continue.\*’*

The greatest vigour prevailed in the councils of the nation, and the Convocation proceeded to examine many points of religion, and to inquire into various corruptions and abuses; and in the midst of their deliberations, Cromwell conveyed to them a Royal message—“That they should re-form the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the rule of Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all glosses and decrees of Popes.” This message was followed by long and strenuous debates in that learned body, the result of which was, that they established *the Authority of Scripture—the three creeds—the first four general Councils, and three of the seven Sacraments—Baptism, Eucharist and Penance*. These were great and decided inroads upon the darkness and superstition of Popery, and were generally approved by the higher and middle classes of society. But great discon-

\* Echard.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. tent prevailed amongst the lower orders, which was instigated by the Monks and Friars, and at length broke out into serious rebellion.

Rebellion  
of the lower  
orders.  
A. D. 1537.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of these rebellions. They were so formidable that if the Emperor had been at liberty to land his forces in England, for the purpose of executing the Pope's commission, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequences. But as it was, it rather furthered the Reformation; for the complete triumph of the King, destroyed all hope of resistance and enabled his Commissioners to proceed to the destruction of the remaining Monasteries. The infatuated people however, still vented their murmurs and complaints against such wholesale extirpation of establishments, which they had regarded with veneration. The Council at length had recourse to a method, which tended, in some measure, to weaken the prepossessions of the people. They brought to light several of the impostors which had been practiced by the Monks, amongst these, was the "Rood of Grace" at Boxley in Kent. This image had been the resort of multitudes. It was observed to bow its head—to roll its eyes—and by its countenance, to shew satisfaction or displeasure, to the astonishment of the credulous people. This abominable imposture was exhibited at Saint Paul's cross, where all the secret springs which governed its motions, were openly shewn and explained. But it would require

a volume to tell of all the cheats and impositions, which were brought to light, but with which my design has nothing to do, except to shew the depth of ignorance and superstition into which the nation was sunk, prior to the Reformation.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

But these proceedings created at Rome, the most lively indignation against the King and his ministers; and Paul III, who had succeeded Clement, issued a fearful Bull against them: enumerating all their crimes, and commanding the King and his accomplices to appear at Rome, within sixty days: declaring, on refusal, that the King had fallen from his crown, and they from their estates; and requiring all Christians to make war upon them, and to seize their goods, and even all the subjects of the King, and make slaves of them!

Wrath of the  
Pope and publication of the  
Bible.  
A. D. 1538.

But the Clergy were now too far advanced with the changes of the times, to attempt to give effect to the Pope's injunctions. They declared against his authority to wield the temporal sword; and to crown the triumph of the Reformation at this period, the BIBLE was completed; and the unwearied Cromwell issued injunctions to the Clergy, to provide Bibles in all the Churches, and to encourage the people to read them. Cranmer was so delighted at this event, that he wrote a letter of congratulation to the Secretary, in which he says: "I rejoice to see the day of the Reformation now risen in England, since the word of God doth shine over it, without a cloud."

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. II.

Flames of  
Martyrdom re-  
kindled.

But this bright day was soon to be overcast, to the great grief of the Archbishop and his friends. Through the influence of Bishop Gardiner, to whom the King was personally indebted—he was persuaded to believe, that a little severity exercised against Heretics, would have a tendency to establish his cause over all Europe; and advised him to begin with those who denied the “Real Presence” in the Sacrament, especially, as that point had also been declared upon, by the reforming Princes of Germany. The King listened to the insidious counsel, and the horrid lot fell on an individual of the name of Lambert, a Divine of considerable eminence, who was tried in the presence of the King, and condemned to be burnt. And as Queen Anne Boleyn was the first Protestant after the Reformation who met a public death—so, Lambert has the honor of being the first Protestant martyr. He was miserably tormented in the fire—but his patience and resignation never forsook him for a moment. Nothing could tend more forcibly to shew the bent and purpose of his mind, than his conduct in the midst of his tortures; and with his expiring breath, his brief but emphatic cry was: “None but Christ! none but Christ!”

Parliament  
only politically  
Protestant.

His martyrdom was followed by the enactment by Parliament, of the six bloody Statutes,\* as they have been justly denominated; which show how deeply the King and the Country, generally, were

\* Echard.

embued with the doctrines of Popery; and how much was yet to be done, before the nation could be expurgated from the deadly errors with which it had been so fatally infected. After all, it does not appear that it was ever sincerely intended to carry this act of the six Articles into execution. It seems to have been more a state expedient, resorted to for the purpose of deceiving the world; for, although more than five hundred persons were presented under the provisions of this bill, they were all discharged; and during the authority of Cromwell the act was never enforced.

But this great man, through too great obsequiousness to his master, fell into grievous error, in counselling Parliament to pass one Act for giving to the King's proclamations, the force of law; and another, for enabling the court, to pass sentence of attainder, in the absence of the attainted persons, —a law opposed to every principle of nature and justice; but this breach on humanity and the acknowledged rights of Englishmen, whilst it throws a dark shade upon his political integrity, was dearly exacted of him, as we shall see, by the just Arbiter of human actions.

The monastic institutions of England had now ceased to exist. Under the vigorous administration of the King's vice-gerent, six hundred and forty-five monasteries were utterly extirpated. And whilst one cannot but deeply lament, that such magnificent fabrics, upreared with immense

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. II.

Cromwell's  
errors.

Monasteries  
suppressed.  
A. D. 1539.

SECTION III. labour and expense, should be totally annihilated, and wishing as we do, that the advice of Bishop Latimer had been followed, and one or more of these institutions had been left in each County, for Collegiate establishments—yet as a necessary measure, to secure the full tide of prosperity which was to flow in upon the country, we cannot but rejoice in their destruction.—It was a necessary link in the series of events, which, under the Divine Conduct, was to introduce the full unfettered liberty of the “everlasting gospel.” It is not indeed, easy to conceive, how the true profession of Christianity could have existed, whilst these strong-holds of licentiousness, indolence, and superstition remained, and under the sanction of its venerable name, exhibiting every feature which was inconsistent with its character. What has Christianity to do with such mock exhibitions of piety—concealing the desperate wickedness of the human heart, under the garb of its holy profession?—Dreadful enormity! Sufficient to cover the heavens with perpetual storms, and to turn the sun into sackcloth of hair! But had these institutions been as pure as their founders intended they should be—had the secluded fathers of the cloister, been as holy, as humble, as temperate, as prayerful as their vows professed them to be—what connexion would these abodes have had, with Christianity? None whatever. They would even then, have been entirely inconsistent with the spirit and char-

Monastic institutions inconsistent with Christianity.

III.  
CHAP. II.

acter of true Religion. Can the wearing of sackcloth and wallowing in ashes—can the spending of days and nights in prayer and abstinence, be an acceptable sacrifice in the sight of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercy? Mistaken folly, which could only tend to destroy every vestige of that holy religion which the Son of God came to establish. Christianity, indeed, demands all the moderation, all the humility, all the devotion of the heart, which monastic institutions were intended to cultivate—but Christianity demands all these sacrifices to be offered in the midst of our active duties; and in the diligent exercise of all our mental and bodily faculties; and it may be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim—that no duty can be pleasing to the Author of Christianity, which is abstracted from, or inconsistent with the personal and relative duties, connected with our station in society; and that, whoever places himself without the pale of the duties which he owes to his fellow-men, is guilty of treason against the Author of his being. I can not, therefore, see how Christianity could have flourished in connexion with these institutions, even at their best estate; but as they had been degraded, it was utterly impossible. There was also a great political reason.—They were a dead weight upon the community. Their revenues were immense,—one million five hundred thousand pounds a year—a sum which would now equal six times

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. that amount. In short, I consider their extirpation, in order to make way for the plans of the Divine Benevolence to have been as necessary for our country, as the destruction of Druidism.—I scarcely know which stood most in the way of the advance of Christianity. Both were remarkably destroyed, not gradually and slowly, but by a sudden and irresistible blow. They were not suffered to fall by decay.—They were blotted out, not by the workings of a long conducted design, but by the force of circumstances, and by instruments suddenly raised up, and eminently fitted for the work.

Results not contemplated by the agents employed.

What did the King of England intend of all this, when he commenced the suit of his divorce, which was really the source of all the changes of that period? What did the Emperor intend, when he opposed the Kings suit and prevented the Pope from granting his request, which laid the foundation for these innovations on the Papal authority? What did the Pope and his Cardinals intend of all this, when he condemned the proceedings of the King of England? What of all this did the Messenger intend, who conveyed the King's submission and desire of reconciliation, when his arrival at the City of Rome had been delayed? What did Wolsey intend of all this, when he selected Cromwell as his Secretary, instructed and honored him? Yet all these circumstances were necessary links in the chain of events which, necessarily, led

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. to the accomplishment of the changes which we have briefly recorded. The agents employed in conducting these transactions, were utterly blind, as to their real bearing and ultimate direction.—Was the divorce of Henry permitted merely to satisfy his scruples or to gratify his licentious passions? Was the opposition of the Emperor merely to exercise his own ambitious designs?—Or, was the impetuosity of the Pope in passing a hasty sentence intended, merely to shew the pride and arrogance of that impious power? It is impossible to indulge the supposition for a moment; because we see they were steps of a series which were overruled by an Almighty Power, and led to the accomplishment of events, at the bare contemplation of which, the actors themselves would have turned pale with grief and shame.

The principal business of the reign had now, in a great measure, been accomplished: the ACTION rapidly advances, and the scene hastens to its close.

The King had been deeply afflicted by the death of his Queen, Jane Seymour, who expired after giving birth to a Prince, afterwards, Edward VI,—the Josiah of England. His wise and sagacious minister, Cromwell, saw the vast importance of gaining a Queen who should strengthen his councils, and afford her influence to promote the Reformation. Circumstances favoured the projects of the Minister, and he was allowed to

Cromwell negotiates a marriage for the King. A. D. 1540.

## SECTION

III.

CHAP. II.

make enquiries among the Princes of Germany—the pillars of the Reformation. Anne of Cleves, sister of the Duke of that name, and related by marriage, with the Duke of Saxony, was selected by him as the most suitable match. The beauty of her portrait by Holbein, was satisfactory: nor was it exaggerated. But she was unaccomplished: her manners were so ungainly, and her carriage so inelegant, that the King took an insuperable dislike to her: and although he suffered the solemnization of the marriage to take place, out of respect to her illustrious relatives, yet he determined not to proceed beyond the formal celebration of the nuptials. He never took her to wife, nor rested till the marriage was annulled by his Parliament.

The fall of  
Cromwell.

It has generally been stated, that the King's personal displeasure with Cromwell, on account of the trouble and vexation which accrued to him from this match, was the cause of the downfall and ruin of that eminent minister. But this was not the case, although it formed a plea for the designs of his enemies. The King was on the most friendly terms with him, and shortly after, exalted him to higher honors; for he was created Earl of Essex, which however was the summit of his greatness. His career was run. A secret and powerful reason gave his enemies an advantage. The popular cry was against him for what had been transacted under his administration—all who opposed the Reformation hated him, the

principal of whom were the persecuting Gardiner, SECTION  
Bishop of Winchester, and the treacherous Duke III.  
of Norfolk. This latter person, at this fatal mo- CHAP. II.  
ment, possessed a powerful influence from the circumstance, that the King determining to choose his own wife, had fixed his affections on the accomplished Catharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk. At his instigation and by his hand, Cromwell was arrested for high treason, and committed to the Tower. From those dungeons he never came forth: for he was attainted without being heard,—the very ground on which he had counselled the condemnation of others; which, as it was a most unjust and unconstitutional procedure; so he was made to experience all its bitterness in his own case. He was executed on Tower Hill, just three months after he was created Earl of Essex. But a heavier retribution was preparing for his implacable and unrelenting persecutors.

After the death of Cromwell, which happened so unexpectedly, the Reformation received a sudden check; and the Romish party, at the head of which was the Duke of Norfolk, obtained a signal triumph. From this moment, the King's councils became unsteady, and for the seven remaining years of his reign, he found no Minister upon whose faithfulness or ability he could rely. He deeply lamented, when it was too late, the loss of that celebrated statesman, Cromwell. Besides, the judgments of God, were now about to be

The Reforma-  
tion suffers.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
visited upon his own head for the evils which he had committed. Others had served as instruments; he was the great actor. But, great as he was, and, he was great indeed, there was ONE on high, that was mightier; and who in this world, brought him to a severe account.

Divine inflictions on the King, and the murderers of Queen Anne Boleyn.

A. D. 1542.

The first blow he received, fell where he was most deeply sensible. He was so charmed with the conversation, beauty, and accomplishments of his Queen, that in the ardour and generosity of his feelings, he ordered public thanksgiving to be offered in Saint Paul's church, for the perfect happiness which it had pleased God to bestow upon him. But alas! what is man in his best estate? The heaven which appeared to him in all its brightness and without a cloud, was quickly shrouded in blackest storms and night. His Queen whom he had regarded as an angel of light, was exhibited to his astonished eyes, defiled with the darkest stains of sin and guilt; and, as her accomplice in crime, the Lady Rochford, the chief murderer of the unfortunate and innocent Anne Boleyn!

Who can tell the agonies of the King's mind? He alternated for some time, between grief and rage—between affection for his Queen, and vengeance against her accusers. But he was, at length, compelled to believe his own dishonor, by the most overwhelming evidence; and he was justly punished where he had so signally offended. He had before punished the innocent; it is now

retributed upon him, to the full; and he was called upon, under trying circumstances, to punish the guilty, in whose condemnation the innocence of the former was vindicated. Not only the Queen and the *Lady Rochford* were executed; but the whole House of Norfolk were implicated in the odium. The Duke of Norfolk himself, for the present escaped; and was employed by the King in offices of trust and command.—But his punishment only slumbered, it was not reversed.

In the mean time the sanguinary Gardiner, seizes the opportunity, whilst no firm hand was at the helm, to light up the fires of Martyrdom. The six statutes were put in force, and Barnes, Gerard and Jerome, were condemned and burnt.—Cranmer himself was fearfully assailed by the Romish party. Their utmost strength was put forth to extinguish that burning and shining light.—The plot was deeply laid by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and a long paper containing an account of his heretical principles and practices was delivered to the King. But their malice failed of its object. The unwavering esteem and attachment of the King for this most exemplary Prelate, assisted and aided by the influence of Catharine Parr, whom the King had married, overcame the solicitations of his enemies.

At length towards the evening of this busy and memorable reign, a reconciliation was effected between Henry and the Emperor Charles V. and

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
Persecution of Gardiner.  
A. D. 1543.

Reconciliation of the King and Emperor.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
Extraordinary turn of events.

a league was entered into, in which it was agreed that the Princess Mary should succeed next to Prince Edward, and in connexion with this, a circumstance took place of a most extraordinary nature, because it confounds all human foresight, and shews how ardently men engage in the accomplishment of an object which is to end in their own destruction. The Earl of Arran was, at that time, Regent of Scotland, during the minority of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. Henry sent an embassy to the Regent, to project a marriage between the young Queen and Prince Edward; and to offer the *Princess Elizabeth to Arran's eldest Son*. The King's offers were so agreeable to the Earl of Arran and the Scotch nobility, that they were immediately agreed to, and confirmed by Parliament. But all the Clergy, headed by Cardinal Beaton, assisted by the Queen mother, and aided by every kind of influence from France, frustrated the design. How steadily do the purposes of God march to their destination over the counsels of men! What Englishman, without intuitive horror, can contemplate Queen Elizabeth as the unknown wife of an Highland Chief? What Papist does not deplore the course adopted by his party, which prevented the banishment of the Great Protestant Queen—who expelled Popery from her isle? But I forbear to enlarge, the sacred oracle comes to my aid, “the counsel of the Lord standeth for ever—the thoughts of his heart to all generations.”—Ps. xxxiii. 11.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.  
Policy of the Emperor.

Events, important events now crowd upon one another as the reign hastens to its close. The King was obliged by his league with the Emperor, to engage in a war with France. He discovered to the last, the energy and love of display which were inherent in his character. The sails which wafted him, for the last time, to the coast of France, were of cloth of gold; and he marched in sovereign pomp at the head of his army, to lay siege to Boulogne, which after six weeks was obliged to surrender. Nothing was gained by this enterprize. But a deeper policy was playing elsewhere. The Council of Trent was then sitting, and every effort was made by the Pope and Emperor to assemble sufficient force to procure obedience to its Canons and Decrees. It was the policy therefore of the Emperor, to beguile the King of England, and to protract this war, in order to divide the power of these Monarchs, and to prevent them from rendering assistance to the Princes of Germany.

The extraordinary part acted by the Emperor on this occasion, and, indeed, throughout this whole reign, over the destinies of which, he exercised a powerful influence, marks him out as an extraordinary man, and an eminent instrument in furthering the plans of Divine wisdom. Of course it is not within the design of this work, to follow his career, when unconnected with our own Country. On the present occasion how clever, how

Instrument in the Hand of God.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. remarkable his policy! His design was to hold sufficient power in Europe, at that critical moment, to enforce the decisions of the Council of Trent. For this purpose he had collected an immense army; whilst by his treaty with Henry, and the consequent French war, he brought the two Kings of England and France, under his mediation and control!

Cranmer's designs frustrated by Gardiner.  
Cranmer in the mean time, had made considerable advances with the King; and was on the point of accomplishing some substantial plans of Reformation. But the ever watchful Gardiner, who was Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor, hearing of these intended innovations, wrote to the King in strong terms, assuring him, that the Emperor was so affected by these changes, that if he persevered, he would unite with the King of France against him. The Archbishop was obliged to desist; and to add to his grief, the illustrious Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, his friend and ally on all occasions; and who, like himself had never suffered the loss of the King's favor, was at this juncture removed by death. By this bereavement he was left without a friend, and almost the only individual of eminence, who had courage and ability to carry out the principles of Religious Protestantism. But he had little opportunity. The King's days were numbered; and his own too, had his enemies obtained their wishes.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. The flames of Martyrdom again ascended, to defile the pure canopy of Heaven, and to demand vengeance from the insulted Power above, Ann Aiscough, a gentlewoman, was barbarously racked, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield, with two others, for denying the corporeal presence in the Sacrament. Others were also immolated; and the fury of the Romish party raged. They made another assault upon the Archbishop, the circumstances of which are so remarkable, that they must not be omitted in this work.

Cranmer's extraordinary escape.  
A. D. 1546.  
The nobles of the Romish faith, assembled and accused Cranmer, before the King, as being the grand source of all the heresy in the kingdom; but alleged, that no person dared to give evidence because he stood so high in the King's favor. But they affirmed, that if the King, would once allow the Council to commit him to the Tower, he would then see, how many would appear to inform against him. The King consented; and it was resolved that it should be put into execution the following day. But the King, like Darius, on a similar occasion, set his heart to deliver Cranmer. He sent for him to the palace, and disclosed to him the whole design. The Archbishop thanked the King for not allowing him to be surprised; and submitted himself to the King's pleasure, only making one request, that he might be allowed to answer for himself before judges, who were capable of forming a correct judgment on

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

such matters. The King astonished at his composure, and utter disregard of the fatal consequences generously said, *that he saw he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself.* The King then instructed him when he appeared before the Council, to demand to see his accusers, before he was committed to the Tower; and to desire the members to be treated by them, as they would desire to be, under similar circumstances.—“And if,” said the King, “they will not listen to the force of reason, shew them this ring, and appeal to me in person.” The King then took off his seal-ring, and delivering it to the Archbishop, dismissed him. Next morning according to expectation, he received a summons to attend the Council at Whitehall. Even in the lobby of the council chamber, the venerable Prelate received such treatment, as fully shewed him what he was likely to expect in the presence of the Council. When admitted, all the King had told him, was verified. The force of reason had no effect upon his judges; till at length the Archbishop shewing the ring, appealed to the King—immediately, the members of the Council rose up in great confusion and hastened to the King, who severely rebuked them; and expressed his esteem and kindness for the Archbishop, in such terms as fully convinced them, that all attempts against his personal safety were utterly hopeless.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II.

The King's mind was daily perplexed and harassed with the dissensions and animosities which every where prevailed; and to add to his calamities, he was afflicted with a grievous ulcer in his leg, from the pains of which he suffered exceedingly. His temper was greatly affected, and he became peevish and fretful; and a circumstance happened, which gave the unrelenting Gardiner, in concert with the Lord Chancellor Wriothsesley, an opportunity of attempting to sacrifice the life of the Queen, to the interests of the Romish party. She was strongly attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, and encouraged its professors with all her influence. One day conversing with the King, his displeasure was aroused by the freedom of her remarks; Gardiner seized the opportunity of inflaming his mind against the Queen. Wriothsesley joined him; and they possessed the King's mind with the idea that heresies would be interminable, unless the Queen received a severe check which might prove a warning to others. The King was prevailed upon by their representations and artifices, and actually signed the articles upon which she was to be impeached. But she was also to be delivered out of their atrocious hands.—The Lord Chancellor on his departure, accidentally dropped the paper, which was found by one of the Queen's attendants and conveyed to her. She saw the danger and immediately hastened to the King's apartment, and after a little discussion with

The Queen narrowly escaped.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. him, pleasantly said—“that her object in holding these little disputes with him, was for instruction, and to divert his mind from his many cares and solicitudes. Next day whilst the Royal pair were walking in the garden, Wriothesley came with the intention of conveying her to the Tower: but the King calling him aside, rebuked him sharply; and when the Queen interposed to mitigate his resentment, he told her, that of all persons in the world, she had the least occasion to plead in his behalf. Gardiner he never afterwards restored to favor; and erased his name from his Will, where it had been placed as one of his Executors.

Visitations  
on the house of  
Norfolk.

A. D. 1547.

But the Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surrey, a young nobleman of aspiring temper, and great abilities, the acknowledged head of the Romish party, did not so easily escape. The father it will be remembered was particularly implicated in the execution of Queen Ann Boleyn; and both, in that of the Secretary Cromwell. They had assumed some part of the royal arms, and it was intimated they were meditating ambitious designs in case of the King's death. But their ruin was thought to have been effected, chiefly through the influence of the Seymours to whom they were obnoxious. The Earl of Surrey was tried at Common Law, condemned and executed. The process of the father's trial occupied more time—he was only saved at length by the King's death, which happened the night before

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. his intended execution! But he was severely punished in the death of his beloved and accomplished son, affording us an example that there is ONE who seeth and judgeth, and who suffers none to commit injustice with impunity!

In the mean time, the King's malady increased to a most afflicting degree, and his pains and sufferings were intolerable. His manly and majestic form became bloated with disease; his fine and symmetrical limbs, swollen and deformed; his activity and vigour, consumed by wasting humours, and his mind tortured with pain and anxiety. In a word he became a loathsome spectacle to others, and a burden to himself. Behold! the mighty and puissant Henry VIII.—first, in the joust and tournament—first, in splendour of the embattled field—first, amongst Princes—suffering under the tributary hand of a just and righteous God, who, in this world, will in no wise spare the guilty.—How justly applicable to *his* situation, are the words of the inspired Asaph; “When Thou with rebukes dost chasten man, for sin; Thou makest his beauty to consume away like as it were a moth fretting a garment. Every man, at his best estate is altogether vanity!\*

The King's  
personal afflictions.

During the short time that his wasting life lingered in its socket, he finished his noble foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the finest institutions in Europe. His Will was signed

The King's  
death.

\* Psalm xxxix.—Burial Service.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. on the thirtieth of December, in which he fixed the succession in Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth; and preferred the children of his second sister by Charles Brandon, to those of his eldest sister the Queen of Scotland. On the twenty-seventh of January his strength and spirits failed him, and it was manifest that his end was approaching.—But none would dare to announce to him the unwelcome tidings. Sir Anthony Denis was the only one who had sufficient courage to warn him of his approaching fate. The King with great humility received the communication, expressed his sorrow for the sins of his life, and, though multiplied and heinous in the sight of God, yet, he said; *that he trusted in Christ whose mercies were greater than his sins*: and when asked by his friendly monitor, whether a Churchman should be sent for, he answered; “*If any, let it be Cranmer.*”

“If any,”—what! was this a suitable expression from the lips of him, who was “Defender of the Faith” and “Most Christian King? Unfortunately for Henry, he had been placed in an unfavourable position for himself; and had too many opportunities of witnessing the duplicity, and treachery, and perjury, and ambition of Churchmen, to entertain the hope of receiving any benefit from their advice or prayers—affording another signal proof, that whatever may be the pretensions of the Ministers of the Gospel, a practice at variance with such pretensions, will not only repel

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. mankind from embracing its doctrines, but drive them into infidelity. Happily, Henry had no desire to take refuge in such an expedient; but with a knowledge and perception which would have done honor to a better creed; and might have been the source of better fruits, he expressed his unshaken faith and confidence in the Author of Christianity. In his *professed* ministers, with the Pope at their head, he had no confidence; but he doubted not of the Divine power and beneficence of the Son of God. *If* there were *any* of his Ministers in whom he could place any reliance—but he was reputed an heretic—it was “Cranmer.” It was a high and memorable testimony to the true principles of Christianity. Cranmer was not only a minister of Christianity, but a Christian altogether; and though the circumstances of the times were against him, yet his character prevailed in the King’s mind, over almost insurmountable prejudices. The Archbishop was summoned; but did not arrive till the Monarch was speechless, and desiring him to give some sign whether he died in the faith of Christ; he tenderly pressed his hand, and, soon after expired, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign.

Character. He was fond of martial and chivalrous exploits, but still more addicted to pleasure. He was generous, and capable of friendship, but this was counterbalanced, by being quick in his resentments

SECTION III. CHAP. II. and capricious in his attachments. He was profound and penetrating as a politician, and, generally prudent in the methods he adopted, for securing his ends. If he was imperious and, sometimes, cruel, we shall find that he was forced into it, by the peculiarity of his situation. With all his endowments as a warrior, and with all his love of show, his wars were generally just, and his treaties with foreign countries faithfully kept, for the honor of his Country. He was eminently the instrument of Providence, and endued with great zeal; which by the infirmity of human nature was defaced with striking defects. But I need not enlarge, the history I have written, is the record of his character. The great event of his reign, was the establishment of POLITICAL PROTESTANTISM, of which he must be considered the founder.

Church of  
England exem-  
plar.

But the religious or doctrinal parts of the Reformation, were delayed, from the inflexibility of the King, and his determination not to open the door to what was esteemed, heresy; and, from the intolerance and ignorance of the Parliament. The King too, was afraid to bring a reproach upon his Supremacy, and thus afford a ground for triumph to the Romish party. But it was well. It served to check that precipitancy, which too often attends great changes, if they become popular; and was intended, we may hope, to preserve the Church of England as an EXEMPLAR CHURCH in Christendom. It was evident to the humblest capacity,

SECTION III. CHAP. II. that Henry and his Parliament, were incapable of conducting the Reformation beyond the limits which it had attained, at the time of his removal; and other instruments better adapted to its further progress, were about to be called into action.

Vigorous efforts had been made in the body politic, for its future extension and prosperity. During this reign, the Constitution had been far from slumbering: the feudal system, which had been broken down by the civil wars, into fitting materials for the foundation of a flourishing republic, had received their direction through the wise policy of Henry VII, and under the sway of Henry VIII, became entirely subject to the Sovereign authority. It was necessary, before the Constitution could be consolidated, that the chief power should become permanent, and free from all control, except that of Law. The nobility at this period, shorn of their feudal power were left defenceless, and at the mercy of the Monarch; whilst the commons unsupported by their ancient and natural leaders, were utterly unable to wield the power which had been placed at their command.

Had a powerful Aristocracy existed at this time, acting under legal forms, it would have been impossible to have accomplished the changes which took place during this reign. They were carried by the kingly power, aided and sanctioned by the good common-sense of the lower House, who placed no opposition in the way of transactions which

Began to rally in the Reign of James I.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. concurred with their own wishes. It is true, if the Aristocratic power had possessed its legitimate authority, the Sovereign power would not have been able to have acted independent of law, and committed so many acts of tyranny and oppression. The elements of government were acquiring a new form and character; and time and experience were wanting, to consolidate them. In order to this, they were to pass through periods of trial and purgation. But every rank in the state was awakening to new energy, from the long night of ignorance. Learning began to revive, and the greatest men of the age thought it no degradation, to give their aid in preparing the rudiments of education. Henry VIII, with a versatility of talent for which he was remarkable, wrote an introduction to grammar; and Wolsey, besides writing an introduction to Lilly's grammar, drew up a system of instructions to be used in the school which he founded at Ipswich.

Erasmus  
comes into  
England.

The celebrated Erasmus found great encouragement, he was patronized not only by the King and his Ministers, but by the Nobility and Gentry in general. The foundations were laid deep and broad, and adapted to receive the superstructure, which has since been raised upon it. The boundaries of commerce were enlarged, and what was of more consequence to the state, the English began to apply themselves to the arts of industry and trade. Hitherto, these mechanical and fine

arts, had been carried on in England by foreigners, SECTION III.  
CHAP. II. of whom, by an order in council, fifteen thousand were obliged to leave the Metropolis at one time; improvements also, were introduced in gardening and agriculture, and the whole nation appeared to rouse itself to vigorous and successful exertion, which is now to be taken up under new auspices, and to be conducted to new achievements.

## CHAPTER III.

EDWARD VI.—ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGIOUS PEOTES-  
TANTISM.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.  
Reign of Edward VI.  
A. D. 1547.

The son of Henry VIII, who was destined to fill the high station which had just been vacated, was only nine years of age, when he was crowned by the name of Edward VI. But he was endued with extraordinary qualifications; and though so young, he was one of the most remarkable Kings that ever graced the English throne: and it is observable, that the influence of his character, aided by circumstances, produced more signal and efficient changes for his country, than any Monarch that ever swayed the British Sceptre. He manifested early indications of a superior understanding, of high integrity, and supreme veneration for Religion. He was endued with a quick apprehension and great desire for learning; and was so proficient in the Languages, that at eight years of age

he was in the habit of writing letters in latin, to the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. At six years of age, he had been placed by his father under two of the most celebrated scholars of their day; Doctor Cox, as his preceptor in Philosophy, Morality and Divinity; and Mr. Cheke, as his tutor in Language and Mathematics. Under their wise management, with the assistance of his Godfather, Archbishop Cranmer, his rapidly expanding mind, was trained in the exercise of just and holy principles, drawn from the fountain of Eternal Truth—the BIBLE itself. Thus it was, that at the age of nine years when he came to the Throne, he appeared almost a miracle amongst men, for the soundness of his judgement—the generosity of his sentiments—the enlightened vigour of his mind, and the chastened fervor of his piety.

On his father's death, the young King was received by the Council, in the Council-chamber at the Tower, with great respect. The late King's will was read, which was drawn up with that wisdom and sagacity, for which he was so remarkable. Sixteen of the most noble and eminent persons in the kingdom, were appointed with equal powers, as executors of his Will, and to act as a Council of Regency to his son, till he should attain the age of eighteen. But unfortunately, this disposition of affairs was departed from, through the foolish ambition of the Earl of Hertford, uncle to the King, who prevailed upon the majority of

SECTION III. the Council, to give him a pre-eminence, and confer upon him the title of Protector of the realm.  
CHAP. III. He was a person of many virtues, enlightened principles and unaffected piety.—But he was too much exposed, through a candid and easy disposition, to the artifices of the designing; and his undue elevation, laid the foundation of many troubles to himself and others. From the first moment, a party in opposition, was formed in the Council, at the head of which, was the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley.

The Coronation.

To grace the solemnity of the coronation, several titles of honor were conferred upon the chief nobility. These it will be necessary to mention, in order to introduce to the reader, the names of those persons, who are to be the most distinguished actors in this reign. The Protector was made Duke of Somerset; the Earl of Essex, Marquis of Northampton; Lord Lisle was created Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, Earl of Southampton; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby and Sheffield, were made Barons. We are assured that during the ceremony, this youthful Sovereign when he was presented with the three swords, as King of England, France and Ireland, with a nobleness of mind, which was only equalled by its simplicity, said—*Another sword is yet wanting, the Holy Bible—the sword of the Spirit, without which, they could all do nothing.* This declaration was a presage of the great and mighty

work to be achieved during this reign, and of the instrument through which it was to be accomplished.  
SECTION III. CHAP. III. Whilst the elevation of the Duke of Somerset, was productive of various private and public evils, that will speedily unfold themselves, yet it was overruled, and proved favourable to the Reformation.

The Duke of Somerset gave all his influence to Cranmer's qualifications. Cranmer, who was now left unshackled, to pursue the great work which he had at heart. He had hitherto waited upon the Reformation, and had effected little more, than securing the outworks of the citadel of Religious Liberty. But he had been waiting and learning in the school of trial and experience; and by unwearied application and research, he had acquired vast stores of knowledge human and divine, which were now about to be dedicated, with singular wisdom and moderation, to fulfil the beneficent purposes of God towards this favoured land. Never was an instrument more eminently fitted for such a stupendous work. He was endued with every virtue, which moralists have enumerated, and every grace which divines have applauded. He was patient, gentle, persevering, and courageous. His integrity, sincerity, and fidelity, were unimpeachable. He was a faithful friend, a zealous servant, and an indulgent master. He was charitable, generous, and forgiving. In a word, he was HUMBLE; never haughty, never abject. He never courted those in prosperity, nor forsook a friend in adversity. In real learn-

SECTION III. ing and acquirement he was the most solid man of his day, or, perhaps of any day, before, or since.— Henry VIII, with his usual penetrating judgment, contrasted him with Cardinal Wolsey, in a just and striking manner.—“The one,” he used to say, “lost his *friends* by his pride and ostentatiousness; the other, gained his *enemies* by his humility and mildness.”

His infirmities.

Yet Archbishop Cranmer was but man, as the sequel of this history will painfully illustrate. Whilst therefore as Englishmen, we hold him high in admiration, as, perhaps, the greatest benefactor, England ever had; we must learn by his infirmities, to look beyond the instrument, to the HAND that fashioned and prepared him for the unparalleled work.

State of Europe.

Every thing was now ready for the ACTION of this Reign: But before we enter upon the general affairs of the kingdom, it will be necessary to afford the reader a brief view of the posture of affairs in Europe at this juncture; and to introduce to his notice, the great leaders of the historical epoch. Charles V. the Emperor, was yet in the height of his prosperity; and was, at this time, by his consummate policy, endeavouring to divide the Lutheran Princes of Germany, for the purpose of destroying the Reformation. Francis, the King of France, is said never to have looked up after the death of Henry VIII; and in the short space of three months, followed him to the grave.

He was succeeded by his son, Henry II. The Pope, Paul, like all his predecessors, was engaged in dissimulation and intrigue; endeavouring by the alternate use of his temporal and spiritual power, to thwart and overreach the Emperor. England was appealed to, by the Duke of Saxony, and the other Princes of Germany. But in the present nascent state of affairs, nothing could be done but to offer a pecuniary aid.

The war against Scotland, which had been entered into by Henry, for their *breach* of contract, respecting the marriage of his son with the Princess Mary, had never been settled; and the Scots emboldened by the death of Henry, and haughty, from their alliance with the French, had made frequent incursions into England. The Protector however, with great prudence and moderation, endeavoured to persuade them, to agree to the marriage, and to refrain from war. But in vain. The more he attempted to reason with them, the more insolent they became, and the more determined to persevere in their invasions of the English borders. At length he put himself at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men, and marched for Scotland. In ten days he came in sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong, drawn up near Musselburgh. With singular moderation, the Protector still endeavoured to negotiate. To the most reasonable and favorable terms, they would not condescend an answer; but sent him an im-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.

War with Scotland.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. pertinent message. Alas! they were verifying the truth of that Divine Oracle:—"Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." An engagement ensued, in which the Scots were routed with dreadful slaughter: more than ten thousand men being left dead in the field; and, what makes this victory more signal, is the almost, incredible fact, that the English lost only sixty men! and there can be no doubt, that if the Protector had followed up his success, he might have dictated his own terms; and the great Elizabeth, after all, would have become the wife of the Earl of Arran! But the simple news from Court that his Brother, was acting an unusual part, hastened his return. This was Thomas, Lord Seymour, Lord High Admiral, a man of aspiring thoughts, violent and impetuous in temper, presumptuous and arrogant in his manners, and obstinate and revengeful in his disposition. This man, elated with the exaltation of his family, presumed to solicit the hand of the Princess Elizabeth; but finding no encouragement in that quarter, he formed the design of marrying the widow of Henry VIII, Queen Catharine Parr, in which, he, at last, succeeded. Still more elated, he became extravagant in his pretensions to power. His Brother, the Protector, was mild and forbearing towards him, but at length—for the detail is unconnected with English History, he was condemned and executed for High Treason.

Extravagant  
conduct of the  
Lord admiral.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. The great work of Reformation proceeded: The Archbishop whose efforts had been restrained during the last reign, favoured by the young King, the Protector, and the majority of the Council, lost no time in carrying out the principles which had been established. Under their sanction, a commission was issued for a general visitation of the churches. When this Commission arrived in the dioceses of Gardiner and Bonner, they refused submission to its authority; and were imprisoned for a short time. An English Bible was ordered to be kept in every Church; and to supply the deficiency of well-instructed teachers, the twelve first Homilies were now published. The same subject engaged the attention of Parliament. Many of the arbitrary and unconstitutional acts which had been passed, during the last reign, were rescinded—such as giving the authority of law to the King's Proclamation, and the statute of the *six articles*. It was established also as unlawful to prohibit the laity; from communicating in both kinds: and the revenues of the chantries were granted to the King.

Whilst things were thus progressing in England, the Reformation in Germany was nearly extinguished, by the power and artifice of the Emperor; and many eminent Reformers of the Continent, took refuge in England; amongst whom, were Peter Martyr, Bucer, and Fagius. These eminent persons were hospitably entertained by

published.  
The cup, in  
the Lord's sup-  
per restored to  
the people.

SECTION III. Cranmer, and afterwards honorably employed in the Universities.

CHAP. III.  
Eucharistical  
service. Book  
of Common  
Prayer.

Many foolish and absurd practices such as carrying candles on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday were forbidden. By a general order, all images, some of which were of the grossest character, were removed out of the Churches, and Auricular Confession was abolished.

Whilst the greatest activity prevailed, wisdom and prudence presided in the councils of the Reformation. Nothing was innovated for the sake of change. The primitive usages of the Church were brought under examination, and delivered from the inventions and superstitions of later ages, and it was this steady resolution of our Reformers adhering to the primitive model, which has given to the English Reformation such a peculiar solidity and consistency with Truth. Eighteen Bishops, and many Divines were employed to examine into the Eucharistical service; and such was the diligence and research with which they pursued their inquiry, that their labours were crowned with great success, and the Communion Service was restored, nearly to its present primitive form; whilst the whole Liturgy which came next under their review, happily resulted in the "Book of Common Prayer" nearly in its present state.

Origin of the  
English Litur-  
gy.

It has been, indeed, a matter of astonishment to all who have considered the admirable form of

our National Church, that a work so near perfection, could have been produced at such a time and under such circumstances; and some have not scrupled to affirm, that its framers, if not inspired, must have been under a peculiar and Divine superintendence. But without having recourse to any miraculous interference to account for the majesty, simplicity, and purity of such a work, it will be sufficient to observe, that its Compilers did not invent nor innovate: they had recourse to the ancient Christian records—NOT the Records of the *Roman Catholic Church*—but the Catholic Church as it existed long before the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. This, and this alone, accounts for the extraordinary character of the English Liturgy. The Reformers, exercising a sound and enlightened judgment upon these ancient writings, produced a work, which at this day, is the delight and solace of millions; and as a religious formulary, stands next to the Bible, in the general esteem of mankind.

Nor must this searching into antiquity be confounded with "the traditionary unwritten verities" for which authority is claimed by the Church of Rome. Nor must it be imagined that any thing was rejected, merely because it had been handed down in the *written* records of the Roman Church. By no means. The Reformers consulted all the ancient Liturgies and Records; but they had also

SECTION "a more sure word of Prophecy,"\* in the shining  
 III. lamp of Truth itself. To its all-discerning, all-  
 CHAP. III. correcting influence, they exposed these human  
 records. Hence they were enabled to detect their  
 errors, and to rectify their mistakes. Indeed, it  
 has been ascertained, by actual investigation, that  
 three fourths of the English Prayer Book are ex-  
 pressed in the language of Scripture.†

Heretical  
 sects.  
 A. D. 1549.

But this bright day of the Reformation was dar-  
 kened by a passing cloud, which, in some measure,  
 eclipsed its glory and tarnished the reputation of  
 its promoters. At the period under review, un-  
 known sects sprung up in Christendom; and  
 strange opinions were promulgated by men of  
 ardent dispositions and inquiring minds. It would  
 indeed have been strange had it been otherwise,  
 and utterly inconsistent with the acknowledged  
 principles of human nature. It was necessary to  
 expect, that when the human mind delivered from  
 the bondage of centuries, began to exert its ener-  
 gies, it should entirely reject the authority of its  
 ancient instructor, whom it had found to be the De-  
 mon of oppression. Such was the result. Men of  
 "corrupt minds and destitute of the truth," plung-  
 ed into every species of error. Perhaps the worst  
 of these sects were the Anabaptists of Germany,  
 who not only denied the authority of Infant bap-  
 tism, but impugned the doctrine of the Trinity,

\* II Pet. i. 19.

† British Reformation, Note p. 12.

and entertained infamous notions on the subject SECTION  
 of morals. The Gospellers, also were another III.  
 similar sect, who entertained hideous notions of the CHAP. III.  
 character of God, as the author of evil. Many of  
 these had found their way into England. A com-  
 mission was appointed to examine these enthusi-  
 asts, and they were generally reclaimed by reason-  
 ing and instruction, from their absurdities and  
 impieties.

But there was one unfortunate woman of the  
 name of Joan Bocher, a wild fanatic, who denied  
 the Incarnation of Christ, and so vain was she of  
 her notions, and so resolute in maintaining them,  
 that she scorned all attempts to instruct her. She  
 was summoned before the council, and condemned  
 in the absence of Archbishop Cranmer, as an ob-  
 stinate blasphemer, and delivered over to the  
 secular power, for punishment. But the young  
 King with a firmness and wisdom above his years,  
 could not perceive that it was consistent with  
 justice or humanity, to deliver up to death an  
 unfortunate being, whose wild ravings, pointed  
 her out as a fitting inmate for an asylum. The  
 council employed Archbishop Cranmer to obtain  
 from the King, the execution of their sentence.  
 Cranmer represented to the King, that in punish-  
 ing this woman they were not acting after the  
 example of the Romanists, who punished men for  
 not believing their traditions, however wicked,  
 and unreasonable—but that he, as God's vice-

Joan Bocher.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.  
gerent, was bound to punish all open blasphemy, against the plain, fundamental and acknowledged doctrines of Holy Writ. The King it is said, was silenced, but not satisfied, and with tears, he signed the warrant for her execution, adding at the same time, "*That since he resigned himself to his judgment, if he sinned, it should lie at his door.*"\* It ought to be observed, that every effort was made for twelve months, by the Archbishop and many others, to recal this wretched woman to a right judgment, but in vain; she grew more insolent; and at length, died at the stake, making use of indecent jeers and reproaches.

Advantage of  
early instruc-  
tion in the Holy  
Scriptures.

In this matter the young King was more enlightened than his wisest counsellors. He had been educated in a better school. The pure principles of Christianity were laid, at the commencement, as the foundation of his judgment. It is true, as alleged by Archbishop Cranmer, that the Law of God, by Moses, does grant authority to put open blasphemers to death, and we may, therefore, conclude that such a punishment is a just reward for their crime; but the author of Christianity who established the law on "better promises," so far from giving his sanction to that part of the old dispensation, has excluded it, as well by many declarations, as by the whole tenor and spirit of the gospel.

\* Echard.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.  
But this was not the only solitary instance in which our reformers offended in punishing blasphemy with death. There was one other case, that of a Dutchman, George Van Parre, who denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He was a person of unblemished character, and suffered with great composure. His blasphemy, and that of Joan Bocher were of equal turpitude; and under the Jewish dispensation, would have been justly visited by death, because the judges, under that dispensation, acted by a direct prescript from Him who is the Arbiter of life and death; but our Reformers in carrying this practice into execution under the Christian dispensation, acted without warrant, and were guilty of invading the Divine prerogative. But we do not presumptuously condemn them. Far from it. When their situation is considered, their forbearance and gentleness, and their conscientious regard to principle, were admirable; and we never find them imagining the death of an individual for simple speculative opinions, which had not in them, the character of blasphemy. This appears to have been their distinction, and affords no handle whatever to the persecutions of Popery. But it must also be remembered that Religious Protestantism was not yet fully developed, nor established—that it was still as it were in its infancy, and that this distinction, strong as it might appear to them, has long since been blotted out from the Statute Book of Protestantism.

Death is the  
desert of Blas-  
phemy, but the  
author of  
Christianity,  
does not enjoin  
it.

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

The good  
conduct of the  
Protector.

During the important transactions which had carried forward the Reformation with such rapidity, its enemies were not idle. The laity, who had gained possession of the Church lands, on condition of paying annuities to its former possessors, used their influence, to obtain for the disbanded Monks, preferment in the Church, for which they were eminently unfitted. They became so many firebrands in the villages and retired parts of the country; whilst the emissaries of the Pope, were scattering sedition throughout the land. The people roused by these efforts, at length broke out into open rebellion, which for nearly a twelve-month filled the country with rapine, confusion, and bloodshed. Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, were the principal scenes of these disturbances, but by the singular prudence and temper of the Protector, tranquillity was at length restored. It would not forward our undertaking to enter into a detail of these violent transactions.—The demands of the rebels were most exorbitant, and serve to shew how easily the people are roused by designing men, who appeal to their passions, to demand changes, which, in the end, would be destructive to their own welfare and the prosperity of their country. They demanded that the old service and ceremonies should be restored—the act of the six articles enforced—the English Bible be called in, and the doctrine of Purgatory be re-established!

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

Rise of the  
Earl of War-  
wick.

But another thing arose out of these Rebellions connected with the progress of the national History—the advancement of the Earl of Warwick, to reputation. He had accompanied the Protector in the Scotch war, and obtained a great share in the honor of the victory of Musselburgh. He was now employed in the suppression of the rebellions, and by his courage and superior conduct, brought them to a happy termination. Ambition had entered into his soul, from the first.—It had been nurtured by the open and generous temper of the Protector, and encouraged by his subsequent success. He was the son of *the* Dudley, who had been executed with Empson, in the commencement of the last reign, and was a person of great abilities and noble qualities; but his understanding, humanity, and generosity, were sacrificed at the altar of insatiate ambition. At this unholy shrine all the vices found admission; and dissimulation and artifice, expelled morality and religion from his breast. Thus he stood a moral wreck within, but dazzling with external splendor, and destined to act a conspicuous part in the History of his Country.

There was another evil spirit, united with him in council, who was ready for any wicked design, which might have a tendency to restore the Romish Supremacy. This was Wriothesley, who had been Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII, and had been created Earl of Southampton at the cor-

Conspiracy  
against the  
Protector.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. onation of Edward VI. This man, who was of a violent and determined spirit, had sold himself, body and soul, to the cause of Popery, and in the hope of securing his object, combined with the Earl of Warwick and other members of the Council, to effect the destruction of the Protector. It would be useless to follow the details of their plot. They prevented the Protector from making peace with France and Scotland, which would have restored stability to the English affairs. Their country, their honor, were forgotten; and after many intrigues and much difficulty, they accomplished their purpose, and he was committed to the Tower. Yet they could produce nothing against him, that was worthy of death. He was deprived of all his offices, laid under a severe fine, and after a few months, discharged from prison. This was sufficient for the present, and placed the Earls of Southampton and Warwick, at the helm of the State. It was now fully expected both by the Papists abroad and at home, that their affairs would be restored. But the Earl of Warwick finding the young King peremptorily opposed to any attempt of that kind, and perceiving that nothing would sooner establish him in the King's favour, than zeal for the Reformation, he forsook the Popish party, and affected to be a great promoter of the Reformation. Lord Southampton, stung with rage and disappointment, retired from Court, and went and poisoned himself. Arundel, who was

another of the Earl of Warwick's associates, was shortly after fined in a very large sum for embezzlement; and the third, Sir Richard Southwell, imprisoned for seditious practices.

The important business of this reign, received no check from this change of masters in the King's Council Chamber. The REFORMATION advanced, and that great work the "Ordination Service" was given to the Church—a work of extraordinary merit, and which must be classed amongst the first of uninspired compositions. At the same time Ridley, one of the most learned and zealous Prelates of his day, was appointed Bishop of London, in the place of Bonner who had been deprived. Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester, whose labours and bright example were of great advantage to the awakening Church; whilst the admirable young King, now thirteen years of age, displayed every virtue which can adorn the human mind. His industry and abilities were above his years. He kept a journal with his own hand, of all the events of his reign. He drew up a scheme for the improvement of the government; and composed a discourse, in French, against idolatry, which he dedicated to his uncle, the Protector.

The councils of the Reformers were conducted with great moderation, which did not so much arise from their perceiving the value and importance of the doctrines they inculcated, as from

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.

Reformation  
under the Earl  
of Warwick.  
A. D. 1550.

Temper of  
the Reformers.

SECTION III. CHAP. III. their sincerity in believing them. In the midst of all the opprobrium and vexation to which they were exposed, Bonner and Gardiner, were the only two persons of eminence, who felt the exercise of their power. The violence and opposition of these Prelates were such, that they could not be restrained; and in consequence, they were deprived of their bishopricks. But the Princess Mary gave them the greatest uneasiness. Her hatred to the Reformation was profound, and in opposition to the law, mass was constantly said in her chapel. This open breach of the law, was the source of unmeasured grief to the King; and he feared, that by permitting its continuance, he was giving his countenance to idolatry. The King's council endeavoured to restrain her to its private observance—but the Emperor Charles V. still exercising an influence over English politics, encouraged her in her opposition. A remarkable project also was entertained of conveying her, suddenly, to the Netherlands, at that time under the government of Philip, who was afterwards her husband. But this project, which if carried into effect, would undoubtedly have excluded her from the throne, was not to be permitted. A dreadful chastisement was even now impending over our country; and the selfishness and hypocrisy; the licentiousness and folly; the infidelity and sectarianism, which prevailed, were to pass through a bloody sea of purgation, before the

Designs of  
the Emperor.

Signs of the  
times.

SECTION III. CHAP. III. Almighty Ruler, would permit a permanent state of prosperity to be established. It is melancholy to remark, that instead of the blessings of the Reformation, creating that gratitude which, they so eminently demanded—instead of manifesting that piety and disinterestedness which ought to have been inspired—men discovered the most selfish and mercenary views, thought more of the plunder they could obtain, than of the more exalted blessings which were placed within their reach. They rejoiced more in their exemption from the superstitious inconveniences of Popery, than in the possession of a purer creed, and more elevated worship; and, thus, released from the hard restraints of their old religion—they rushed into the contrary extreme. In a word, the nation was ignorant, sordid, infidel, and selfish; and with a blind and obstinate perverseness hated the light, and rejected with contempt, the offered boon of restored Christianity. Was it possible, that such degraded selfishness and wilful obstinacy, could escape the avenging hand of the most high? The Avenger, indeed, was near; and all attempts to avert the threatened indignation were in vain. The young King himself, would fain have done it; and when he continued to lament the obstinacy of the Princess Mary, and said, that *he ought not to consent to Idolatry*, Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, were deputed by the Council, to endeavour to reconcile his mind. They argued, *That though he ought*

SECTION III. *not to consent to sin, yet he was not always obliged to punish it.* The King burst into tears, and lamented his sister's obstinacy, and the hard circumstances of his situation, which obliged him to give a tacit consent to such *an impious mode of worship*.\*

Designs of  
Warwick.  
A. D. 1551

The aspiring mind of the Earl of Warwick, ever watching its opportunity, seized hold of this disposition of the King, and attempted to turn it to his own advantage. He perceived the extreme dislike of the King to the Princess, whose bigotted attachment to Popery, made him apprehensive in the event of her succession, of all the evils which afterwards occurred.

The mind of the ambitious Earl now aimed at great things, and he indulged the prospect of securing the succession of the Crown in his own family. The Council, he knew, entertained the same apprehensions as the King; and he laid his plan on the ground of the illegitimacy of the Princess Mary. If this were entertained as sufficient, the Princess Elizabeth must be involved in the same sentence, as her illegitimacy was confirmed by a similar act of the Legislature. It was true, indeed, that the succession had been secured by the Will of King Henry VIII, in the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth,—but he proposed that, that Will should be counteracted by the Will of the present King. And as Elizabeth would be more likely to be an obstacle in the way than Mary, he proposed

\* Echard.

to marry her to the King of Denmark. The next SECTION III. in succession was Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter to King Henry's sister Mary and Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and with her, he projected a marriage with his youngest son Guilford, and he himself was created Duke of Northumberland.

But the late Protector, the Duke of Somerset, was in his way, and he lost no time in seeking an opportunity to destroy him. He placed a spy in his family, and from some unguarded expressions of indignation, which this infamous person had urged him to make against the Earl, he was arrested for conspiring against the life of a privy councillor, and for entertaining treasonable designs. He was brought to trial and accused further by the infamous informer, of a conspiracy, to assassinate certain members of the council. He was acquitted of the crime of treason, and found guilty of felony, for expressing an intention of imprisoning a Privy councillor. But the circumstances of the intended assassination were aggravated to the King, who was struck with horror at the thought of such heinous guilt, and he delivered the Duke to the will of his enemies. He was soon brought to the scaffold, and never did an execution create such universal interest and regret. The people, indeed, would have risen to his rescue, had he not intreated them to submit to the execution of the law. His end was not the composure of the philosopher, but the patience

Circumvents  
the Duke of  
Somerset.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. and resignation of the advanced christian. The hour of affliction had been to him a season of improvement. In his address to the people, he declared he had acted with sincerity, in all the Religious changes which had been effected during his government; and expressed his satisfaction *in having been instrumental in such a work. He exhorted them to live consistently with the doctrines which had been promulgated amongst them, otherwise, he observed, they were to expect signal judgments from Heaven.* He continued his speech for some time, with great presence of mind, and taking leave of those around him, without the least change of countenance, he undressed himself for the block; and saying, "Lord Jesus, save me," the executioner severed his head from his body.

Thus fell this excellent man and benefactor to his country—a person of singular candour, generosity, and piety—the friend of the poor and the oppressed, and the promoter of justice. He was not ambitious; but he had the weakness to be vain of his exalted station and dignity, as Governor to the King, and Protector to the Realm. The chief blot which rests upon his memory, is the pulling down St. Mary's Church and the houses of three Bishops, for the purpose of erecting the magnificent building of Somerset house, in the Strand. I am not his apologist; but I cannot think such a man would be guilty of sacrilege; and I must yet think that there was some-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. thing peculiar in the case, to which the histories I have seen, do not afford a clue. Peace to the memory of the Duke of Somerset! If Cranmer was the Luther—he was the Duke of Saxony, of England. Indeed, the Reformation seemed to come to a close with the life of this nobleman; for the topstone of RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM was laid in the promulgation of the ever justly celebrated XXXIX Articles of Religion.\*

By the death of Somerset, the King was entirely thrown into the hands of Northumberland, and he determined to make use of his power to secure the purposes of his ambition, under the cloak of regard for the Reformation.

He had concluded a peace with France; and allied himself, by inter-marriages, with the most powerful families in the kingdom; and, as we have seen, married his son to the Lady Jane Grey, whom he had determined to raise to the throne. His arrangements having been completed, and the King's health beginning rapidly to decline, it was not difficult to persuade him, from his extreme desire of securing the stability of the Reformation, to alter the succession which had been established by the Will of his father, and confirmed by Act of Parliament. The Judges were consulted, and gave their opinion unanimously, against the legality of any settlement they could draw up, with-

\* They were in reality 42 at this time, but they were reduced to xxxix in the reign of Elizabeth.

Earl of Warwick supreme.  
A. D. 1552.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. out the sanction of Parliament. The King removed their objection by promising to call a Parliament which should ratify the settlement. There was still another difficulty. It had been made Treason, to alter in this reign, the succession to the Crown. This was overruled by obtaining the King's pardon for what they should draw up.—Hales, who was a zealous protestant, was the only Judge who ultimately refused to act. Archbishop Cranmer refused to consent, till he was personally solicited by the young King; and, assured by the Judges, that he might legally subscribe it. Every thing was now ready, and to complete his design, he prevailed upon the King to command the presence of his sisters, to be a solace to him in his sickness. The Princesses not having the slightest idea of these changes, or of any alteration in the succession, immediately obeyed the King's injunction, and commenced their journey. Had Mary reached London before the King's death—she had never ascended the throne of England! But it was ordered otherwise.—The Country was not so easily to escape the avenging scourge prepared for it, nor the Duke of Northumberland the retribution which his crimes deserved.

Shameful  
peculations of  
the times.

We have already remarked how little the spirit of religion actuated a vast number of those, who in appearance, were the most active promoters of the Reformation. During the King's decline, when he was incapable of bestowing an accurate

attention to business. In the hands of Northumberland, every thing became venal. The voracious SECTION III.  
Courtiers systematically assailed the Revenues of the Church. A Court of lay-delegates was appointed, under whose sanction, great evils were perpetrated. Even Bishops were deprived by their authority: and in every See, as it fell vacant, the best manors belonging to them, were seized by such as had sufficient interest with the Court to obtain the grant. The sons of the chief Nobility and Gentry were frequently presented to Prebendal stalls, under the pretence of being enabled to pursue their studies, preparatory to taking Holy Orders. Northumberland himself, the foremost Reformer, was the greatest plunderer. And one circumstance connected with the sacrilegious robbery of these times must be mentioned, not only to shew the daring extent to which the Duke carried his peculations, but, also, to illustrate the Christian integrity of Archbishop Cranmer. The Duke had a design of erecting a Principality in the North, by the possession of which he intended to exalt his family. Tonstal the Bishop of Durham, was at that time in confinement, under a suspicion of treasonable practices. To forward his scheme of aggrandisement, he fixed his eyes upon the jurisdiction of the county Palatine, lodged in that See; and determined, at once, to annex it to his Principality. For this purpose he resolved to ruin the Bishop, and a Bill of Attainder was

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

brought against him in the House of Lords. Tonnage, was a man of candour and moderation, but a strenuous opposer of the Reformation, Cranmer however, with his characteristic love of truth and justice, resolutely opposed the Attainder; yet all the Popish Lords and Bishops concurred with it: but it was rejected in the Commons, and the King's approaching dissolution put an end to the design.

The Piety of  
the King.

The deep unfeigned piety of this young Prince, was more strongly marked as he approached the end of his brief, but illustrious career. During his sickness, Bishop Ridley preached before him, on the subject of Christian charity, and shewed under what peculiar obligations, men of eminent station were, to exercise it. The King afterwards desired the Bishop to sit down, and with a reverence for his office, which Popery never taught, desired the holy man to be covered. He then resumed the heads of his discourse; and said, that he looked upon himself in his station, to be principally concerned in the exercise of the duty, and desired the Bishop, as he had pointed out to him the duty generally, so he would also direct him how to perform it in particular. The Bishop, it is said, was so delighted and overcome with such noble and generous indications of the Christian temper, that he burst into tears of joy. We need not enlarge. The result of this conference was the foundation of three of the noblest institutions in the Country,

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

His death.

Saint Bartholomew's Hospital—the Bridewell and Christ Church, Newgate Street—and the enlargement of Saint Thomas's Hospital, Southwark. He set his hand to these foundations on the twenty-sixth day of June. His time on earth was now drawing to a close, and the few remaining days of his life, were spent in solemn preparations for death. His mind was wholly exercised in offering up prayers and ejaculations; and a few moments before his dismissal, he was heard with great earnestness to pray, *that God to whom he committed his soul, would quickly deliver him out of this miserable and sinful life.* He then interceded fervently for his subjects, and prayed that God would preserve England from Popery, and maintain his true Religion amongst the people. Immediately the pangs of death fell upon him, and yielding up his soul, he said to Sir Henry Sidney, who tenderly embraced him in his arms, "I am faint."—"Lord have mercy upon me and receive my spirit." Thus died the Josiah of England—anointed by God to a high and transcending station, that under his auspices, the Church of God, might be delivered from the yoke of the oppressor and restored to its *primitive position* as a Witness for the Truth.

His mind and body were adjusted in the nicest mould, and united with peculiar harmony. In his person he was straight and well proportioned.—He had great vivacity in his looks.—His eye was

His person  
and character.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. marked with peculiar lustre, and his aspect was benign and princely. His mind was of a superior order; his attainments incomparable for his age: his exactitude in arranging his studies, and storing up his knowledge, surprising; whilst his judgment was clear, and his perceptions just. His Christian integrity, charity, and holiness were unblemished. In short, he was the perfect model of what a Christian Prince should be. He was just and merciful, and attentive and compassionate to the poor. His zeal for Religion was attended with great moderation and temper; actuated with love to God, and extensive benevolence towards man. The work of the REFORMATION, which was completed in his reign, partakes of this character; and established the Church of England on a model, nearer to the primitive Form and Government, than was attained elsewhere at that eventful period. This was the great event intended by the Almighty Disposer of things, to be achieved in this reign, and for which he prepared the most fitting instruments. How little did Henry VIII, contemplate the establishment of Religious Protestantism under his son's administration, when he appointed the Reverend Doctor Cox and Sir John Cheke, as his tutors! How little he contemplated such an issue, when he formed the Council that should take the Government of the kingdom, during the minority of his son—the chief person in which was Wriothesley, the Lord Chan-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III. cellor, a violent and bitter opponent of the Reformation! We perceive how every thing was made to succeed this great enterprise—even the pride and ambition of the unworthy Northumberland! The hand of an overruling Providence, directed every event through this short and turbulent reign, to determine towards the grand point.

Nor was this all: the whole body of the nation received fresh impulses, which were about to be brought into action. The poor were patronised and raised by the King and his Council.—It was the prevailing policy under the administration of the Duke of Somerset. The order of the Nobility which had sunk too low, was strengthened and invigorated. Trade and commerce were extended, particularly by the abolition of the Charter which had been granted to the Merchants of Antwerp, and Hamburg, whose agents were established as a Corporation, in the Still Yard, London Bridge. This society of foreigners, had monopolized almost all the trade and energy of the Country, and exported forty times as much as all the English merchants together. The abolition of this Company, gave the greatest possible impulse to the English commerce. Nor must it be omitted as a remarkable fact, that the FIRST POOR LAW, in England was framed in this reign, by the HOUSE OF LORDS. It was to be collected by the Churchwardens, and its collection legally enforced by the Bishop.

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

But the whole scene now changed, and with a mournful hand we are about to pourtray the savage bigotry—the ferocious cruelty—the furious intolerance which are inherent in human nature; and which only require a suitable opportunity to bring them into action. Such an opportunity was now afforded to the adherents of Popery, whose inflexible attachment to their religion, and unceasing efforts to support it, would demand our admiration, did we not know that their zeal was founded in the grossest ignorance of the first principles of Christianity, and is exercised to perpetrate the grossest libel on its Divine Author. In asserting this, there is no intention to convey an idea that Romanists are worse than other men—that they are more cruel, more vindictive, more intolerant.—But the SYSTEM in which they are educated and brought up, has a direct tendency, when the occasion offers, of making them the worst example of the worst passions of man. On this ground, I consider the system of Popery one of the greatest evils, that ever afflicted the human race. It is an outrage and blasphemy on the Character of God; for it multiplies and commits its impieties under the sanction of His Holy religion. It is also the greatest outrage upon human nature, for it covers him with moral turpitude and disgrace, under the pretence of carrying out the most sublime principle of his nature. It has, in enforcing the unity of the Church by penal Statutes, been the greatest enemy to the unity of

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. III.

the Church; because, when its usurpation was removed as too intolerable to endure, it caused the human mind to draw back with horror from a religion so monstrous and offensive to humanity: But it has still more effectually destroyed the unity of the Church, as it has enforced by the most deadly persecution, not only opposed to Scripture, and to the general voice of the Church, but to reason; so that men have been led to conclude, that no consistent and genuine standard of Christian verity and discipline does exist, to which a rational and confident appeal may be made. In short, the system is not only unchristian, but inhuman. It is the natural offspring of man's fallen and corrupt nature, instigated by Satanic influence. It can have no other origin. No individual human being, could ever have contemplated such a complex and vicious system. It has been generated by degrees, through generations of time, and gathered strength as it advanced from the depths of moral corruption.

“The corruptions of the Romish Church” says Doctor Whateley in his ‘Errors of Romanism,’ “crept in one by one, originating for the most part, with an ignorant and depraved people; but connived at, cherished, consecrated, and successfully established, by a debased worldly minded ministry; and modified by them just so far, as might best favour the views of their profligate ambition.”

SECTION III. But we must not enlarge. The following pages will confirm what we have written respecting the System of Popery, and will shew that it had its commission, for a season, as the scourge of the Almighty, to chastise and punish the sins of a "disobedient and gainsaying people;" whilst, at the same time, they will afford an awful exhibition of the anti-Christian character of the Apostate Church of Rome.

"AND I SAW THE WOMAN DRUNKEN WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS, AND WITH THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS OF JESUS, AND WHEN I SAW HER I WONDERED WITH GREAT ADMIRATION!\*"

\* Revelation, xvii. 6

## CHAPTER IV.

MARY I.—RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF POPERY.—FEARFUL PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS.

MARY, justly surnamed the "Bloody," on the death of Edward VI. in obedience, as we have shewn, to his wishes, was on her way to London, and within half a day's journey of that Metropolis, when she received a private communication from the Earl of Arundel, acquainting her with the King's death and advising her to provide for her personal safety. With that promptness, which characterized her family, she resolved to hasten into the county of Suffolk, where she recollected the people were peculiarly hostile to the Duke of Northumberland, for the slaughters he had occasioned in the late rebellions. She fixed her head quarters at Framlingham Castle, which was a place, not only of great strength, but situated near the Sea, from whence, in case of failure, she could easily escape to the Continent.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
Mary succeeds her brother Edward.  
A. D. 1553.

## SECTION

III.

CHAP. IV.

At the same time she wrote to the Council, apprising them that she was fully aware of the King's death, and of their designs in favour of a rival Candidate; but that she was ready to pardon what was past, if they would now return to a sense of their duty and allegiance. This communication convinced the Council that the King's death could no longer be concealed; and they hastened without delay to proclaim Queen Jane, who had been nominated by the late King, as his successor; but the King's act had not been confirmed by Parliament, otherwise, her succession would have stood on better grounds than that of Mary or Elizabeth. With respect to the interesting individual, a wiser choice could not have been made. She was a person endowed with many excellencies, and adorned with great accomplishments both of body and mind. She was only sixteen years of age, but possessed of wisdom and prudence far above her years. When the deputation waited upon her with the offer of the Crown, she steadily refused it, alleging that she would not invade the right of the late King's sister. But at length, overcome by the entreaties of her father and her husband, she suffered herself to be proclaimed.

Queen Jane's  
Proclamation.

But the Proclamation was coldly responded to, by the people. They affirmed that Parliament had reposed in Henry VIII. the power of appointing the succession by testament; but that this prerogative did not descend to his heirs, unless

Besides, they agreed, that if the succession of the King's sisters was set aside on the ground of illegitimacy, why was not the strict Law of Inheritance recognized in the person of Mary Queen of Scots? But the chief aversion of the people to the succession of the Lady Jane, arose from their hatred to Northumberland, whose ambition they feared, and whom they had never forgiven for his share in the death of the Duke of Somerset, whose blood was about to be required at his hands.

In the mean time, whilst the Council was thus engaged in proclaiming Queen Jane, Mary, at Framlingham Castle, had declared herself Queen of England; and directed letters to the Nobility, Gentry, and official personages to join her standard. Many from the surrounding country resorted to her; but her affairs were most unpromising, till a body of the Nobility and Gentry from Suffolk who were all attached to the Reformation, waited upon her, and urged her to declare whether she would alter the form of Religion which had been established in the late King's reign. To their application she gave a full and explicit answer, attended with the most solemn assurances — *that she would make no innovation or change whatever, but would be satisfied with the private exercise of her own religion.* The Gentlemen who waited upon her, having received that promise, were possessed with such a firm belief of her sin-

III.

CHAP. IV.

Queen Mary  
at Framling-  
ham Castle.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. cerity, that they hesitated not another moment, to hazard their lives and fortunes in her cause.—The Earls of Bath and Sussex—the sons of Lord Wharton and Mordaunt—and many others immediately raised considerable forces, and with unsuspecting confidence, joined her standard. But to their mortification, they were about to receive a severe and practical lesson of the treachery of Popery!

Duke of Northumberland and the Council. Nor was the Council of the Duke of Northumberland inactive. One of their number, Sir Edward Hastings, was dispatched into Buckinghamshire, to levy recruits: whilst Northumberland at the head of eight thousand men, marched out of London, intending at one blow to settle the contending claims: But his courage and ability were all in vain. A dark and gloomy cloud impended over his head, and the avenger of blood, seemed to attend him at every step. The silence of the grave prevailed, as he passed through the streets of the Metropolis. Not a cheer saluted his ear: not a single blessing was invoked upon his enterprize.

Every thing favors Mary. Every attempt to frustrate the accession of Queen Mary came to nothing, in the most extraordinary manner; and, as it were without human intervention.

The Duke of Northumberland when he arrived at Cambridge, where he expected to meet Sir Edward Hastings, with his auxiliary forces, found

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. he had passed over to the Queen with four thousand men. The naval force which had been stationed on the coast, to intercept her flight, espoused her cause. Many of the chief Nobility followed in their train. The Council itself felt the universal influence, and struck with fear, proclaimed Mary at Saint Paul's Cross; and at last, the Duke of Northumberland himself, smitten with the general infatuation, proclaimed Mary at Cambridge, and shouted 'Long live Queen Mary!' But it delayed not his own fate; next day he was arrested, and committed to the Tower, with three of his sons, and the iniquitous Sir Thomas Palmer, who was his perjured accomplice, in the murder of the Duke of Somerset.

The Queen enters London. All opposition being at an end, the Queen made her entry into London, with great pomp and solemnity, and proceeded to the Tower. Her first act was to set at liberty several eminent individuals, confined within its walls, amongst whom was Gardiner, the Bishop of Worcester, a man, who, through a series of years, had experienced every change of human fortune. He, was now destined to act a principal part in the government of his country. He was endued with great quickness of apprehension, and of insinuating manners. Throughout the long reign of Henry VIII, he had been constantly employed by the King, in the most difficult State transactions of the period; and had become deeply versed in all the arts of

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. dissimulation, and political stratagem. He was a respectable scholar, skilful in the Canon and the Civil laws, but no Theologian. His powers and attainments of mind, were now to find ample scope for their exercise. He was delivered from confinement in the Tower, and created Lord High Chancellor of England; and the change he shortly effected, displayed the energy of his mind, the boldness of his spirit—the sagacity of his movements—the cruelty of his disposition; or, rather, exhibited the inherent cruelty of that religion which urged him to the commission of barbarities which have stigmatised his administration, with the title “of the Reign of Terror.”

The Queen  
and Popery.

The Queen herself, from her earliest years, had undoubtedly suffered much, from the circumstances of her Mother's divorce, and from her obstinacy in adhering to the supremacy of the Pope, in contradiction to the will of her imperious Father. Under this persecution she had learnt to dissemble, and throughout the reign of her brother, she discovered a stern and conscientious adherence to the principles of Popery, which, from the extent of the innovations carried on under his rule, settled into a kind of melancholy despair; and from the moment she ascended the throne, she felt it to be her most sacred duty, under the most awful sanctions of her religion, to restore her country to its former position with the Church of Rome. It is not intended by this remark, to palliate the crimes

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. of which she was afterwards guilty; but to lay upon the true cause of her actions. Her guilt in the light of the Supreme Being will be measured by the opportunities she had of knowing better; and by the obstinacy with which she adhered to her old prejudices, when the light of Truth discovered their inconsistency with reason, humanity and the first principles of the Gospel of Christ.—Nay, what appears most to perplex all enquiry into her character is, that the best historians say, that she was *naturally, of a generous and obliging temper!* But it matters not. She was faithless, and cruel, and arbitrary in her zeal for her religion, which has an inherent tendency to destroy every just and virtuous sentiment of the human heart; and which, if she had been an angel, would have produced the same effects in her character.

These are the two personages we are now to follow in the history of our Country. The Queen was an uncompromising bigot, and thoroughly a Romanist. Gardiner was a *Political* Protestant, but a *Religious Papist*, and willing to give way to his Mistress to the fullest extent of her wishes. Yet it is a remarkable fact, that this very man, who was signally an instrument in the hands of God, for punishing a guilty nation, was also the instrument of rescuing it from becoming a Province and dependency of Spain!

The machinery of the State was now prepared to commence its operations. But before any thing

Leading actors in the scene.

The Duke of Norfolk.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.

could be transacted for the development of the great designs of the reign—the Duke of Northumberland must suffer the penalty of his ambition and many crimes. For the occasion of his trial, the aged Duke of Norfolk was created Lord High Steward. The reader will recollect that this Nobleman with his son, was condemned to die, during the reign of Henry VII, that his son was executed, and that he was rescued from the same fate, by the death of the King, which happened a few hours before the time appointed for his execution. He had, since that time, been confined in the Tower; and Heaven now, in compassion to his accumulated sufferings, or for some wise and benevolent purpose, raised his head once more among his Peers. Before him was now arraigned the once proud and ambitious Northumberland. His trial was brief—His respite short. On the twenty second of August, he was brought to the scaffold, with his son and the Marquess of Northampton. He declared that, *he had always been of the Old religion, and exhorted the people to stand by it to the last.* What a display of the hypocrisy of his character! But through all the transactions connected with his death, it was abundantly manifest that the blood of the Duke of Somerset was required of him. As he was led through the City, a Lady held up before him a bloody handkerchief, which had been dipped in the blood of that innocent Nobleman, saying to him “Behold the blood

The Duke of Northumberland arraigned.

of that worthy man, the great Uncle of that excellent King, which shed by thy malicious hands, does now manifestly revenge itself upon thee.”

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.

And afterwards, when his head was severed from his body, it was on the same block on which the Protector had suffered, and to complete the retributory vengeance, his body was thrown into the same grave and covered with the same stone.

Thus perished the Duke of Northumberland, whose pride and ambition became formidable to the State, but more so to himself; inasmuch as they destroyed in his bosom every vestige of humanity and religion, and brought him to an untimely and ignominious end.

The funeral rites of the late King were performed by Archbishop Cranmer with unfeigned sorrow, not only on account of the love he bore to him and the Reformation, but as considering his death as the certain forerunner of his own. Yet the Queen to pave the way for her designs declared in Council, that though she was herself firmly fixed in her religion, yet *she would not compel others to the exercise of it, only as they should be moved by the motions of God's Spirit, and the labours of faithful preachers:* Scarcely had these words passed her lips when a circumstance occurred, which displayed her true intentions, and shewed that it was but a covering of falsehood and deceit. The next day Bonner, the Bishop of London, went to Saint Paul's, when his Chaplain preached the sermon,

Funeral of the late King, and hypocrisy of the Queen.

Preaching interdicted.

SECTION  
III.

CHAP. IV.

and took occasion to extol his Patron and to condemn the hardships he had suffered. The people were indignant at this charge against the memory of their late beloved King, and a riot ensued. Stones were thrown at the preacher and a dagger hurled with such violence, that it entered the side of the pulpit. Rogers and Bradford two eminent ministers greatly beloved by the people, interfered and allayed the disorder. This event hurried the measures of the Queen and her Chancellor. All preaching was prohibited, except by those who were licensed by Gardiner. Rogers and Bradford on account of their influence with the people, were imprisoned, and the work of persecution and death now began in earnest.

Arbitrary  
conduct.

By this arbitrary edict and the still more arbitrary authority given to the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, not only were the Protestant Clergy silenced, but their Churches and pulpits were thrown open to the advocates of Popery. Every thing began to be carried with a high hand: the Queen felt her power; and no longer thought it necessary to act under a mask. The Nobility and Gentry of Suffolk, by whose zeal and loyalty she had been seated upon the throne, relying with confidence, upon her solemn declarations, thought themselves entitled not to obey these injunctions: but orders were immediately sent to the Bishop of Norwich, to enforce the regulations, and to take care that none should preach without a special license. As-

SECTION  
III.

CHAP. IV.

tonished at such a breach of faith, some of the most influential persons who had been foremost in her cause, waited upon the Queen to remind her of her promises. But she sent them an answer, more imperious than her father would have used, —*That the members ought not to rule the head, but they were to learn to obey, and not to govern.* And when one of the number, not satisfied with this arbitrary answer, continued to insist upon the fulfilment of her engagements; he was condemned, as pertinacious, to stand three hours in the pillory. The Bishops of Exeter and Gloucester, Coverdale and Hooper, for not acting up to the injunctions, were imprisoned. Images were set up in many of the Churches! and the *old* rites performed, by order of the Government, contrary to the existing laws. That upright Judge, Hales, the only one on the Bench who had not concurred in the Letters Patent, for the exclusion of the Queen, when he had on his circuit at Kent, charged the Justices to see the Laws put into execution, on his return was committed to the Marshalsea. Nor did this satisfy their unrelenting bigotry.—He was dragged from one prison to another, worn out with privations and hardship, and so terrified with unknown apprehensions, that he lost his senses. He was then set at liberty, but his insanity increased and he perished miserably by drowning! Had this just and honorable man been burnt at the stake, it would have been a merciful and honor-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
able dismissal for him, but to have his life and senses drained from him by slow cruelty and torment, and thus degraded and despoiled of every thing that distinguished him as a man, to be cast forth a miserable spectacle to his fellows, was a martyrdom indeed! Whilst to mark more strongly, the spirit which actuated this barbarity, one Bromley who made no scruple in giving his name for the Queen's exclusion, was preferred, because he professed himself a Papist, to be Lord Chief Justice! At the same time Judge Montague who had yielded with great reluctance to the Law-advisers of King Edward, although he had sent his son, with a body of men to declare for the Queen, and had a large family of six sons and eleven daughters, was imprisoned and heavily fined. Perhaps it would be impossible, in the records of any Country to find, in so short a space of time, or under any Government, at any period, such a display of perjury, ingratitude, falsehood, and tyranny, as that contained in this one paragraph.

Cranmer refuses to fly.

Cranmer still escaped, but he was marked out for peculiar vengeance. But it was a bold and difficult task to assail so great a man, who by his Christian deportment and the amiableness of his disposition, had won the esteem and veneration of all men. But nothing could deter the Queen from seeking his life. He was cited before the Council but set at liberty through the influence of Gardiner! who was jealous of Cardinal Pole whom the

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
Queen wished to recall and to place in the See of Canterbury. The friends of Cranmer, who now saw the gathering storm, advised him to fly; but he steadily refused, saying—*that he would not dissuade others from flying in such a threatening storm, but that it was unbecoming a man in his station, who had been so deeply concerned in the changes which had been made in the last reign.* Fortunately many obeyed the monitory voice in time, and fled. An order was issued for strangers to leave the kingdom, and more than a thousand Englishmen escaped, before it was discovered and checked.—Amongst these were Coxe, Sandys, Grindall and Horne, all destined to hold high places in the Church in happier days.

But the Queen's desire for Cranmer's ruin could not be stayed; and by her command he was committed to prison in company with Bishop Latimer, the most sincere and simple hearted of men. Cranmer imprisoned.

To engage the minds of the people, and to call away their thoughts from dwelling too much upon the severity of her measures, she gave orders for her coronation. She raised her friends to high offices of trust and honor; and to gain the minds of the Commons, she granted a largess of all the taxes which were due to the Treasury—declared her intention of paying both her father's and brother's debts; and that she desired nothing so much as the hearts of her subjects, and wished them earnestly to pray for her.

SECTION III. What are we to say to all this? Was it altogether a political stratagem and sheer hypocrisy, intended to blind and delude the nation? Or was it a generous effort to induce the people to enter into her plans for restoring the Country to its former position as it respected religion? That she intended by this munificent act of bounty to secure the good-will and affection of her subjects, there can be no reasonable doubt: nay, we may infer, without difficulty, that she intended it to act as a bribe to gain their compliance with her wishes, and if her wishes were honorable, the act would still continue an act of *bounty*. But were not her wishes honorable? Her great object was to secure the honor of God and the salvation of her people. She cannot be regarded as acting the part of a hypocrite. She firmly believed in the authority of the Pope and his Church, as much as any Protestant believed in the authority of Jesus Christ and his Church. She acted up to the principles of her creed, and nothing more. She bribed, she flattered, she deceived, she persecuted, all in good faith. Whatever tended to secure the eternal salvation of her subjects, whether imprisonment, or torture, or burning, she considered as lawful, nay, meritorious. The imperious dictates then, of her religion, made her deceitful, treacherous, cruel, vindictive and bloody. This consideration unlocks the mystery, not only of the character of Mary, but of every other Papist. As a woman she might

III.  
CHAP. IV.  
Examination  
of her conduct.

be just and merciful and generous, but as a Papist when her religion was concerned, it would be her duty to cast away every kind sentiment and generous emotion, and to hack and torture the human body without pity or remorse. Would to God, that mankind would agree, Papists themselves included, to banish such a detestable system from the earth!

It has often been wondered how the Parliaments of that period, could be so easily influenced to give their consent to the restoration of the Romish religion. But let the wonder hereafter cease; and let it be remembered, that every art, and every crime for such a desirable end was considered a virtue by the Queen! In many places the Members were returned by violence and threats. In some, the freeholders were prevented by persons employed by the Court, from proceeding to the poll: whilst in others, false returns were made; and to crown the whole, many members who were zealous for the Reformation, were *forcibly* ejected from the House. Indeed, so notorious was all this, that their Acts were afterwards repealed, on this very ground.

With this House, of her own returning, the Queen immediately went to work to accomplish her designs, a Bill was immediately passed to repeal the divorce of her mother. It was succeeded by another, which annulled all the Acts made in King Edward's reign, empowering the Queen to

III.  
CHAP. III.

Conduct of  
Parliament  
examined.  
A. D. 1553.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. restore religious worship to that state in which it existed, before the breach her father made with the See of Rome. Next followed an Act against all assemblages of persons on the subject of religion; and to complete the Session, the Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guilford Dudley and Archbishop Cranmer, were tried for high treason and condemned, and their attainder confirmed by this Parliament.

Cranmer deprived. The venerable Archbishop, was now legally deprived of his Archbishoprick; but as he had been invested by the Pope, it was determined to degrade him by the same authority, according to the Canon Law; and he was reserved, amidst daily privation and apprehensions, for severer punishment.

Secret negotiations with Rome. In the mean time, the Queen was in secret communication with the Court of Rome, through Commendine, the Pope's legate at Brussels, who had been sent over in the disguise of a merchant, and under that character, obtained an interview with the Queen. With him she consulted on restoring the Pope's supremacy, and sending Cardinal Pole as Legate plenipotentiary to England.—But Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, was jealous of this Cardinal Pole—a man of high integrity, singular candour, and inflexible fidelity to the Pope; and he determined if possible, to retard his arrival in England. For this purpose, he wrote to the Emperor, who had projected a marriage between his son Philip and the Queen, inti-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. mating that his Mistress indulged an affection for the Cardinal and entertained the idea of marrying him, which is probably the truth. However, after some difficulty, the Queen was induced to write to the Cardinal, to delay his journey for a time, and she consented to marry Philip, without whose power, she saw the difficulties in her way would be insurmountable.

Public discontent. When the rumour of the Queen's marriage became known to the Public, it excited universal alarm; even the energies of the miserable Parliament were roused, and they sent a deputation of their House to the Queen, with the Speaker at their head, with an address, not to marry a stranger. The penetrating mind of the Chancellor saw that the Lion of England was awakened. He found the marriage was loudly protested against, throughout the nation; and that it was in every man's mouth that England must now preserve itself, or be for ever in bondage. Every precaution was therefore taken. The Articles of Marriage were drawn up on the most favourable terms; but nothing would satisfy the people. They took up arms under the Duke of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Wyatt; and if their first leader had not been pusillanimous, and their second, rash and imprudent, so formidable were the materials for supporting the Rebellion, that Mary must have been hurled from the throne. But her hour was not yet come;

SECTION the Rebellion was crushed and the projects of

III. Government advanced.

CHAP. IV.

Execution of the Lady Jane. This insurrection hastened the execution of the Lady Jane Grey and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley; and was followed by that of her father, the Duke of Suffolk, whose weak ambition and incapacity, had in a great measure, brought this ruin upon the family. The same event was also made a plea for the imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth.

The storm  
bursts upon the  
Clergy.

The lingering storm now burst upon the nation with tenfold violence. The overthrow of her enemies fortified the Queen with new strength. She issued a commission to proceed against the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Saint David's, Bristol, and Chester, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted marriage. The Bishopricks of Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, were also declared void. And thus, were seven of the Protestant Bishops deprived at once, without any form or legal process, by an arbitrary exertion of power. Scory, Bishop of Chichester, and Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, left the country and fled. Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, were in prison. Vast numbers of the Clergy were deprived in the most summary manner, on various pretences; and it is said, that out of sixteen thousand Clergy, then in the kingdom, twelve thousand were ejected from their ecclesiastical functions! These unheard of severities

caused great disquietude in the nation, induced loud complaints, and provoked great opposition amongst all ranks of people; and a new Parliament was now to be assembled.

III.  
CHAP. IV.

But Gardiner was prepared. He had obtained great supplies of money from the Emperor, whose desire to carry his measures, had made him listen to the suggestions of the crafty Englishman; and he not only agreed to whatever marriage articles Gardiner might draw up, but was induced to send four hundred thousand pounds, to enable him to carry the elections against all opposition.

Not only was this effected, but the leading men in Parliament, were pensioned and their votes secured, to second the plans of Government. It must however, be acknowledged, to the honor of Gardiner, and as affording, at least, one redeeming trait in his character, that it was due to his vigilance and wisdom, that the nation was saved out of the hands of the Spaniards. This was the great good effected by him, during his administration. He acted the Englishman. The integrity and independence of the country was preserved, which enabled it immediately to collect its strength after it was freed from the oppression of this sanguinary reign. Such are the instruments, sometimes made use of by God, for securing his designs. The Almighty Governor, did not intend the destruction, but the punishment of the distracted country. So strong indeed were the articles of

Gardiner  
patriotic.

SECTION III. CHAP. IV. the marriage, the ratification of which Gardiner obtained in this Parliament, that Philip was entirely excluded from all participation whatever, in the authority of the Crown of England. But both the Emperor and his Son relied on the goodness of her cause, and in the opportunities which would arise of exerting their wealth and influence.

Arrival of Philip.  
A. D. 1554.

In the mean time Prince Philip landed at Southampton on the twentieth of July, from whence he proceeded with great pomp to Winchester, where his marriage with the Queen was solemnized; and on the ninth of August he was solemnly installed at Windsor, Knight of the Garter. His reserved and haughty air was most uncongenial to the feelings and habits of the English, and had it not been for his immense wealth, he would have been utterly despised, and openly insulted. His gold seduced the people into an acquiescence with the pride and austerity of his manner. Nay, with his seducing treasures, he bought the senators and Commons of the Land, and for all-corrupting gold, they were willing to barter both their Country and their Religion. Perfidious Idolatry! which worships the golden mammon, because it has the power to bestow temporal good, and for this precarious and transient possession, barter virtue, religion and immortality. It is said, that when Philip entered Winchester to his marriage, there followed in his train, twenty carts laden

with bullion; and ninety two horses and two carts laden with coined gold and silver. SECTION III. CHAP. IV.

But the most remarkable thing which attended his arrival, was, that the life of the Princess Elizabeth the future Queen was saved by his interposition. On his arrival at London, to grace his entry, he obtained the pardon of Holgate Archbishop of York, and by his earnest entreaties the release of the Princess Elizabeth, who had been secured as a necessary victim. Nor was this the only time as we shall see, that he was made the instrument of saving her from destruction!

The third Parliament of Queen Mary was now assembled, and still more obsequious than the preceding, was prepared to go every length to execute the will of their Mistress. This Parliament was intended to strike a decisive blow; and every thing which force and persuasion and money could effect, was done to secure the proper materials in Parliament. Whilst Cardinal Pole, who, in the beginning of the Reign, had been appointed Legate by the Pope, and was waiting in Flanders the auspicious moment, now hastened to England, to complete the long wished for re-union with the Church of Rome. Never was a person better suited for the task which he had undertaken. He was mild, persuasive and sincere; and in the name of the Universal Pastor, he addressed the King and the Queen, and afterwards the Parliament, inviting and exhorting them in the most

Parliament unites with the Queen.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
Remarkable fact.

eloquent manner, to return to the sheepfold of the Church. It was a moment of high exultation to the Queen who had been labouring for this consummation, and to the whole Romish party, to behold their wishes accomplished; and it is remarkable, that at the moment, the Cardinal was making his plausible speech before the King and Queen, and exhorting them to return to their allegiance to the supreme Bishop, the Queen felt peculiar internal sensations, which were, indeed, the first advances of disease and death; but which, at such a moment of joy, were mistaken for the natural symptoms of child-bearing, and in consequence of that persuasion, a solemn "Te Deum" was sung at Saint Paul's, for the joyful prospect of a successor! But it was far otherwise: her days and her actions were numbered; and it was remarkably, the hand of God that was smiting her with a fatal disease, at the moment of her greatest triumph.

Address of  
the Commons.

The obsequious Parliament, returned a most favorable answer to the exhortations of the Cardinal, in an address to the King and Queen; "that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them with the See of Rome; offering to repeal all the laws they had made against the Pope's authority, in token of their repentance."—This was enough. The Legate attended Parliament, and after an elaborate speech, in which he shewed the advantages and necessity of union, he reconciled

them to the body of the Church, granting them SECTION III.  
and the nation a plenary absolution, which all CHAP. IV.  
present received upon their knees! The rest of the day was spent in singing "Te Deum;" and at night the general satisfaction was signified by lighting of bonfires!

Soon after this solemn reconciliation, the Parliament fulfilled its pledge, and passed that famous Act, by which the Pope's authority was recognized and restored; and all Acts which had passed since the twentieth year of Henry VIII, were repealed. Restoration of the Papal authority in England. A. D. 1554.

It was on this occasion, when a clause had been inserted in the Bill by the Lords, for the purpose of exempting certain lands which had been granted to Lord Wentworth, out of the See of London, and which was much opposed by the Commons, Gardiner, when the Bill was presented for the Royal assent, boldly cut it out of the parchment, exclaiming, *Now, I truly do the office of a Chancellor*, alluding to the word *cancelling*, from which the name is derived. He was now in the height of his prosperity, and obtained great reputation for bringing about so great a change in so short a time, and with so little opposition. Ambassadors were sent to Rome, to convey the joyful tidings of the restoration of England to the Apostolic See. As a public acknowledgment for the accomplishment of this great event, a solemn procession was appointed in England, in which Bishop Bonner had the honor of carrying the Host. This pro-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. cession happened on Saint Andrew's day, which was thence called the '*Feast of the Reconciliation.*' Could the curtain now drop, and the future be hidden from our view; the system of Popery, bad as it may, even now, have appeared to the Reader, might yet be saved from the utter execration and detestation of all intelligent beings.—But alas! what we have already narrated, has been but the prelude to its character; and we are compelled by the evidence of the most appalling facts to conclude, that the solemn farce which had just been transacted, has no more connexion with Christianity, than the sacrifices of Moloch, or the rites of Druidism. But not to enlarge. Every thing was now in readiness for that dreadful persecution, which would have disgraced the Heathenism and barbarity of a NERO; but which displays in its true colours, the character of that apostate Church, which is "drunk with the blood of the Saints;" the manifestation of which we cannot but acknowledge, as one design of the Supreme Being, in permitting such scenes to be enacted, in order that *as a Nation*, we might never again be induced to trust its smiles or believe its promises.

Fury of the  
Queen and  
Chancellor.

This persecution began in the month of January, contrary to the advice of Cardinal Pole, who was a man of a mild temper, and entertained more exalted views of the Christian character than the Church to which he belonged. He exhorted the Queen to proceed by persuasion and tenderness;

but Gardiner, whose religion was entirely political, and whose mind was embued with the severe and bloody principles of the Romish System, advised the Queen to enforce the Statutes against heretics. Nor long. Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's, a learned and excellent Clergyman had the honor to stand foremost, in this "noble army of Martyrs" His trial was brief and summary, as such exhibitions usually are, where the sentence is determined beforehand. After his condemnation, he was treated with unnecessary cruelty; and was not permitted to take a last farewell of his wife and children. On the fourth of February, he was brought to the stake, and when a pardon was offered to him if he would recant, he steadily rejected it, on such conditions, and said—*He would not exchange a short fire for everlasting burnings; declaring, that he gave up his life with joy, as a Testimony of the Doctrine he had preached.* The excellent Bishop Hooper, who was condemned at the same time, was sent to Gloucester the seat of his own Diocese, at which he greatly rejoiced; and on the ninth of February, was committed to the flames, in which he endured exquisite torment, calling upon God! and after a long and fearful trial he expired, saying "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" At the same time, Saunders, was burnt at Coventry; and Rowland Taylor, Rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, was condemned, and dispatched to his own parish, to be made a

SECTION III.  
CHAP. III.

Martyrdom  
of Rogers.

Of Hooper.

Of Saunders.  
Of Taylor.

SECTION III. CHAP. IV. Of Glover. spectacle by fire, and a terror to his people. A few months after Lawrence Saunders, his friend Robert Glover,\* a gentleman of Mancetter was burnt on the very same spot.

Christian  
Martyrdom  
its peculiarity.

By this terrific blow, struck at one time, and in distant parts of the kingdom, the Queen and her accomplices—there is no want of candour in using such a term—thought to have created such a panic throughout the ranks of the Reformers, that the *heresy* of Protestantism would have been for ever silenced and subdued. But alas! they knew not what they did. They reckoned not upon the invincible power of Truth! when through the understanding, it seizes the throne of judgement. Least of all, did they understand the power of Divine Truth, when it has found its way through the medium of the Scriptures and by the teaching of the Eternal Spirit; unto the understanding and the heart. Their minds were not sufficiently free to discern, that this was exactly the spirit which animated the Protomartyr Stephen and the whole band of primitive martyrs,† and that the only effect of persecution, was to strengthen its vigour, and extend its influence. This is *religious Protestantism* in its vital principle.—It examines the doctrines of the Church by Scripture, and believes them, because assuredly derived from that source. Its faith, then, rests on the “Record of God.” It cannot renounce truths derived from such a source,

\* Narrative by the Rev. B. Richings, Seeley. † Acts, vii.

SECTION III. CHAP. IV. nor, believe those which are opposed to a Divine testimony. If a man clearly perceives this, and the truth has gained not only his understanding, but his affections, no power, short of Omnipotence can destroy its dominion over his soul. He will endure the torture of the rack, the agony of the cross, the horrors of the fire, not with stupid indifference, but with submission and patience, *united with compassion for his persecutors*; and as long as he retains the faculty to know that his faith rests on the Record of God! his soul will pass through the fiery abyss, purified it may be, but undismayed and unconquered. It is true that individuals have died, with great heroism, for their religion who were not Christians, nor acquainted with the knowledge and principles of Christianity. But on a careful enquiry it will be found, that wherever anything may be discovered superior to a slavish superstition, or blind adherence, the same principle, in some measure, has animated the martyrs of all religions. The Jew for instance, in all his persecutions for religion, has endured “as seeing Him that is invisible,” relying upon what he *knew* to be a divine Revelation. In the martyrdoms of the Jews, you behold that stern unrelenting fortitude, which could not have been crushed by any power save that which inspired it. But the inflexible sternness of the Jew is quite distinct from that kindlier emotion which characterized the Christian sufferer. The latter had a

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
The Protestant Martyr alone manifested "Love."

double support; he had the Revelation of the Jew, which inspires him with similar fortitude, and he has the Revelation of Christianity, which endues him with the spirit of his Divine Master—LOVE—The Mahommedan and the Hindoo have shewn, that they can meet suffering and death for their religion. The devotion of the one is founded on the Koran being a divine book, the other, on the Shastar. The fortitude of the one is characterized by ferocity; the other, by stupid indifference; neither of which, entered into the composition of the Christian Protestant Martyr. But the distinction is as marked, as is the difference between light and darkness; as great, as between truth and falsehood. It is not to be doubted also, but that the Papist would be willing to suffer, perhaps, to die for his religion. Indeed, both Queen Mary and her Chancellor Gardiner, had endured considerable hardships for adherence to *their* religion. But it is remarkable, that there have been very few examples of martyrdom in that church since A. D. 300. And it must be recorded as a singular fact, that, throughout the long and arduous period of the Reformation, not one Papist suffered capital punishment for adherence to his *religious* tenets. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were political Martyrs; and suffered for adhering to the temporal supremacy of the Pope.—But it is not necessary to pursue this discussion further.

When the Lord Chancellor Gardiner perceived that these dreadful severities, so far from accomplishing his wishes, only seemed to awaken the spirit of Martyrdom; and, that seven persons were immediately apprehended, who discovered the same steady resolution to suffer, he could not calmly contemplate the awful results of continuing such tremendous executions. This is, certainly, another relieving trait in his character: and in justice it ought to be mentioned, that he refused personally to interfere in the trials and condemnation of the heretical Protestants. He therefore, abandoned their further persecution to Bonner, who rejoiced at the opportunity; and whose cruel and brutal temper, enabled him to perpetrate the most inhuman cruelties, without pity or remorse, but I must not dwell upon these infernal tragedies. The details connected with them, are incredible; and it is almost impossible to believe, that they were ever transacted upon earth.

In the midst of these cruel persecutions, the Queen, whose zeal for the extermination of heresy increased every day, was considered to be drawing near to her confinement. In the month of May, the Envoys were appointed who were to carry the tidings to foreign Courts. In the beginning of June, the Queen was seized with sudden pains, and it was reported in the City, that she had borne a son. The Papists were inspired with new hopes, and "Te Deum" was sung, in all parts of the City

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
Bonner takes up the Persecution.

Hopes of the King and Queen blasted. A. D. 1555.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
by the zealous Ecclesiastics ! But, vain delusion ! it was the crisis of a disease, which convinced her husband King Philip, that all his hopes of children from this alliance, were at an end ; and as he could never hope to gain any authority in England without issue, he resolved to abandon his English enterprise for the present. Indeed the highest honors awaited him ; for his father Charles V. after a long career of unexampled glory and prosperity, with a greatness of mind, superior to all his conquests, resolved to give up his dominions to his son ; and to relinquish the state and splendour of the most extensive empire, for the simplicity and frugality which could be maintained, on a pension of a hundred thousand crowns a year.—This extraordinary person, as we have seen, for more than thirty years, had exercised a very considerable influence over the Councils of our Country up to this very period ; and he had seen as it were a favourable termination to his vast designs in the marriage of his son with the Queen of England. But in this respect, though a man of the greatest penetration and sagacity, his designs were frustrated.—England never fell under the power of his son : but on the contrary, its independence was secured ; its prosperity consolidated ; and it was destined to become a greater Empire, than that which he was about to abdicate.

Philip succeeds to the Empire.

After the departure of Philip to take possession of his new dignity, the nation was not backward

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
to evince their horror and disgust at the proceedings of the Government. Indeed this feeling was so strongly marked, that the inhuman Bonner, slackened his hand ; and the flames of the living funereal pile ceased, for a period of six weeks. But this was a state of apathy, which did not comport with the fiery zeal of the *religious* Queen. She wrote to her ecclesiastical Butcher, and exhorted him, *to perform the office of a good Pastor ; and either to reclaim the heretics, or to proceed against them according to Law.* This was a joyful admonition. With renewed vigour, after this short pause, he renewed his employment. New fires were immediately kindled. His fury raged everywhere, and the “good Pastor” made dreadful havoc of the defenceless sheep. Cardmaker, formerly a Prebendary of Bath ; and Warne a tradesman, were burnt in Smithfield. Seven were condemned, and sent into Essex, where they were burnt at the several places of their abode. That eminent Clergyman, Bradford, was burnt in the same fire with a young apprentice, who was much encouraged by his exhortations in the fire. Many other fearful examples followed about the same time, and the persecution raged in all parts of the kingdom.

But the greatest spectacle was reserved for the end of the year, when a commission was sent to Oxford to proceed against two famous Christian Bishops, Ridley and Latimer. They were condemned

Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. ned as obstinate heretics, and the writs were immediately sent down for their burning. Perhaps the annals of Martyrdom, from the death of Stephen, do not produce two more illustrious examples of the power of true religion upon the heart of man. They were not only endued with fortitude to meet the "fiery trial" which awaited them, but filled with joy and cheerfulness in the anticipation of it. The night preceding, Bishop Ridley trimmed his beard and washed his feet, and invited his friends to be present at his marriage on the succeeding day. When the Martyrs arrived at the stake, they embraced each other with great affection; and Ridley, with his wonted cheerfulness, said—"Be of good courage, Brother, for God will either assuage the flame, or enable us to bear it." Nor was the holy veteran Latimer, behind him; for as they were preparing for the stake, he cried out to Ridley—"Be of good courage, Brother, for we shall this day light such a candle in England, as by God's grace, shall never be extinguished." Thus perished in the flames, two of the most able and excellent men, that God ever raised up to adorn his Church. Ridley holds an exalted place amongst the leaders of the Reformation. He was a man of great learning and deep piety, and was highly esteemed for the solidity of his judgment. Latimer, who was more than eighty years of age, was a man of primitive and Apostolic simplicity of manners; and whose

sermons were not more dreaded by the Papists, SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. than by the time-serving and licentious Courtiers. But whilst the severity of his rebukes was dreaded by many, he was revered by all, for the honesty and integrity of his character; and admired and loved by the truly upright.

The Lord Chancellor Gardiner, who now for his active zeal and successful policy, was expecting a Cardinal's hat, and the dignity of Archbishop, although he would not *personally* assist at the bloody tribunal, yet was principal in these arbitrary measures, and was particularly alive to the importance of the proceedings against these excellent Bishops. But his persecuting career was drawing to a close, and all his ambitious views, were about to perish, in a moment. The Almighty Judge, was about to vindicate the outraged laws of humanity and Christianity, and make him an example to all future generations! Divine visitation on the chief Persecutor.

During that day on which Ridley and Latimer were committed to the flames, he was all impatience, and would not sit down to dinner, till he was assured that the fire was kindled. When the messenger arrived at four in the afternoon, he sat down, cheerfully, to dinner: but, *whilst he sat at table*, he was suddenly seized with a complaint which proved fatal; and he only survived to the following November. During his distressing affliction, he was deeply affected with his situation, and expressed deep remorse for the actions of his

SECTION III. past life, frequently saying. "I have erred like Saint Peter, but I have not repented as he did!"

CHAP. IV.

Thus died Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor; a man of consummate ability in all transactions, where intrigue and cunning, and treachery were available—a true Papist—without conscience, without religion; temporizing, artful, and ambitious. In the month of November, and within a short time of his death, three persons were burnt in one fire at Canterbury, as it were, a sacrifice to his inhuman Manes; and in the month of December, the celebrated Philpot was added to the holy-martyred-band. His death concluded the year, in which sixty-seven persons perished at the stake!

State and  
feeling of the  
Nation.

The designs of God were now fast accomplishing. The whole nation had been severely punished for their violent and rapacious conduct, during the progress of the Reformation under King Edward; and for preferring their own interest to the cause of true religion. Popery also, in some measure, had been allowed to develop its true character; and the Reformers had had an opportunity of shewing by their constancy, fortitude and meekness, not only the sincerity of their profession, but the truth and power of that holy Religion, for which they contended to the death.

The people, generally, began to discover a just abhorrence of the conduct of the Queen and her advisers: and under such a dreadful discipline,

their minds were preparing to throw off the detestable and oppressive yoke, with more heartfelt abhorrence. Even the House of Commons partook of the general feeling; having forgot the influence of Spanish money, they began to repent of many of the Laws which they had enacted against the Reformers. They refused to grant the Queen an aid of two fifteenths—they refused to pass several oppressive Acts, and becoming violent, they were summarily dissolved.

But the maddened Papists advanced to the perpetration of further cruelties. It was even contemplated to establish the Inquisition in England; and in the beginning of the year, to satiate their "drunken" rage, the great victim of all, who had been reserved through the policy of Gardiner, to the beginning of this year, was brought forth to be made a spectacle to the terrified people. This was Archbishop Cranmer.

Indeed, in the month of September in the preceding year, and previous to the death of the late Lord Chancellor, a Commission had been sent down to Oxford, to proceed against him. He had appeared before this tribunal, in Saint Mary's Church, and answered their objections with great learning and modesty. The mock sentence of this Court was, that he should appear before the Pope within eighty days: but in the space of *twenty days*, letters arrived from the Papal seat, commanding that he should receive condemnation,

SECTION III.

CHAP. IV.

Commission  
to try Cran-  
mer.  
A. D. 1556.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. and be delivered to the secular arm; preparatory to which he was to be degraded from all his Ecclesiastical functions; and for this purpose Bishop Bonner and Thirleby, were invested with new powers. In the month of February, these Pope-delegates arrived at Oxford, to go through the ceremony of degrading the venerable Archbishop. The Primate of all England, who had been the adviser and friend of Kings, the Godfather and instructor of Princes, was in derision, dressed in Episcopal robes made of canvass, which were then taken from him, one by one, attended with formal curses and imprecations. In the performance of these *ceremonies*, Bonner proceeded with all that insolence and malignity, which could be dictated by the most inveterate hatred; but it is said, that Thirleby did his part with evident grief, and even with tears. Compassion! how exalted are thy claims! Thy presence is lovely, even in an adversary!

His Recantation.

Nothing now remained, but the infliction of his final sentence; but this would not satisfy them. They had another object in view of much more consequence to their cause, if they could accomplish it. It was, if possible, to obtain a Recantation. Every engine was set at work for this purpose. The most eminent English and Spanish divines engaged him in continual conferences. They removed him from prison, to the Dean's lodgings. They afforded prospects of life—of

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. preferments—of the highest favor, if he would sign the document of Recantation, which they had prepared. This great man had withstood their intrigues, their solicitations, and their threatenings for three years. He had gone through the ceremony of degradation, with meekness; and would from thence, have gone boldly to the stake; but the sudden change from degradation to honor,—from death to life, seemed to shake his fortitude and resolution; and yielding to his infirmity, and urged by their importunity, in an unhappy moment he subscribed the fatal document, in which he was made to renounce all his former opinions, as heretical and damnable. It was a denial of Christ and his doctrine. But the goodness of that God whose Truth he denied, did not forsake him, although he permitted his crime to be visited upon him, with accumulated punishment. Like Peter he fell; like Peter he repented.

His Recantation was immediately printed and circulated through the country, to the utter grief and confusion of his friends, and the triumph of his enemies. But this did not satisfy the furious Queen, embodying in herself, all the cruelty and perfidy of her religion, she said: *That his repentance was good for his soul; but since he had been the great diffuser of Heresy over the nation, it was necessary to make him a public example.* A writ was accordingly sent down to burn him, with orders that it should be done suddenly, that no

His re-estab-  
ment in the  
Truth.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. time might be allowed, for him to make known his real sentiments to the people; and that he might die under the full power of his Recantation. But Cranmer suspected their designs; and drew up a long confession of his faith, in full accordance with all that he had ever professed and taught.

Martyrdom  
of Cranmer.

On the twenty-first of March, the day secretly fixed for his execution, he was brought to Saint Mary's Church, on which occasion, Doctor Cole, Provost of Eton, preached the sermon, in which he exhorted Cranmer, *to persist in the faith into which he had professed his return, even to the death; which it was the will of the civil Governors to inflict upon him that day; and since his conversion was from the immediate hand of Heaven, nothing could be more acceptable to God, and to all good men, than a public declaration of the reality of it.*

This unexpected declaration of his approaching fate, with the exhortation which accompanied it, filled the Archbishop with perplexity and dismay. But summoning his recollection, and rousing his former courage, he boldly stood forward, and commenced an eloquent and masterly address to the people—recounting the principal heads of his Truth and doctrine—affirming that the *kingdom of ANTI-CHRIST was contained* and established in the power of the Pope; and in conclusion, representing how grievously he had offended God, by renouncing the Truth, he declared before all

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. men, the surprising resolution he had taken—that *the right hand which had so impiously offended by subscribing the Recantation, should be the first sufferer in the flames!* On this emphatic announcement, the whole assembly was thrown into confusion; and some mocking and calling upon him not to dissemble any more, he cried out, that he had ever loved simplicity; and that, except in that one instance, he had never dissembled in his life. They were now filled with indignation and wrath; and with bitter revilings and clamour, they rushed upon him, and dragged him to the place of execution—the same place from whence his two friends and fellow labourers, Ridley and Latimer, had a short time before ascended in their chariots of fire. Ready for the same convoy and on the same plot of ground, stood Thomas Cranmer, one of the most excellent of men, degraded, indeed, from all his honors, and still more by the denial of the truth; but now, fully restored and established, he appeared more glorious in his recovery, than he had been abased in his fall; and from the temporary obscurity, his faith, and hope and constancy, shone forth with increasing splendor. His meekness and patience, amidst the low-bred railing, the scurrilous abuse, the most opprobrious jests, were truly astonishing. The serenity of his mind was not once disturbed.—The purpose of his mind was firm and unshaken; and when the flames were kindled, his Christian for-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
titude, influenced by the sincerity of his repentance and supported by the power of God, appeared conspicuous. He stretched out his right hand, into the midst of the flames, and with unwavering firmness held it, till it was consumed, sometimes saying, "That unworthy hand!" and at last, crying out "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" he expired in the inhuman torment.

Remarkable  
interposition of  
Providence.

Thus perished the great Reformer of the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church—the sincerity of whose Protest against Popery, was more solemn and convincing at his death, than it had been in his life. And, as if to afford a demonstration to the senses, that his repentance was accepted in heaven; and to avouch as it were, for the integrity of his servant, it was permitted by God, that when his "unworthy right hand" and his whole body were consumed to ashes, that his HEART should be found entire,—unscathed and uninjured by the fiery element. I ask not whether it was a miraculous interference, or, whether some unknown natural cause operated to secure that part of his frame from destruction—the fact is universally asserted, and discovers the FINGER OF GOD.

This eminent man was in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and had been endued with singular qualifications for the great work, he was destined to accomplish. His character is pourtrayed in his actions, over which, Christianity exercised almost a sovereign influence. It is much easier to disco-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV.  
ver his virtues than his blemishes. One might have suspected from his conduct at last, that his meekness bordered upon timidity, or meanness of spirit; but we are checked in this suspicion, by the peril to which he exposed himself on more occasions than one, in opposing the will of Henry VIII; especially, in the noble letter which he wrote to him, in vindication of the character of Anne Boleyn, and of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, after their condemnation. Perhaps his chief failing was a too great compliance with the wishes of others, and a readiness to be overcome by kindness and importunity. The temptation which caused his fall, was founded on this infirmity; strengthened by the horrors of being consumed by fire: but if this were the case, the heroic manner in which he met those horrors, will discover how much his natural disposition was overcome, and how much he was supported by "the inspiration of the Spirit of God," in his last conflict. Perhaps some striking failure, like that of his recantation was necessary, in order to moderate the veneration which his uncommon worth might have produced in our minds; for such was his primitive humility, his indefatigable industry and unfeigned simplicity, that he will bear comparison with any of the Fathers of the Christian Church, who lived nearest to the Apostles. His fall discovered that he was surrounded by the frailties and infirmities

SECTION of mortality; his recovery, that he was supported  
III. by the Power and Grace of God.

CHAP. IV.

The two great  
Charters.

It is difficult to leave the contemplation of the character of a man, to whom we are as a nation, so deeply indebted. Amongst the national Reformers of his time, he stood pre-eminent in wisdom, in temper, and in prudence; and it is not a little remarkable, that, we are indebted to an Archbishop of Canterbury, both for our Political and Religious freedom. Archbishop Langton was the means of restoring the "Magna Charta"—the foundation of our *political* Rights—Archbishop Cranmer the MAXIMA CHARTA, the bulwark of our *Religious* privileges!

But why should I indulge in these pleasing speculations?—a bloody page is open before me, unequalled in barbarity in the annals of any nation. The fires of martyrdom blazed on every side, and multitudes followed their leaders into eternity.—Into the detail of these harrowing executions I cannot enter, but must refer the reader to the Martyrologists of that day.\*

The cruelty of the infuriated Bonner, increased with the number of his victims. The martyrdom of Cranmer took place in March. In the January

A year of  
burnings.  
A. D. 1556.

\* A new edition of FOXE, has been published by Seeley.—The *Reformation Society*, has published an excellent abridgment, by Mr SEYMOUR. An affecting Narrative of the Martyrdom of Robert Glover and Mrs. Lewis of *Mancetter*, by the Rev. Mr. RICHINGS, the present Vicar.

preceding, five men and two women were burnt SECTION  
in Smithfield; and one man and four women at III.  
Canterbury. In March, two women were burnt CHAP. IV.  
at Ipswich; and three men at Salisbury. In April, six Essex men were burnt in Smithfield; a man and a woman in Rochester; and another woman in Canterbury. Six men were condemned by Bonner, who became weary of delay and persuasion; and after the respite of one day, they were sent to Colchester to be burnt; and to complete the catalogue of one month, a blind man and a cripple were burnt in the same fire at Stratford. In May, three women in Smithfield. But why should I enlarge? these were minor exhibitions of that spirit which then had the ascendant. In the month of June, ELEVEN MEN, and TWO WOMEN, were burnt in ONE FIRE at *Stratford*! Nor did the merciless Man confine his executions within the realm of England; in Guernsey, a *Mother and her two daughters* were burnt in the same fire! Other horrors were perpetrated actually too revolting to be narrated. Suffice it to say that, within this year, Eighty-five persons were martyred!

But still the fury of the persecutors raged.—The bodies of the dead were dragged from their graves, treated with ignominy, and publicly burnt. Commissions were issued for searching out and bringing the heretics to judgment: tyranny and cruelty triumphed; and without entering into particulars, it will be sufficient to observe, that during this

Burnings and  
judgments.  
A. D. 1557.

SECTION year Seventy-nine persons were condemned and  
burnt.

III.

CHAP. IV.

In the midst of these fatal exhibitions, which filled the nation with apprehension and dread—a sudden blow was preparing, which was to inflict a deep wound on the unhappy Queen, and increase the discontent of the people, to the utmost. This was brought on by the intolerable pride of the Pope, who used to say *that all Kingdoms were subject to him—and that he would suffer no Prince to be too familiar with him, and that he would set the world on fire, rather than submit to act beneath the dignity of his station.* This lofty minded Monk to forward his intrigues against the House of Austria, induced the King of France to break the truce into which he had entered with Philip King of Spain. With great reluctance the Queen of England was induced to send assistance to her husband. The French were defeated, and the Pope was left at the mercy of the Spaniards. He raged—he threatened—and by his arts and policy he soon restored his affairs to their former position.

The French War.

But not so, England. It was for her punishment that all this machinery of war was set in motion. The French turned all their force against the possessions of England in France. They were entirely successful. In one week, Calais, which was thought impregnable, and which had been in the possession of England, since the reign of Edward III, was taken by assault. The surrender of Ca-

lais was speedily followed by that of Guisnes and the Castle of Hainnes; so that in the most unexpected manner, and in a few days, the English were expelled for ever, from every foot of ground which they possessed in France.

SECTION

III.

CHAP. IV.

This event was a severe blow to the nation and tended, greatly, to increase the vexation and discontent of the people. The Queen, herself, was deeply affected by the loss, which she felt could never be retrieved; and it is said, that this affliction hastened her death. Be this as it may: her misery and wretchedness, were, at this moment, complete; and her remaining days were now numbered. But her cruelty was yet unmitigated, and her savage ministers, were anxious to secure the stability of the conquests they had made with so much trouble and bloodshed. Their chief counsel was against the Princess Elizabeth, whom they intended to supplant by Mary Queen of Scots.—But she was endued with such wisdom and prudence, that without any dereliction of principle, she finally escaped their hands. But other victims were found; and more than *eighty* were this year consigned to the flames; making a total of *Two Hundred and Eighty-four*, besides hundreds who perished by hardship, imprisonment, and exile. But the bloody scene was now drawing to its close, and the Divine intentions, both as it respected the punishment, and the full portraiture

Princess Elizabeth in danger.  
A. D. 1558.

SECTION of the Papal System were advancing to their completion.

III.

CHAP. IV.

The Army  
struck with  
fear.

Isaiah xiii. 7.

A formidable fleet, with a considerable land force was sent into France—but it seemed as if the soldiers had lost their wonted courage. They were repelled, with great loss, from the French coasts; and, under the impression that Heaven fought against them, ingloriously returned to their own country. Indeed, the hearts of the people, were filled with forebodings of the Divine Judgments, which they attributed to the bloody deeds of their Governors. Nor were their fears vain.—The heavens grew black with storms—tempests of wind and rain, of hail and thunder: and floods in various parts, to an unprecedented degree, devastated and inundated the kingdom; and to mark with greater distinctness the DIVINE HAND, three fourths of the people were smitten with a contagious disease, resembling the plague; and so fatally did it rage, that in many Counties, there were not men sufficient to reap the harvest!

Whilst the judgments of the Almighty Governor thus terrified the people, every thing tended to shew that the anger of offended Deity was directed against the Rulers of the land. The Parliament was called, but refused to grant supplies: Every thing seemed to come to a sudden stop: the country spoiled of its strength, was sunk in disgrace, and reduced to despair—the Queen's malady rapidly increased—Cardinal Pole

who had been raised to the Primacy, and was her confidential adviser and support, was struck with death—and the Queen herself, exhausted by disease, yielded up her unhappy and ignominious spirit; and the dark curtain of unalterable futurity fell on the direful transactions of her reign!

III.

CHAP. IV.

WE have little patriotism, if we do not weep over this calamitous page of our history—and over the blasted reputation of a Queen, who was formed by nature with abilities, to adorn and benefit her country, but who was seduced from the paths of humanity, by the enchantments of Antichrist. Her soul was entirely despoiled by its influence of every amiable trait, and of every vestige of Christian virtue. And what renders this the more deplorable, is the fact—that she wished to be and was, a most religious woman. She was austere and self denying in her manner of life. She was strict and severe in her religious duties; and a stern and gloomy piety, was observable in all her deportment. In short, she was a good and consistent Papist. Had she been a Christian, how meek, and holy, and merciful would she have been! and with her abundant zeal, how “full of good fruits! without partiality, and without hypocrisy,” but destitute of the spirit of Christianity, and with a mind formed on the principles of the Romish superstition, her reign

Mary's religious character.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. IV. afforded free scope for the full development of its character. Nourished and fed by the Queen's authority, it expanded and grew out in all its hideous deformity, before the astonished eyes of the people; and stalked through the land like some inhuman monster, ready to devour without pity, the innocent and the helpless. Perfidious when it promised; oath breaking, when it swore. Proud in its oppression, tyrannical in its injustice, and vindictive in its cruelty.

Such, indeed, was the horror, inspired by its deeds during these five years, that the hearts of the people sickened, and their faces grew pale at the mention of its name for many generations—nay, *through all generations to our own*.—We have given liberty to the Tyrant-oppressor. We had forgot that its nature is “UNCHANGED AND UNCHANGEABLE!” and that it will act consistently with its character, just to the extent of its ability.

## CHAPTER V.

ELIZABETH.—FINAL TRIUMPH AND ESTABLISHMENT  
OF PROTESTANTISM.

THE clouds and thick darkness which attended the conclusion of the last reign, and seemed to threaten the extinction of the British name, were suddenly dispersed; and a brighter sun arose than England had ever seen; designed, not only to enlighten her own happy isle, but to extend its cheering rays to the utmost extremities of the earth. At its first dawn, as if by a miraculous agency, the gloom which overspread the minds of the people disappeared—the pestilence and famine which wasted them, fled—and the hearts of all men instantly revived. Hope looked down from heaven with a benign and cheering aspect. Truth arrayed in light, descended, once more to bless and instruct mankind. Christianity was ordained to prevail against the machinations of Popery and

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Elizabeth succeeds.  
A. D. 1558.

SECTION III. to lend its powerful name and heavenly principles,  
CHAP. V. to establish the prosperity of the nation, on a solid and imperishable basis.

Joy of the  
 nation.

Elizabeth, on the death of Queen Mary, was at Hatfield, where she had lived for some time in great seclusion, devoted to the pursuit of learning and the demands of Religion. The violent advisers of the late Queen, were filled with apprehensions for their safety; but opposition was in vain. The tide had set in with irresistible impetuosity; and in right of her birth, and by the Act of Succession, Elizabeth ascended the throne. She was immediately proclaimed at Westminster, amidst the most unbounded demonstrations of joy. All past sufferings seemed to be forgotten amidst the transports of the moment. "God, save Queen Elizabeth! Long and happily may she reign!" resounded from all sides. Even the adherents of Popery were obliged to disguise their feelings, and put on the semblance of joy. A sorrowful countenance, on that day, was considered criminal by the delighted people. In short, it was a day of national jubilee, and the Popish Priests, who could not join in this festival of mind, when a whole nation delivered from the shackles of an ignominious bondage, delight in the exercise of their recovered liberty, were obliged to retire from the animated scene, to hide themselves in corners and to vent their griefs in the inmost recesses.

Elizabeth, herself, who during the last reign, SECTION III.  
 had lived in daily alarm, and whose life was, as CHAP. V. we have seen, preserved almost by a constant miracle, when she heard that she was proclaimed Queen, fell down upon her knees, and after a short pause, broke forth in the words of the Royal Psalmist: "It is the Lord's doing; and is marvellous in our eyes." Like all truly great minds, she was endued with a reverence for Religion; trust in divine Providence and a high regard for the Supreme Being. Indeed, her whole character, marked her out as an extraordinary personage, designed to accomplish the high and benevolent purposes of the Most High. She was at this period, twenty-five years of age. Her person was graceful, and as historians assert, her mien noble, her stature commanding, and her walk majestic. Her face was not adorned with all the properties of finished beauty; but her countenance beamed with an intelligence, which made all smaller defects vanish. Her manner inspired awe, rather than affection: but when occasion required, she could assume the most powerful charms, and adopt such a mixture of grace and majesty, as few were able to resist. Her spirit was great and magnanimous, her mind enlarged, and her understanding adorned with all the advantages of education and study. Besides the Greek and Latin, she was acquainted with all the European languages. Indeed, during the last reign she had been a most

Fitness of  
 Queen Eliza-  
 beth for her  
 high station.

SECTION III. CHAP. V. indefatigable student, and had made considerable advances in the knowledge of History, Philosophy, Divinity, and Rhetoric. Her apprehension was quick, and her memory strong; and she delighted to dwell on the actions of the wise and great who had adorned her Country, and to set before herself the illustrious monuments of her predecessors. She would often speak of the mighty triumphs of the English, at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; and was accustomed to say, "These victories were more owing to the assistance of Heaven, than the arms of men"—a sentiment which it has been the design of this work to illustrate.

Such was the gifted individual now called by Providence, to sway the English sceptre at a time of great difficulty and danger. The nation was involved in war. Its valuable possessions in France had just been lost. Pestilence and famine were wasting the land. The treasury was utterly exhausted, and all the evils of religious difference prevailed. But she was admirably fitted for the work. Her powerful mind soon began to act upon the disordered elements around her, and the glory and prosperity of the country were rapidly advanced, and permanently established.

Bonner abhorred.

On her arrival at London, she was met by the Nobility and Bishops, whom she received with great cordiality, except Bonner, whose atrocious cruelty, although under the sanction of law, made it impossible to notice him, without becoming

SECTION III. CHAP. V. partaker of his crimes. When she arrived at the Tower, and entered those gates as Queen, through which she had, lately, been conducted as a prisoner, she remembered her low estate, and kneeling down, she returned hearty thanks to God, *who had so bounteously changed her Prison to a Palace.* And to shew the fine moral tone which then possessed her mind, one of her first acts was, to send a particular acknowledgment of gratitude to King Philip, for the important services which he had rendered her, during the life time of her sister; and to which, indeed, she owed her safety and life.

When the notification of her accession reached the Court of Rome, through her Ambassador, the Roman Prelate, Paul III, in his usual style, sent her a proud and insulting message—"That England was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high presumption in her to assume the Crown without his consent, especially, since she was illegitimate: But if she would renounce her pretensions and refer herself wholly to him, she might expect all the favor that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolic See." On the receipt of this message Elizabeth was filled with high resentment, and recalled her Ambassador, which amounted as it were, at the very onset of her reign, to a declaration of war.

King Philip sent her a different message, and earnestly solicited her hand in marriage—a cir-  
The Pope's false claims.  
Philip's message.

SECTION III. cumstance which discovers the secret motives by which he was urged, when he protected Elizabeth in the last reign, from the resentment of her Sister. At present, the Queen did not absolutely reject his advances, but thought it prudent, in the infancy of her affairs, to allow the matter to rest in abeyance.

CHAP. V.

The state of her council next engaged her attention; and she resolved to retain such of the Ministers of the late Queen, as she had reason to conclude, were moderate and well disposed men; but at this early period, she discovered that discriminating judgment, for which she was ever remarkable, in advancing to her councils those distinguished men, Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon, whose names are famous in the annals of the world.

Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

The former of these individuals who is better known under the title of Lord Burleigh, was one of the most able and upright statesmen, which this country has ever produced. He was descended from a good family, and was educated at Grantham Grammar School, from whence he was removed to Saint John's College, Cambridge. He soon became remarkable for his assiduity and attention to study; and in those literary studies he was fully prepared for that high station in the councils of his country, which it was his destination to fill.

SECTION III. He had married the daughter of Sir John Cheke, by whom he was recommended to the Protector Somerset, and was employed in important offices of the state, during the reign of Edward VI. He was preserved through the dangers of the succeeding reign for great purposes; and a few days after the accession of Elizabeth, he was raised to the rank of a Privy Councillor, and created first Secretary of State; and to him, must be allotted a great share of the prudence and wisdom and integrity, which adorned the transactions of this reign.

CHAP. V.

Nor was Sir Nicholas Bacon inferior to his colleague in office. He was also educated at Cambridge. He studied law at Grays Inn, and became so distinguished, that he was appointed by Henry VIII, as attorney of the Wards, a office in which he was continued during the Reign of Edward VI, and, happily, his great moderation and consummate prudence preserved him during the dangerous reign of Queen Mary. To this eminent person, Elizabeth committed the great seal, but his modesty, for which he was as eminent, as for his great qualifications, would not permit him to assume the name of Lord High Chancellor; and he adopted the humble name of Lord Keeper.

Sir Nicholas Bacon

These arrangements having been made, the wheels of Government were immediately set in motion, and the action of the reign, rapidly advanced to fulfil its destined course. The corona-

Coronation,  
A. D. 1559.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
tion which took place in the month of January, was solemnized with great splendour and magnificence; and with such universal joy and satisfaction, that the anniversary of it was observed throughout the whole reign, as a Religious Festival.

Obstinaey of the Roman Catholic Bishops.  
Such was the early manifestation of the Queen's mind with respect to Religion, that the persecuting Bishops, who had so lately embrued their hands in blood, were exceedingly discouraged. They felt themselves so deeply committed to the cause, for which they had proceeded to such extremities, that they could not comply as they had done before, with the changes which they saw to be inevitable. This feeling prevailed so far, that none of them would assist Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, by whom the ceremony of the Coronation was performed.

Peace with France.  
It will be remembered, that at the death of Queen Mary, the nation was involved in war with France and Scotland. Her council strongly recommended a peace, which she determined, if possible, to achieve. But the restitution of Calais opposed great difficulties in the way of the negotiation. At length it was agreed, that Calais should remain in the hands of the French for eight years; and at the end of that period, it should either be restored, or, they should pay a sum of Five hundred thousand pounds; upon which a general peace was concluded, much to the satisfaction of the people.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
The Parliament now met, in which it was noticed that the Queen, had, in her Writs of Summons, assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, and a bill was enacted for restoring to the Crown the first fruits and tenths, which had been alienated during the last reign. Their next act was for the re-establishment of POLITICAL PROTESTANTISM, by which all the acts made against the Pope's power in the Reign of Henry VIII, were revived. They also enacted an oath, in which the Queen was acknowledged, "*Supreme Governor in all causes, and over all persons*"—a title which may be considered the true, as it is the last established, title of the Kings and Queens of England. The Queen was also empowered to grant commissions, for judging and reforming ecclesiastical matters. In this enactment was laid the foundation of the High commission Court, which was nothing more than distributing that power, which in the reign of Henry, was confined to one person.

These innovations on the authority of the Pope awakened all the zeal of the Popish party, and the most flagrant and seditious language against the Government, was used in their public discourses; upon which, recourse was had to the arbitrary precedent which had been adopted by the late Queen; and a general prohibition not to preach, without license was issued. At the same time, an unexpected novelty was exhibited to the nation, un-

Conference appointed.  
A. D. 1559.

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. V

der the sanction of Government. A public and solemn Conference was appointed to take place, between the Romish Bishops and the Protestant Divines. Nine persons were appointed on each side, to dispute on these three points—"Worship in an unknown tongue"—"The authority of every particular Church to alter rites and ceremonies"—and "The propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass."

Romish  
Bishops are  
obstinate.

The Conference was held on the last day of March in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the Privy Council—both Houses of Parliament—and an immense concourse of Spectators. Truth was mighty and prevailed; and the applauses of the assembly were so much in favor of the speakers on the Protestant side, that the Romish Bishops became obstinately dumb, and refused to proceed according to the rules which had been prescribed. Nor was this all; the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, proceeded to inveigh against the proceeding: "That the faith of the Church ought not to be examined, but in a synod of Divines; that it gave too great encouragement to Heretics to dispute with them; and that the *Queen and Council ought to be excommunicated*, for suffering them to argue against the Catholic Faith, before a new tribunal." For this uncalled for rebuke, the two Prelates were sent to the Tower. The Lord Keeper dismissed the assembly with a terse, but significant announcement to all the Bishops!—"Since you are not willing that we

should hear you, you shall, very shortly, hear from us." SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. V.

Immediately after the breaking up of this Conference, the Parliament proceeded to the Re-establishment of RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM. The "Book of Common Prayer" with the Ordination Service, as appointed in the fifth year of Edward VI. was confirmed and established; and before the Parliament was dissolved, all the Religious Houses founded by Queen Mary, were suppressed.

Formularies  
of Edward VI.  
re-confirmed.

A general Visitation was appointed, the Liturgy in English, was introduced into all the Churches, and images were removed without any tumult.—The Oath of Supremacy was offered to all persons holding ecclesiastical promotions—and it is a remarkable circumstance, affording demonstrative evidence, that *neither the Revenues of the Church nor the Churches themselves, changed hands at the Reformation!* for out of the nine thousand four hundred Ecclesiastical preferments, only fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, were dispossessed!—Hence it is evident, that the change which took place at the Reformation, did not affect the character of the Church as a Corporate body. It continued in the same line of propriety in which it had been *from the beginning*: the alteration was in its Doctrine and manners; and in this respect,

Integrity of  
the Church  
preserved.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. so far from being a schism, it was restored to the sacred unity of the Church, by establishing its doctrines on the primitive and Apostolic model.

Vacant See  
of Canterbury  
filled up.

The next important step which occupied the attention of the Queen and her ministers, was the selection of a suitable person to fill the See of Canterbury, which had become vacant on the death of Cardinal Pole, who only survived Queen Mary, the space of four hours. Both Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon recommended Doctor Matthew Parker to the appointment; and the Queen who was prepossessed in his favour, determined to raise him to that high dignity. He was a person of distinguished learning and piety. He had commenced his studies at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and afterwards became Tutor and Master of that College. In the reign of Henry VIII, he became chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn; and in the reign of Edward VI, he was appointed Dean of Lincoln; but in the persecution of Mary, he was deprived of all his preferments, and retired into great seclusion; where he devoted his time to the noblest purposes, living amongst his books, in meditation and prayer. When he first received the news of his appointment, like his predecessor Cranmer, and with the same primitive spirit, he resolutely opposed it; and, it was some months before he could be prevailed upon to accept the dignity with which the Queen delighted to honour him.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. The Queen's "Conge d'elire" was issued to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, July twenty-eighth, 1559, and on the first day of August they certified to the Queen, the election of Matthew Parker as their Archbishop, in order that it might be confirmed by her Letters Patent. Shortly after, a commission was issued for his consecration; and after that, a second, directed to Anthony, Bishop of Landaff, William Barlow, formerly Bishop of Bath, and Bishop elect of Chichester, John Scory, formerly Bishop of Chichester, and Bishop elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale formerly Bishop of Exeter, John de Bedford and John de Thetford, suffragan Bishops, and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in order that all, or at least four of them, should proceed to the consecration of Parker.

The Election of Doctor Parker was confirmed on the eighth of December, by four of the Episcopal Commissioners; and on the seventeenth of December, they proceeded to his Consecration. The Act of Confirmation is to be met with, in Archbishop Bramhall's works—large fragments of it are quoted by the Author of the life of Archbishop Parker. The following passage is from Camden, a contemporary author, and one of the most exact and judicious writers which England has produced—"Matthew Parker, a man pious, learned, and of discreet behaviour, who from being Chaplain, in ordinary, to Henry VIII, had been appointed Dean of the Collegiate Church of Stoke

SECTION III. CHAP. V. Clare, was duly elected Archbishop of Canterbury and consecrated at Lambeth, after the preaching of a sermon, the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the celebration of the Eucharist, by the imposition of the hands of three who had been formerly Bishops—of William Barlow formerly Bishop of Bath, John Scory formerly Bishop of Chichester, Miles Coverdale formerly Bishop of Exeter, and John, Suffragan of Bedford.\*”

Successional  
ministry of the  
Church pre-  
served.

I have been more particular in the account of this transaction, because the Romanists have endeavoured to throw discredit upon the Anglican Ordination, as if by some informality, the succession of the Christian Ministry had been interrupted. But happily, for the peace and unity of the English Church, the public Records have been strictly preserved, and their testimony became too powerful to be successfully contradicted. The fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration, has been placed beyond all suspicion of doubt; and the Apostolic Ministerial succession of the Church of England, can no longer afford the shadow of a dispute. The commission which Christ gave to his Apostles, for perpetuating the Christian Ministry, has descended to us, and in its authority,

\* Camden, Eliz. p. 38. The original of this Consecration is yet preserved in the Registers of Canterbury, and in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, and may be seen in the Appendix to Courayer's Vindication; and the whole account perfectly agrees with the public Records which are in Rymer's Collection; but the Romanists allege without any foundation, that there is a *doubt* of Barlow's Consecration.

the several orders of the English branch of the Catholic Church, exercise their spiritual functions with one additional circumstance of immense importance and value. And it is an important consideration, which gives to the commission of the Church of England an authority, incomparably superior to that of the Church of Rome, that the former holds its commission with the true declaration of Christ's Doctrine, whereas the latter has adulterated the very purport of the commission, with the Inventions of Man; and indeed, to such a fearful extent, that it may be justly regarded as having abrogated the *authority* of its commission.—“Whosoever” says the Divine Oracle, “*transgresseth* and *abideth* not in the doctrine of Christ; HATH NOT GOD. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son.”\*

After the establishment of Archbishop Parker in the See of Canterbury, the other vacant Bish-  
opricks were filled up with the most learned Divines in the kingdom.—Their learning and piety shed a lustre on the reign which they adorned.—And no wonder: for it was a custom with Elizabeth, when an individual was recommended to her, to ask, “If there were not others to be found of greater learning and *piety*, to whom she might recommend the care of the Church.”

An opportunity now occurred, which enabled the English Government to exhibit before the eyes

\* 2. Epist. John, i. 9

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

Bishops wisely appointed.

SECTION III. of Europe, the vigour and capacity which animated its Councils.

CHAP. V.

English nation insulted by the King of France.

It will be remembered, that Mary the young Queen of Scotland, very much against the wish of England, had been married to the Dauphin of France. He had now become King, under the name of Francis II. and, in right of his Queen, who was nearly allied to the English throne, assumed the arms and title of King of England. This was intended, not only as an insult to Elizabeth, but as a pretext for invading the kingdom, and was eagerly hailed as a favourable opening, by the Romish party. The Queen and her Ministers saw the formidable evils to which they might be exposed from this quarter, and resolved to seize the first opportunity to ward off the threatened danger.

In Scotland, the Mother of Mary was Regent during the minority of her daughter. She was violently opposed to the Reformation, which in that Country was carried on with great heat and imprudence. The people broke out into open insurrection; but she was so effectually supported in her arbitrary measures by the French, that they were driven to despair. In this extremity, they applied to Elizabeth. A treaty was concluded with the States of Scotland, the English flag was soon floating in the Frith of Forth, and a fine army penetrated Scotland by land. The French, though strongly fortified in Leith, were obliged to capitulate, and immediately to agree to

the terms of Peace dictated by Elizabeth—that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland, that the King and Queen of France and Scotland, should no longer bear the arms of England—that none but natives should enjoy office in Scotland—that during the Queen's absence, the Kingdom should be governed by twelve persons, seven of whom, should be chosen by the Queen of Scots, and five by the States; and that she should neither make Peace nor War without the consent of the States; and to complete the triumph, ships were dispatched from England, to convey the French troops into their own country.

By the vigorous and successful termination of this enterprize, and by her moderation towards the Scots themselves, at a season of great extremity, she gained so much their regard and confidence, that she converted the power, which her enemies had hoped to wield against her, into her strongest support and security; and obtained in that kingdom a permanent and powerful influence.

Indeed, from this moment we may perceive the unfolding of the Divine purposes, with respect to the British Empire. James I. the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who was to succeed to the throne of England, on the death of Elizabeth, was not yet born, but the way for that great event in our history, was preparing. In the circumstances which we have just narrated, its foundation was laid, and in the wise and prudent policy which

SECTION III.

CHAP. V.

Treaty of Edinburgh. A. D. 1560.

The results, her Policy was to accomplish.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. Elizabeth subsequently pursued in the affairs of that kingdom, the minds of the people were gradually prepared to follow the destinies of England, and eventually, to unite themselves with the English Nation. It is this grand object, which divine Providence was intending to accomplish, that can alone unravel many of the mysterious transactions of this reign.

The Pope virtually confirms the Reformation.

Whilst the noblest Princes of Europe were soliciting the hand of Elizabeth in marriage, the Pope, Pius II. with that artifice, which can suit itself to all occasions, wrote to her in the most affectionate terms, exhorting her to return to the unity of the Church. It is said that he promised to recal the sentence, which had been pronounced against her mother's marriage—confirm the Book of Common Prayer in English, and permit the people to use the Sacrament in both kinds. But the Queen resisted his insinuations, whilst the Pope justified this change of policy in the Popedom, by affirming that *he would humble himself even to heresy itself, inasmuch as whatever was done to gain souls to Christ, was becoming that See.* The Pope though rejected in his first addresses still persevered; and when, in the following year, he sent the Abbot Nortiniago as far as Flanders, the Queen sent him a positive message, not to land upon her shores. And though the Emperor and the King of Spain earnestly entreated that he might be heard, she replied to them with some

courtesy, *that she could not treat with the Bishop of Rome, whose authority in England was totally abolished by Act of Parliament*: but to the Pope's Nuncio she gave an absolute denial, which at once concluded the negotiation.

In the mean time, the King of France, Francis II died, and his widow the Queen of Scotland, made preparations for returning to her own country. She applied to Elizabeth for a safe passage, which Elizabeth promised on condition, that she would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. This was reasonable; but the high spirit of Mary, yet untutored by the sad lessons of experience, which she had afterwards to learn, refused the condition, and embarked for Scotland, where she safely arrived.

Soon after her arrival, she sent her Secretary, Lydington, a man of great ability and discretion, with a message to Elizabeth, in which she departed from the prudence she had hitherto exercised in her native government; and which, under the circumstances, was not only impertinent but preposterous. Instead of ratifying the articles of the Treaty of Edinburgh, *she offered to enter into a solemn league with Elizabeth, provided she should be declared by proclamation, or Act of Parliament, heir apparent to the Crown of England.* Of course such proposals could not be entertained for a moment—Elizabeth and her advisers saw that such an acknowledgment would have divided the Na-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

Mary Queen of Scots returns home. A. D. 1561.

Her imprudence.

SECTION III. tion into two great parties, and essentially weakened the Government, by destroying its unity.

CHAP. IV.  
Extensive  
warlike preparations.

Whilst, however, they rejected the alliance of the Queen of Scots, on such grounds; with a cautious and prophetic policy, during the time of peace they made the most extensive preparations for war. Arms were purchased in Germany to a great amount: iron and brass cannon were cast; gunpowder prepared, which was now first made in England. The garrison of Berwick was strengthened. The castles within twenty miles of Scotland were rebuilt. Another was erected on the Medway, for the use of the shipping: the naval force was increased to a great extent, and furnished with twenty thousand able seamen. Commerce and trade were encouraged and extended; and Elizabeth acquired the title of "*Restorer of the naval glory of England, and Queen of the North Sea!*"

Their ultimate destination.  
A. D. 1562.

These preparations were made on the prospect of war with France, which was at that time in a fearful state of confusion and anarchy, on account of the Reformation, which was opposed with fatal violence by Charles IX, and his mother the Queen Regent. The parties were strong and powerful; the contest long and dubious; till at length, the Popish party fatally triumphed in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, which I shall advert to in its proper place. At present, Queen Elizabeth, shewed her favour and concern for the

Protestants in Normandy; and sent them supplies both of men and money. But her great preparations, though not immediately necessary, were designed by Divine Providence, to be her protection and defence on a future day of peril, of which she was then altogether unconscious!

The Pope had now returned to other counsels and entered into a league with the Kings of Spain and France; and a plan was formed for deposing Elizabeth, a design in which many noble persons in England were implicated. The parties were immediately arrested; and Arthur Pole and his brother, Great-grand Nephews of Edward IV, Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, were arraigned for a conspiracy to withdraw themselves into France; and from thence, to return with an army into Wales, and to proclaim the Queen of Scots, Sovereign of England. They confessed their guilt and were condemned; but their lives were spared because they were of the blood royal of England.

In the midst of these plots, a Parliament was called, and it was thought necessary to pass some strong measures, for supporting the Queen's supremacy against the machinations and assumed authority of the Roman Pontiff. An act was passed for publishing the Bible in Welsh; and the Convocation which sat at the same time, put a finishing hand to the Reformation, which had been in progress for thirty years, by a revision and

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

The Pope's designs frustrated.

Parliament.

Bible in Welsh.  
A. D. 1563.

SECTION publication of the thirty ninth articles, in English and Latin, as in force at this day.

## III.

## CHAP. V.

The Earl of Leicester proposed as a husband.

Whilst these peaceful and important matters were transacting in England, the French Papists under the Duke of Guise, ever plotting against the peace of England, projected a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Charles of Austria; a match which it was the interest and policy of Elizabeth, if possible, to prevent, inasmuch as such an alliance would have brought the kingdom of Scotland under a foreign influence. The Queen therefore earnestly entreated her to take a husband out of England, and recommended to her, Lord Robert Dudley, whom she had raised to great honors. The sincerity of Elizabeth cannot be doubted. In expectation that her recommendation would be accepted, she created her favorite, Earl of Leicester, and promised Mary that if she would be obedient in this matter, she should, by Act of Parliament, be declared her sister, daughter and successor to the English crown.

Commissioners were afterwards appointed by England and Scotland, to settle the preliminaries of this marriage; but it was frustrated by the secret influence of the parties. Leicester, himself, was averse to it, because his vain, ambitious mind aspired to the hand of Elizabeth herself.—The Queen of Scots was averse to it, because she contemplated a better match with the House of Lennox, nearly related to the crown of England,

by which she intended to strengthen her own title to that crown.

## SECTION III.

## CHAP. V.

Lord Darnley preferred.  
A. D. 1565.

In the mean time, the Queen of Scotland had sent for the Duke of Lennox, under pretence of restoring him to his forfeited inheritance in that country; and shortly after, she persuaded Elizabeth to allow his son, the Earl Darnley to follow his father, for the purpose of sharing with him in the joy of his restoration. But when she saw Darnley, possessing every grace and accomplishment of external form, and the next in the hereditary line of succession to herself, she deliberated no longer, but determined to make him King of Scotland.

They were married with great pomp and magnificence, and in all probability, although the endowments of Lord Darnley's mind were not equal to those of his person, they would have been happy, had it not been for the cruel genius of her illegitimate brother, which presided over the destinies of the unfortunate Queen. As far as I can disentangle this most intricate portion of history, which prejudiced and contending historians have perplexed beyond measure, this person was the foundation of all her personal evils. His vigilance was unwearied. He watched her every moment, and never rested in his opposition to her, till he had forced her into exile, and pursued her to the scaffold. Whether this man was in his conduct actuated by ambitious or patriotic views, is a difficult question for us positively to decide.

Earl of Murray the ruin of Mary.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Evils of  
Scotland.

Probably there was a mixture of both. But we must not enlarge, nor allow too much space to Scottish History, in this review of our own.

The Leader of the Protestant party, highly resented the marriage of the Queen with a Papist, the evils of which were greatly magnified by the violent harangues of John Knox and his adherents. The discontented party took up arms with the Earl of Murray at their head, but were routed by the Queen's army, and obliged to take flight into England.

The condition of Scotland was, at this time, so disordered, and the spirit of the contending parties so desperate, that their leaders considered themselves justified in adopting any measures, which should strengthen their interests. Acting on this infamous principle, the Earl of Murray, whilst in exile, did not scruple to sow the seeds of discord between the Queen and her husband, especially through the Earl of Morton who was officially attached to the person of the latter. Morton soon found a fit occasion for the accomplishment of his scheme, in the advancement of David Rizzio, whom Mary had taken into her confidence, and consulted on all occasions.

This man was an Italian, who first came to the Court of Scotland, in the train of some foreign Nobleman, and, on the departure of his master, remained behind as Mary's musician; but who, shortly after, by his address and ability, raised

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

himself to a supremacy in her favour. The banished Lords by every method in their power, inflamed the jealousy of the King, and Rizzio was cruelly murdered by several of the nobles, headed by the King himself. Murray and the other Protestant leaders were recalled; but Mary determined upon a deep and fatal revenge. She prevailed upon the King by her blandishments, to withdraw his personal authority, and to give up the other assassins to her vengeance! She then cast him from her, with disdain, and followed him with daily proofs of her displeasure and even hatred.—Nor was she long without supplying herself with another favorite, in the person of the Earl of Bothwell, to whose counsels she entirely resigned herself; and through his influence, even the assassins of Rizzio were recalled.

The unhappy King alone, was left as a fated victim to his own absurd and impetuous jealousy, to which he had been excited by the artful insinuations of others, who secretly laughed at the credulity which they had inspired; but this afforded no excuse for his crime, and upon his head the blood of Rizzio was to be expiated. But the Queen, who was to be the instrument of his punishment, and, of whose breast the demon of revenge had taken full possession, was preparing for herself a long train of retributory judgments.

Whilst the Earl of Bothwell advanced every day, in favour and dignity, the King was treated

Murder of  
Darnley.  
A. D. 1567.

SECTION III. CHAP. V. with contumely and neglect. He was so much wounded by the Queen's conduct, that he determined to retire from the kingdom, and, had actually made preparations for his embarkation, when he was suddenly seized, with an alarming sickness which was imputed to poison. A remarkable change was observable in the Queen's conduct. She visited the King at Glasgow, soothed him in his sickness, and caused him to return with her to Edinburgh; where he was lodged in a house, a short distance from the Palace, as a place of greater tranquillity. But the diabolical plot for his destruction was hastening to its accomplishment.—The Queen visited him, and shewed him every mark of attention and kindness; and generally reposed at night, in a room under his apartment: but one evening, she excused herself on account of the marriage of one of her attendants, at the solemnization of which, she wished to be present. And on that fatal night, it was determined he should perish. He was murdered in some inhuman manner; and to disguise if possible the deed, the house in which he slept was blown up with gunpowder.

Divine Justice pursues them.

Volumes have been written to clear this guilty woman, from the crime of being the murderer of her husband. Her station and dignity preserved her, and her accomplices, from the awards of outraged law and justice: but the offended Majesty of Heaven, pursued the culprits,—hurled one from

her throne, to undergo every indignity, to spend her days in a prison, and end her life on the scaffold; whilst the other was ejected from his country as a fugitive and a vagabond, to drag out a forlorn and miserable existence in a foreign land; and at length, deprived of his senses, to end his days in a dungeon!

For the moment, however, their guilty purposes succeeded. Bothwell, who was effectually shielded from punishment by the supreme authority, was, soon after, divorced from his wife, and with the most indecent precipitation, married to the Queen. The country was filled with dumb astonishment at the enormity of these proceedings, and the whole nation was involved in disgrace and infamy.

But a signal and sudden vengeance from an unseen and unerring hand, was even now preparing. The indignant spirit of the nation, slumbered in sullen silence, ready in a moment, to be roused into fearful action. *That* moment was precipitated by an overt act of the parties themselves. This was an attempt by the Earl of Bothwell to gain possession of the young Prince—an attempt which no doubt, was sanctioned by the Queen. But for whatever purpose, this movement on the part of Bothwell and the Queen, was made, the whole nation were alarmed, and took up arms against the Sovereign. The contention was brief: Mary was taken prisoner. and obliged to resign her

Bothwell marries the Queen of Scotland.

Queen de-throned.  
A. D. 1563.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
throne in favour of her son. Having effected her escape, she fled into England. On her arrival in that country, Elizabeth was inclined to receive her with sympathy and kindness; but her wary Counsellors, retarded the benevolent feelings of the Queen, and insisted that the mode of her reception required the most mature deliberation.— They advised that the Queen of Scots should be retained, till she gave satisfaction to the English Government, for having assumed the Arms of England, and for *the murder of the late King of Scotland*, who was *an English subject*.

Detained in  
Prison.

Commissioners were appointed to decide upon the conditions of her liberty, and her restoration to the throne of Scotland. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of their transactions. Suffice it to say, that every arrangement was frustrated, entirely by the Earl of Murray, who was at the head of the Scotch Protestant party, and Mary was detained a prisoner.

Whoever considers these circumstances with attention, and their important bearing on the future prosperity, tranquillity, and unity of the two kingdoms, must perceive, how these events, unknown to the parties themselves, were tending to secure these great purposes. What would have been the effect in Scotland, had Mary married the Earl of Leicester? Certainly, Elizabeth would have protected the marriage which she had solicited, and Mary must have been fixed on the throne of Scot-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
land. What would have been the effect on England, whose future Monarch was to be received from Scotland, and whose education must have been under the direction of his mother? In all probability, the grand object of this reign, the establishment of Protestantism, would have been frustrated. It does appear that Queen Mary was made a victim for the welfare of the two kingdoms, and her own enormous wickedness prepared the way for that sacrifice; so that, whilst she was "justly punished for her offences," her personal restraint was for the national advantage.

In the mean time, the fame of the Queen of England, reached the utmost boundaries of the earth, and many foreigners of distinction were invited by it, to visit her Court. Amongst these, Cicely, sister to the King of Denmark, was attracted to see the splendour of her court, and to observe the wisdom of her Government. Whilst she tarried in England, she gave birth to a son, to whom the indulgent Queen stood Godmother; and gave him the name of Edward Fortunatus, and allowed him an annual pension.

Great fame  
of Elizabeth.

An embassy also arrived from Muscovy, bringing with them, presents of the richest sables; and what was of more consequence to the national prosperity, they made the most advantageous offers of trade and commerce, which gave rise to the *Russian Company*: and it should not be omitted, in a patriotic history like this, that with these Am-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. bassadors, returned Anthony Jenkinson, the first Englishman who sailed through the Caspian. He afterwards published his Travels, which tended to enlarge the boundaries of geographical knowledge.

Rise of a  
dreadful Persecution.

Notwithstanding the prosperity of the Country, and the apparent solidity of the government, nothing could damp the fiery zeal of the Romanists for the recovery of their lost power. Emissaries from Rome, were sent to corrupt the Queen's subjects from their allegiance; and at the same time, a great and powerful confederacy of the Roman Catholic Princes was entered into, for the utter extirpation of heresy. At the head of this confederacy was Philip, King of Spain, who had been singularly led to devote himself to the furtherance of this *meritorious* work. On his return from the Netherlands to Spain, the fleet in which he was conveyed, fell in with a dreadful tempest: fortunately, the ship in which he sailed, weathered the storm; but with such difficulty, and as it were, against all hope, that his safety was considered little short of a miracle. On reaching the shore, overcome with the sense of a presiding Deity, and affording another striking instance of the intolerable spirit of the religion which he professed, he fell upon his knees, and uttered a solemn vow, that the remainder of a life which had been so Providentially saved, *should be devoted to the extirpation of heresy!* To this vow, which

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. in the mind of Philip was the most meritorious he could make, and most becoming, in his estimation, to the perfection of the Christian character, must be traced the origin of the Spanish Armada! It would be unreasonable to impute it as a crime to Philip, that he made not a better vow. Evidently it was the best he knew how to make. It was the fault of that system, under the influence of which he had been brought up, and by the authority of which, he was blindly led. His vow was as religiously kept, as it had been sincerely made. His efforts were unremitting—his cruelties were intolerable—and it was in consequence of this inhuman vow, that he placed himself as we have just said, at the head of the confederacy, to carry his vow of extirpation, throughout the world. In furtherance of this object he entered into a secret compact with Catharine of Medicis, for the total destruction of the Protestants by fire and sword. In this bloody scheme, more destructive to the happiness and well-being of mankind, than had ever been enterprised in any age or nation, were associated two of the fiercest and most intolerant of men, the Duke of Alva, Philip's vicegerent in the Netherlands, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, uncle to the Queen of Scots.

The legitimate effects of this alliance soon followed. A persecution of the most fearful kind raged in France, under the Duke of Guise, in which, King Charles IX and his mother the Elizabeth assists the Protestants.  
A. D. 1569.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Queen Regent, were obliged to join by the overwhelming power of the Romish faction. In the Netherlands, under the Duke of Alva, the most bloody cruelties were perpetrated. Many escaped to England, and were received with great kindness by Elizabeth! and the country which gave them shelter was rewarded; for to them, we are indebted for the introduction of the manufacture of serges; and the extension of our trade. The Queen also, as far as she was able, protected the Protestants of France from the powerful influence directed against them.

Rise of religious sects.

Whilst the excellent Queen and her wise Ministers, were thus engaged in succouring the distressed, in upholding the principles of Protestantism, and defending its professors in all parts of the world,—fanatical zeal began to harass the Church, and to disturb the quiet of the Ecclesiastical order in England. It is the more necessary to notice the origin of this spirit, because it afterwards increased to such an enormous evil; dethroned the Monarch, and deluged the nation with blood and slaughter. These “unruly and vain talkers,” deeply impressed with an idea of the superior excellence of the Geneva method of Church government, broke out into violent invectives against the order and discipline of the Church of England. Many of them, indeed, simple and well-meaning men, were made the instruments of the more designing; and it is well known, that their

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Calvin, Knox, &c.  
opposition was excited by the emissaries of Rome. It will be necessary to observe, that the novelties which were introduced at this period, respecting the Ecclesiastical order and discipline, were imported from Geneva, by the English fugitives who had taken refuge there, during the persecution of Mary. Calvin was the reformer of the Geneva Church—a man of great genius and learning; but of a vehement disposition. He revolted entirely from the ancient regimen of the Church, and established an ecclesiastical discipline of his own, and a consistorial jurisdiction, with the power of inflicting canonical punishment. From hence the Puritans of Queen Elizabeth’s day, drew their opposition to the Church of England. It was in that scheme that John Knox, the reformer of Scotland was educated. Many of their propositions were valuable, and might have been acted upon, with great advantage to the nascent interests of Protestantism.—But the Queen was peremptory, and the Puritans, rigid. The first presbyterian Church in England was founded at Wandsworth, in the year 1572. But I must not dwell upon these details further than to observe, that together with this departure from the Apostolic order, many fanatical opinions made their appearance. Indeed, such was the delusion inspired into vain and unstable minds, that it was considered lawful by them, to put to death any who opposed the truth of the Gospel. Of course *they* were to be the

SECTION judges of the Truth, and of the extent of the opposition which ought to be fatal. Such is the danger of vaunting and innovation in religion.—  
III.  
CHAP. V.  
 Nor was this a mere idle dream. It became a dogma to be acted upon; and one Peter Bouchet was tried at common law, and executed, for carrying this principle into practice.

Fanatics.

To this period must be traced the enthusiastic sect of the "family of Lere," entertaining the most wild and whimsical opinions; unsound in doctrine and corrupt in morals. This sect was of Dutch origin. Whilst the Anabaptists, whose tenets were of German origin, created great mischief and disorder. There were two sects of these people, greatly differing in their opinions. One generally orthodox, but dissentient on the subject and mode of Baptism, whilst the other, was a set of wild, disordered fanatics, "proud, fierce, incontinent, abominable, and to every good work reprobate." And to these must be added, as disturbers of the Church, at this time, the Brownists, or followers of a refractory Clergyman. Their principles narrow and bigotted, were utterly at variance with every thing that had ever been conjectured in Church government. They asserted, that every Church ought to be confined within the limits of a single congregation! and that the government should be democratical. But their arrogance was unbounded; for they unchurched the whole christian world, and refused communion in hearing the word, in

public prayer and administration of the Sacrament, not only with the Church of England, but all other Foreign Reformed Churches.\* It will only be necessary to observe, in briefly referring the subject to our own days, that with the Puritans, symbolize the Presbyterians; the Baptists of the present day, with the former class of the Anabaptists; and the Independents, with the Brownists.

Whilst these disorders were prevailing in England, which however, were curbed with a very firm and powerful hand, by the Queen and her Ministers—the storm of persecution from abroad, was extending its influence to our shores. Eleven years had passed over the head of Elizabeth, since she had assumed the government, and with the assistance of her Council, she had conducted the nation amidst the greatest difficulties, in a steady course of improvement and prosperity. But every attempt which had been secretly made by the agents of the Church of Rome, were now more openly urged to perplex the government; and by more vigorous measures, prevent if possible, the permanent establishment of Protestant principles. By the efforts, chiefly of one individual, Nicholas Morton, a Romish priest, who had been dispatched by the Pope to denounce Queen Elizabeth as a heretic, great numbers were drawn from their allegiance, and formed into a powerful confederacy;

III.  
CHAP. V.  
Storm of Persecution reaches England. A. D. 1570.

\* Neal's Hist. Purit. p. 208, vol. 1.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. at the head of which, were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. The confederates having united their forces, with a body of ten thousand men, marched to the rescue of the Queen of Scotland. They were pursued by the Queen's army, under the Duke of Sussex. But the armies never met, and the rebellion was dispersed without a blow. Scarcely had this insurrection been quelled, when Murray the Regent of Scotland was assassinated; and the Romish Lords in that country, were induced to unite in the Foreign Popish alliance to which we have alluded. Immediately, Philip the King of Spain, the Duke of Alva, and the King of France, made the most earnest demands to the English government, for the release of the Queen of Scots. But in vain. Elizabeth sent them a most cautious answer. That however anxious she might be, to reconcile the Queen of Scotland and her subjects, yet in nature, reason, and honor, she was bound, first, to provide for the safety of her own kingdom.

Plenary bull. This was answered by loud fulminations from the Papal Throne. All his power was concentrated and directed against the Queen of England, in a plenary bull, which was affixed by some bold adherent of the Papacy, to the gates of the Palace of the Bishop of London. This extraordinary document was inscribed with the following title. "A declaratory sentence of our holy Lord, Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England,

and the heretics, her adherents. In which also SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. her subjects are declared absolved from their oath of allegiance, and any other duty they owe her; and whoever shall henceforward obey her are included in the same anathema. In the body of the writing all the arrogance of that usurping power is manifest. The Pope declares himself to have "a power over all nations and kingdoms to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build"—pronounces Elizabeth an heretic—deprives her of all her titles and dignities, and declares her accursed and excommunicated with all her adherents!

The blind and infatuated Romanists responded to this authoritative declaration of their head; and their zeal was, every where, roused to second his authority. Insurrections followed, and conspiracies of every form were entered into, against the Queen and her Government. But, happily, in vain. Every attempt was frustrated, and the genius of the Queen and her Ministers triumphed over all opposition. Rebellions in consequence.

After the tranquillity of the country was again restored, in order that a principal cause of these Plot in favor of Queen of Scots. disquietudes might be removed, Commissioners were dispatched to Queen Mary, who were empowered to make her the most reasonable offers. But, however reasonable, Mary had not sufficient confidence in herself to ratify them, but referred them to the Bishop of Ross; who, had before, been

SECTION III. herambassador, and who, after the death of Murray, was doomed to blast all the hopes of his unfortunate mistress. By his imprudence, in conjunction with the other Scotch Commissioners, the just and simple demands of the English Government were rejected; and to complete either his infatuation or his perfidy, together with Ridolpho, a Florentine and emissary of the Pope, he inveigled the Duke of Norfolk into a deep-laid plot, to attempt the life of Elizabeth. The bare mention of the atrocious deed filled the noble minded Duke with horror: but drawn on by a secret attachment to Mary, he was ensnared by their devices, and involved by them in inextricable ruin. The Bishop of Ross who was really guilty, escaped the punishment he deserved, on the punctilio that he was an Ambassador: but the unfortunate Duke was left as a victim to justice; and paid the forfeit of his life, in the place, and on the same scaffold, where his father, one of the persecutors and murderers of Queen Anne Boleyn, met his fate twenty-five years before!

Massacre of  
St. Bartholo-  
mew.

A. D. 1572.

But the anti-Protestant alliance was still at work, and the infernal plot of Saint Bartholomew's day, in France, was now advancing to its perpetration; and, as a preparatory step, in order, if possible, to shew that it was founded on the most inhuman treachery, a splendid embassy was sent to England, to make proposals of peace. Peace was made; and the Queen Regent of France pro-

posed and urged a marriage between her son, the Duke of Alençon and Queen Elizabeth. But, whilst these things were projecting, the direful scheme for the extirpation of Protestantism, was advancing in France. Preparations on a magnificent scale were made for the celebration of a marriage between the King of Navarre and the Lady Margaret, sister to the King of France.—To this solemnity, the heads of all the Protestants were invited. The most profound dissimulation prevailed. Promises were made of the most alluring description. It was affirmed that there should be a cordial renewal of love and friendship; and that a firm and lasting peace should be established amongst all parties! As a mark of esteem and honor, the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burleigh, were invited from England, and the sons of the Elector Palatine from Germany. Such was the detestable perfidy which preceded the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day! To commence the revolting enterprises, the Queen Dowager of Navarre who was a zealous Protestant, was poisoned by a pair of gloves, before the celebration of the nuptials. But on the twenty-fourth day of August, 1572, at day-break, the bloody tragedy began.—The Admiral Coligni, the noble leader of the Protestants, was murdered in his own house, and his body thrown out of the window: his head was struck off and sent to the King and Queen-mother, whilst the mangled body was exposed on a gibbet

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

SECTION III. CHAP. V. with the feet upwards. For three days the murderers ravaged the whole city; and more than *ten thousand* Lords, Gentlemen, Presidents, and People of all ranks, perished by their hands. "An horrible scene of things," says Thuanus, "when the very streets and passages resounded with the noise of those that met together for murder and plunder: the groans of those who were dying, and the shrieks of such as were just going to be butchered, were everywhere heard; the bodies of the slain thrown out of the windows; the courts and chambers of the houses filled with them; the dead bodies of others dragged through the streets, their blood running down the channels in such plenty, that torrents seemed to empty themselves in the neighbouring river; and in a word, an innumerable multitude of men, women with child, maidens and children, were all involved in one common destruction; and the gates and entrances of the King's palace all besmeared with their blood."

From the city of Paris the massacre spread almost throughout the whole kingdom. It would be endless to mention the butcheries committed at Valence, Romayn, Rouen, &c. We shall therefore only add, that, according to Thuanus, *above thirty thousand* Protestants were destroyed in this massacre; or, as others with greater probability affirm, *above one hundred thousand*. But how was the news of this butchery received at Rome, that "faithful city, that holy mother of Churches!"—

SECTION III. CHAP. V. How did the "Vicar of Christ, the successor of Saint Peter, and the father of the Christian world relish it?" Let Thuanus tell the horrid truth.—"When the news," says he, "came to Rome, it was wonderful to see how they exulted for joy.—On the sixth of September, when the letters of the Pope's legate were read in the assembly of the Cardinals, at the Church of Saint Mark, in the most solemn manner they gave thanks to God, for so great a blessing conferred on the see of Rome and the Christian world; and decreed that on the Monday after, solemn mass should be celebrated in the church of Minerva, at which, Pope Gregory XIII, and Cardinals were present; and, that a jubilee should be published throughout the whole Christian world; and the cause of it declared to be, to return thanks to God for the extirpation of the enemies of the truth and church, in France. In the evening the cannon of Saint Angelo were fired to testify the public joy; the whole city illuminated with bonfires, and no one sign of rejoicing omitted, that was usually made for the greatest victories obtained in favour of the Roman church."

This inhuman massacre, unprecedented in the annals of cruelty and blood, is, of itself, sufficient to condemn the system of Popery, for ever, in the estimation of every son of humanity. It spread a general horror through all Europe; and filled the minds of the people of England with such indignation, that it was with great difficulty, the

Creates general disgust.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. Queen prevented the nobility from fitting out a great armament, at their own expense, against France. Fenelon, was at that time, the French ambassador to this country, and he was so shocked at the transaction, that he declared that for the first time, in his life, he was ashamed of being a Frenchman. But it had one good effect as it respected England. It shewed the Queen, the character of her enemies and the danger to which she was exposed, from the powerful alliance which had been formed against the Protestant Religion; and preparations were made against any exigency that might arise. Portsmouth was strongly fortified. The navy was strengthened. Musters of the train bands were made, in every county; and the youth were, everywhere, exercised in arms. Precautions which were, afterwards, of great importance.

The Duke of  
Alva and Don  
John.

The Netherlands still continued in great confusion. The ferocious Duke of Alva, who boasted that in the space of two years, he had dispatched by the hand of the common executioner, *thirty-six thousand souls*, was succeeded by Don John, a man of great vigour of mind and perseverance.—His boundless designs could not be confined within the narrow limits confided to his trust; his ambitious mind aspired to greater things, and he formed a design of rescuing the Queen of Scots; and, having formed a matrimonial alliance with her, to lay claim in her right, to the Crown of England. With a depth of dissimulation, worthy of

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. the school in which he was educated, he professed the greatest good-will towards Elizabeth, whilst at the very time, he had obtained the sanction of the Pope to carry into execution the project which he had designed. The English Government were fully acquainted with his real designs: and this discovery laid the foundation for the alliance of Elizabeth with the revolted Princes of the Netherlands, which ultimately secured the liberty and independence of that illustrious Republic; whilst Don John himself was carried off, by poison, through the treachery of his inhuman kinsman, Philip, who feared him for his ambition!

But during these transactions, an irreparable loss was awaiting the English councils, in the death of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon; a man of singular wisdom, learning and eloquence. He possessed a comprehensive knowledge of English law and equity; and by the prudence and solidity of his judgment, was a principal instrument in settling the foundations of the ecclesiastical and civil government of the country. His modesty and humility were as remarkable as his endowments. On one occasion, when Queen Elizabeth remarked to him that his house at Redgrave was too small for a person of his rank and station.—“Not so Madam,” he replied, “but your Majesty has made me too great for my house.” This able Statesman and faithful Counsellor, served his country as Lord Chancellor, for more than twenty

Death of the  
Lord Keeper.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Boundaries  
of Commerce  
and Naviga-  
tion extended.  
A. D. 1580.

years, through a period of great difficulty and danger, and deserves to be had in honor in the grateful recollections of his Countrymen.

But previous to the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the boundaries of commerce had been extended by a treaty with the Emperor of Turkey; and a Company was established to trade in all parts of his dominions. A voyage of discovery had been fitted out, under Martin Frobisher, who was the first Englishman that ever attempted the North-West passage: and this year, Sir Francis Drake, returned home from a successful circumnavigation of the Globe. His ship in which this great enterprize was achieved, was drawn up into a creek near Deptford, as a monument of his skill and bravery.\* The Queen honored him with her presence at dinner, and conferred on him the Order of Knighthood.

Duke of An-  
jou and Queen  
Elizabeth.

If there ever was a person with whom Queen Elizabeth entertained serious thoughts of marriage, it was the Duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France. His addresses were most devoted and persevering; and, undoubtedly, had he been a Protestant, he would have succeeded in obtaining her hand; but such was the dread of the nation to a Popish alliance, and such the fear of her Council, on weighing the consequences of such a

\* I am told that the furniture of the drawing room in the family mansion at Buckland Abbey, the seat of Sir Frayton Fuller Drake, is entirely made of the wood of this celebrated Ship.—June 30, 1839.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Strange per-  
version of Re-  
ligion.

union, that it was abandoned. Indeed, to assuage the fears of the people, and to convince them that there was no intention of restoring Popery, it was found necessary to make a public example; and two Priests who had been confined for treasonable practices, were brought to trial and executed. The spirit of their enterprize was remarkable:—After their condemnation, one of them, named Campeio, being asked, “Whether Queen Elizabeth was a lawful Queen,” refused to answer: but when he was asked, “Whether he would join with the Queen or the Pope, if he should levy forces against her,” he openly avowed and testified, under his hand, that he would join with the Pope. Magnanimity worthy of a better cause! but which displays the power of that Imposture, which under the assumption of a divine warrant, deludes the unhappy race of men with its sorceries; and urges them to sacrifice body and soul in support of its abominations!

About this time, died Buchanan, the celebrated tutor of James VI, son of Mary Queen of Scots, who was now eighteen years of age. It was to the instructions of this accomplished scholar, that James was indebted for those enlightened principles, which enabled him, on his accession to the throne of England, to steer so wisely in the midst of the conflicting opinions of that period. On the death of his tutor, Elizabeth who watched over the youthful Monarch, with the care and

Buchanan  
dies.  
A. D. 1582.

SECTION III. foresight of a parent, dispatched her Secretary Walsingham to obtain an audience with the King, for the purpose of giving him advice and counsel in the management of his kingdom. The particulars of this conference are well worthy the attention of the lover of history. I mention the subject as a link in the series of events connected with our History; and to shew, how Elizabeth and her Council watched over the future Sovereign of England.

Death of the  
Archbishop.  
A. D. 1583.

The Church of England, also, suffered a great loss in the death of Grindal, who had succeeded Parker in the See of Canterbury. He was a man of great gravity, piety, and moderation; and in the midst of the violent dissensions which prevailed in the Church, respecting the Romish vestments and other matters which were retained, he pursued a conciliatory course, for which he was much censured by Queen Elizabeth, who peremptorily refused to give way to the innovating spirit of the Puritans. He was succeeded by Whitgift, well suited by his piety and learning, to fill that high station: but he was of a different temper to his predecessor; and saw the reasonableness and necessity of reducing the Clergy to a uniformity in the celebration of Public Worship. This was, no doubt, the only rational mode to be pursued; and if with this, a just spirit of compromise had been united, the greatest good must have resulted. As it was, the Archbishop by his persevering ability,

in a great measure accomplished his purpose, and restored the body of the Church to peace and uniformity. But in the struggle, the Church lost many of her most pious and zealous defenders; a circumstance, which in succeeding times, crippled her efforts against the furious assaults of the Presbyterians and Independents.

The immortal Bacon was now no more; but another Instrument was raised up, who has already been introduced to the reader, in the person of Sir Francis Walsingham, if possible, still more eminently fitted to detach and unravel the incessant plots and stratagems of the Romish party. He was descended of an ancient family at Chisselhurst, and was, undoubtedly, one of the most penetrating Statesmen and refined Politicians that any age ever produced. He possessed an admirable talent in discovering the recesses of the heart, and the secret motives of men. At the time of his advancement to be Secretary of State, the country was filled with designing men, and the Government in hourly peril: but nothing could elude his vigilance. He sat, like a magician, amidst the plots and stratagems of his foes, and by the spell of his penetrating genius, dissolved every attempt against the safety of the State. It would be tedious to follow in all their details, the various Plots which obtained at this period; but we must not overlook the fact of their existence, for the grand design of the Reign was to frustrate the schemes of Popery

SECTION and faction; and to establish Protestantism on a solid basis.

III.

CHAP. V.

Violence of  
the Popish  
party.

A. D. 1584.

Even at this time, Ireland was made the seat of constant Rebellion, which brought great misery and wretchedness upon the unhappy and deluded people, and must have been attended with immense private, as well as public, suffering. Nor did the emissaries of Rome, whilst there was any hope of restoring their lost power, cease their efforts in England. As long as Mary, Queen of Scots lived, she afforded a kind of centre, round which, their plots and designs revolved: and, their restless and mischievous interference, at length, brought that unhappy and guilty Princess to the Scaffold. At this juncture, they conducted themselves with peculiar violence, attacked the Queen through the medium of the press; and excited the people "to do for her what Judith did for Holofernes." It was found necessary to put the laws into active operation; and, at one time, more than seventy Priests were taken into custody: but instead of inflicting upon them the extreme penalty of the law, a much wiser plan was adopted, and they were ordered to be shipped out of England.

Conspiracy of  
Throgmorton.

This state of excitement ended, for that time, in the conspiracy of Throgmorton, a gentleman of Cheshire, the existence of which, was discovered by intercepting a correspondence between him and the Queen of Scots. Many noble persons were implicated in this conspiracy, especially Mendoza

the Spanish Ambassador, who was sent back with great disgrace, to his own country. It appeared from the confession of Throgmorton, who alone suffered on this occasion, that the whole affair originated, in the general movement of the Catholic Princes of Europe, under the Duke of Guise, and was intended to prepare the way for the invasion of England.

SECTION III.

CHAP. V.

No sooner was this conspiracy defeated, than Queen Mary herself, wearied with such repeated failures, made overtures to Elizabeth, in which she appeared willing to submit to the reasonable terms, which had been proposed to her. But, whilst this negociation was pending with every prospect of success, it was marvellously frustrated by the following incident.—It happened that, Creighton, a Scotch Jesuit, as he was sailing from the Netherlands, was encountered and taken by some Dutch Pirates. He carried with him certain papers, which he was observed to tear and throw overboard. But in vain—the wind counteracted his purpose, for the shreds being blown back into the vessel, were conveyed to Sir William Wade, the Queen's Ambassador, who patching them together, discovered a new design of the Pope, the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise, for invading England, and establishing Mary upon the Throne!

Release of  
Mary prevent-  
ed.

Upon this discovery, the most strenuous determination was manifested by the nation at large, to

SECTION resist all aggression of the Popish confederates  
 III. against the Throne of Elizabeth, and the liberties  
 CHAP. V. of the country; and, a union of all the nobility  
 and strength of the realm, was formed under the  
 name of "THE ASSOCIATION." The ardour and  
 spirit manifested by the Members of the Associa-  
 tion, convinced Queen Mary, how fruitless any  
 attempts would be, to shake the stability of the  
 Protestant Monarchy; and she sent in, a full and  
 entire compliance with the terms of agreement;  
 and proposed to enter into a strict league and  
 amity with the Queen of England, and even de-  
 sired that she herself might be comprehended in  
 the ASSOCIATION!

Voice of two  
 Kingdoms  
 raised against  
 her.

Elizabeth was entirely satisfied, and the hour of  
 Queen Mary's liberty was at hand. But alas!  
 it was now too late; another enemy, more powerful  
 than Kings or Queens, was awakened against the  
 unfortunate Princess, and the hour of her final  
 destiny approached. She had not yet paid the  
 penalty of her extraordinary crimes; and her re-  
 tributory punishment, was now hastened by the  
 irresistible power of public opinion. When the  
 favourable negotiation with Mary Queen of Scots  
 became generally known, the voice of the People  
 of England was strenuously raised up against her  
 deliverance. But *that* of the People of Scotland  
 was still more vehement. They insisted, that  
 both Kingdoms would be entirely ruined, if she  
 were allowed any share in the administration of

Government; and that the Reformed Religion SECTION  
 would be persecuted and rooted out, if the Papists . III.  
 should again be restored to power. This demon- CHAP. V.  
 stration of the national will was most decisive,  
 and Mary was still detained a prisoner.

But the rejection of her suit, when she was, *She dispairs.*  
 most probably, sincere in her professions, seems  
 to have thrown her into despair. She delivered  
 herself into the hands of the enemies of her Coun-  
 try, and wrote letters to the Pope and the confed-  
 erate Princes, no longer to delay their designs; and  
 urged them, whatever might befall her, to hasten  
 their plans for the invasion of England.

In the meantime, Parliament met and confirmed  
 the ASSOCIATION, giving it the sanction of Law; *Parliament confirms the*  
 and passed many severe Statutes against the *voluntary As-*  
 Jesuits and all others, who should form any designs *sociation.*  
 against the State, on the authority of the Bull of *A. D. 1585.*  
 Pope Pius V. Whilst the Queen, perceiving that  
 the storm was gathering from without, and that  
 the Roman Catholic Princes were aiming a deadly  
 blow at her, and the Protestant Religion, endeav-  
 oured to strengthen herself by foreign alliances.  
 She sent Sir Thomas Bodley to the King of Den-  
 mark, and to the Protestant Electors of Germany,  
 whilst she did not forget King James of Scotland,  
 but sent Sir Edward Wotton to assure him, how  
 sincerely she stood affected towards him, and to  
 remind him how necessary it was, for their mutual  
 security, to preserve a strict and inviolable friend-

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. ship between the two kingdoms. Elizabeth also entered into a league with the confederate States of Holland, openly espoused their cause, and took them under her protection. The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards her; and all Protestant Christendom admired the heroic courage with which she conducted the affairs of her Kingdom. Nor was this all. In order to avert the attention of the King of Spain, from his design of invading England, the Queen and her Council determined to carry the war into his own territories; and, an expedition of twenty-one sail of the line was fitted out under Sir Francis Drake, against his possessions in the West Indies. The enterprize was attended with great success, and the fleet returned, laden with much booty. Nor must it be omitted, that on their return, the ships touched at Virginia, where Sir Walter Raleigh had planted a colony, and brought from thence Ralph Lane, the first man, who imported tobacco into England.

The glory and folly of the Earl of Leicester.

A. D. 1586.

Whilst this and other naval enterprizes were carrying on, the Earl of Leicester, advanced, suddenly, to the height of his glory. He was appointed General of the Queen's auxiliary Forces, dispatched to Holland, where he was received with the greatest honors, gifted with absolute authority, and entitled Governor and Captain General of Holland, Zealand and the confederate Provinces. He had now every opportunity of signaling him-

self and benefiting his country; but he had neither capacity nor conduct to serve the cause, for which he was exalted to honor. His ambitious vanity and cupidity were gratified. He possessed ample means of gratifying his base and inordinate desires; and, like every other thing which he undertook, it ended in his disgrace. In this campaign, the brightest ornament of the English Nation was extinguished, in the death of Sir Philip Sidney. He was the admiration of all men, and possessed every accomplishment of body and mind. He was admirable as a soldier, a gentleman, a scholar, and a christian. His last words to his attendants were; "Govern your will and affections by the word of your Creator. In me, behold the end of this world, and all its vanities!" His obsequies were solemnized with great magnificence in Saint Paul's, and King James of Scotland wrote his Epitaph, an honor justly due to so excellent a person.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

The Admirable Sidney.

The opening of this year was signalized by the discovery and defeat, of a formidable conspiracy against the Queen and Nation, which commenced with a person of the name of John Savage, who had been sedulously trained, principally by a Romish Doctor of the name of Gifford, to entertain a belief that it was highly meritorious, in the sight of God, to assassinate Princes who had been excommunicated by the Pope. His attention was directed to the Queen of England; and he con-

Plot of Savage.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. sented to undertake the dangerous and difficult task, and, indeed, entered into a vow for its accomplishment. The Conspiracy daily strengthened, but to throw the Queen and her Council into a state of security, a book was diligently circulated, in which, the Papists are exhorted to attempt nothing against their Prince; but with meekness to submit, and to use no other weapons than Prayers and tears!

Babington is drawn into it. In the mean time, Ballard a seminary Priest of Rheims, was chosen, as a suitable instrument, to assist Savage in the accomplishment of his vow. He had an interview in France with Mendoza and Charles Paget, on the subject of the meditated invasion; and, then, hastened to England in the habit of a soldier, under the name of Captain Foscu. By the advice of Mary Queen of Scots, he discovered the whole design to Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, who had been recommended to her attention by the Bishop of Glasgow. He was well suited for their purpose. He was of an ancient and respectable family; and his fortune, generosity, and frankness of character had gained him great influence, and the strong attachment of many kindred minds. Amongst these was Chydiok Fishbourne, a gentleman of Devonshire, of whose romantic friendship many interesting particulars are preserved in the "Curiosities of Literature." The whole band of Conspirators were men of ardent and confiding minds;

and were inviolably united in their purpose, by mutual confidence and esteem.—Another proof of the wickedness of that system, which gives to crime, the sanction of Religion, and throws a sacred lustre upon the deeds of blackest night!

By such delusive principles of action were these noble minded young men ensnared to their destruction! Had they been determined villains, urged on, by malignant feelings, against the life of the Queen, they would have hastened, at once, to their bloody purpose; but they were not: and they appear, on the page of history, rather as actors in a tragedy, than as perpetrators of murder; still, they were determined in their purpose, secure in their mutual fidelity, and confident in the accomplishment of their fatal design. But God had raised up an instrument in the Secretary Walsingham, who unravelled all their plans. By means of his agents, he was present in all their deliberations—he watched and perplexed all their movements. Babington carried on a correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots.—Every letter was conveyed to Walsingham, and copied by him, before it reached the parties for whom it was designed; and, to shew how completely he was master of their proceedings, a painting, which had been made of the Conspirators standing in a group, with Babington in the midst, and intended as a present for Mary, before it reached its destination, was actually copied, and presented to Elizabeth! One of

SECTION III. CHAP. V. the conspirators named Barnwell, a person of noble family in Ireland, was known to the Queen, and a few days, afterwards, as she was walking abroad with a slender retinue, she observed Barnwell walking at a short distance, and turning to the Captain of her guard, she said in a voice loud enough to be heard, "Am not I well guarded who have not a man in my company, who wears a sword!"

The Conspirators arrested and tried.

How far Walsingham, whose object was to ascertain all the parties connected with the conspiracy, would have carried his policy, it is impossible to say.—His plans were hastened by the Queen, who said, "*that by not avoiding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt, than to trust Providence.*" Accordingly, by giving them a slight intimation that he was acquainted with their designs, Walsingham contrived to scatter the band of Conspirators, and, thus, prevented all attempts at resistance. They were afterwards, individually, apprehended and secured, except Lord Windsor's brother, who was never found. His next care was to secure the papers of the Queen of Scots. Thomas George was dispatched to acquaint her with the affair, but not till she was mounted for riding; she was, then, not permitted to return, but conducted, under a shew of honor, to the seats of the neighbouring Gentry. At the same instant, other Gentlemen of high consideration, were appointed to seize her Secretaries,

and to forward all her papers to the Council.— SECTION III. CHAP. V. They were opened in the presence of the Queen; a great number of letters from foreign parts were found, and copies of answers which had been sent by her, with, at least, sixty alphabets of private characters. Nothing could now be concealed—all the artifices and intentions of the anti-Protestant party, were before the Queen and her Council. The conspirators were brought to trial, and all of them, fourteen in number, executed.

The guilt of the Queen of Scots was fully confirmed by the testimony of her own Secretaries, who confessed, that every thing was dictated by the Queen herself, and copied in secret characters. Sir Edward Wotton was immediately dispatched to the King of France, to lay before him the whole subject of the conspiracy, with the letters and correspondence of the Queen of Scots, in order to justify themselves in whatever steps it might be thought necessary for them to take.

Long and serious debates ensued, as to the manner in which they should deal with Mary. At length, it was agreed, that she should be brought to trial, under the authority of a law which had been passed in this reign, "against such as raised rebellion, invaded the kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen." The most noble and learned persons, in the kingdom, were empowered to act as Commissioners on this solemn occa-

Mary Queen of Scots sentenced. A. D. 1586.

SECTION sion, and, before their tribunal she was found  
III. guilty and sentenced to death.

CHAP. V.

The Warrant  
of Execution.

But the Queen hesitated to give effect to the law by delaying the Warrant for her execution.— Her Council strongly advised, and her Parliament demanded the sacrifice, as the only method of securing the peace and happiness of the kingdom: but the Queen still hesitated, and her anxiety was increased by frequent embassies which arrived from foreign powers, especially from the King of Scotland, to intercede for Mary's life. But whilst the mind of the Queen was thus irresolute and wavering, the discovery of another plot for her assassination, which originated with the French Ambassador, gave additional force to the demands of the nation; and she was induced to empower her Secretary, Davison, to draw out the warrant for execution, under the great Seal. But next day, changing her purpose, she sent him a message, by Sir William Kellegrew, that the warrant should not be drawn. Davison, immediatly apprised the Council with the alteration in the Queen's mind, but the warrant was now in their possession, and they determined that the opportunity should not be lost. Accordingly, they assured Davison of their protection, and the warrant was dispatched on its fatal errand.

Motives of  
Elizabeth.

When Elizabeth received intelligence of the death of Mary, she was filled with grief and indignation, and abandoned herself, for a time, to

lamentation and tears. She severely rebuked her Council for not waiting her pleasure; and commanded Davison to be tried by the Star Chamber, where he was condemned, in a penalty of ten thousand pounds: nor was she ever afterwards reconciled to him. Hume, in his perplexing account of this transaction, considered this conduct, the result of artifice and duplicity. But impossible. There was no reason for dissimulation. Her own subjects demanded the death of the Queen of Scots, as an act of justice to the nation. She resisted all foreign interference on the subject, as an insult to the independence of the nation; She abruptly told the Scotch Ambassador, when he was pleading for a respite for eight days, that she *would not grant an hour*. Undoubtedly also, she had a strong and secret aversion to execute the supreme penalty of law upon Mary. She reflected that she was a Sovereign Princess; and a high sense of the royal prerogative, was in her mind, an insuperable obstacle. Indeed, the following letter which she wrote with her own hand, to King James of Scotland, will place this subject beyond dispute. "My dearest Brother, would to heaven, you knew, but not felt, the inexpressible grief that overwhelms my mind, upon this deplorable accident, which has happened, contrary to my meaning and intention; which, since my pen trembles to mention, you will fully understand. I request you, that as God and many others can

SECTION  
III.  
CHAP. V.

Letter to the  
King of Scot-  
land.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
witness my innocency in this matter, so you will also believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it—that as I know this has happened deservedly on her part; so if I had intended it, I would not have charged it upon others. There is not any that loveth you more dearly and taketh more care for the good of you and your affairs. God preserve you long in health and safety!”

Policy of  
Walsingham.

The great crisis of the reign was now approaching; and the expedition, which had been for three years, under preparation by the King of Spain, at that time, the most powerful monarch of Europe, was now ready to venture upon its design. But the most profound secrecy was observed; and whilst many conjectured, none but the Pope of Rome, was fully acquainted with its destination. Philip had conveyed this intelligence to *him*, by a letter; in which he earnestly sought his benediction and prayers, for the success of his enterprize. But the inventive and penetrating genius of Walsingham, who had been raised up, by an overruling Providence to conduct the counsels of England through the intricacies and surprising dangers of that day, determined, if possible, to gain possession of this secret. Nor was his determination in vain. Walsingham had ascertained, that the secret was lodged with the Pope, from some person who had access to the council chamber of Philip; and by means of a Venetian Priest, whom he retained in his interest, at Rome, he obtained a copy of the

letter which was in the hand-writing of Philip, SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
and the contents of which, he had not yet divulged to his Privy Council. The original was taken out of the Pope's cabinet by a Gentleman of his bed-chamber, who stole the key out of the Pope's pocket whilst he slept! By this timely discovery, Walsingham was enabled to counteract the designs of the Spanish king, and, actually, by his dextrous management, retarded the expedition a whole year. For, he caused the Spanish bills at Genoa, which were to supply the expedition with money, to be protested; and, thus, by cutting off the very sinews of war, he prevented them from putting to sea; whilst to give the finishing stroke to his policy, Captain Drake was dispatched, with a fleet, to the coast of Spain, where he entered their harbours, destroyed their shipping, and performed prodigies of valour; whilst Cavendish, in the East, was carrying havock and desolation into all parts of the Spanish dominions.

In England, all was bustle and activity. The Earl of Leicester was recalled from the Netherlands, in disgrace. Indeed, he was a bad man, and ambitious, for wicked ends—he brought no honor to his Country, and his actions form no necessary link, in the events of its history. Elizabeth treated him as he deserved, but overcome by his artful entreaties, she averted from him the vengeance, prepared for him, by her Council. No sooner had the storm blown over his head, than

Earl of Essex.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
he devised new schemes of ambition; but being thwarted by Lord Burleigh and Hutton, who had succeeded Bramley, as Lord Chancellor, he retired from court with disgust, and, shortly after, ended his inglorious career, in death.

Spanish Armada.  
A. D. 1588.  
Rumours of the intended expedition against England, had now spread over all parts of the world; and the minds of men were held in painful suspense, as to the result of the enterprise. Immense sums of money had been lavished upon it, and the preparations, which had extended over a space of four years, were now completed. The Spaniards confident of success, called it "The invincible Armada," a word which in their language means "a fleet of men of war." It consisted of two hundred and fifty ships, most of which, were greatly superior in strength and size, to any that had been seen before. It had, on board, near twenty thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors, besides two thousand volunteers of the most distinguished families in Spain. It carried two thousand six hundred and fifty great guns, was victualled for half a year, and contained such a large quantity of military stores—as only the Spanish Monarch, enriched by the treasures of the Indies, could supply. The troops on board, were to be joined by thirty-four thousand more, which the Duke of Parma had assembled, in the neighbourhood of Nieuport and Dunkirk. For transporting these, he had, with incredible labour,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
provided a great number of flat bottomed vessels, and had brought sailors from the towns of the Baltic to navigate them. Most of these vessels had been built at Antwerp; and, as he durst not venture to bring them from thence, by sea, to Nieuport, lest they should have been intercepted by the Dutch, he was obliged to send them along the Scheldt, to Ghent, from Ghent to Bruges, by a canal which joins these towns, and from Bruges to Nieuport, by a new canal which he dug for the purpose. This laborious undertaking, in which several thousand workmen had been employed, was already finished, and the Duke now waited for the arrival of the Spanish fleet! hoping that, as soon as it should approach, the Dutch and English ships, which cruised upon the coast, would retire into their harbours.

On the other hand, the Queen with incredible industry, made suitable preparations for opposing such a formidable Invasion. Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed Admiral; and under him, served Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher; all of them renowned, as seamen of courage and capacity.—The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels English and Flemish, was commanded by Lord Seymour, second son of Protector Somerset, and lay off Dunkirk in order to intercept the Duke of Parma. The land forces of England were more numerous than those of the enemy, but inferior in

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

point of discipline and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed, in different bodies, along the South coast, with orders to retire backwards and waste the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thousand foot and one thousand horse, commanded by Lord Hunsdon, were reserved for guarding the Queen's person, and appointed to march whichever way the enemy should appear. In the midst of the general consternation, the Queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity; animated her people to a steady resistance; and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She even appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle, than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she with intrepidity, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a King, and of a King of England too!" The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army, and every man resolved to die, rather than desert his station.

The Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May; and it is sufficiently remarkable, to

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

be noticed as an intervention of Providence, that its sailing was retarded by the death of the Marquis of Santa Croce, the Admiral, one of the most experienced Captains of the age, and by that of the vice-Admiral, the Duke of Paliano. The command of the expedition was, therefore, given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a man entirely inexperienced, in sea affairs.—A circumstance, which in some measure, served to frustrate the whole design; which was also rendered less efficient, by some other accidents. Nor was this all.—Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada, next day, met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into the harbour. After some time spent in re-fitting, they put again to sea: but Providence still watched its movements. Being descried by Fleming, a Scotch pirate, who was roving in those seas, he immediately sailed towards the English fleet, and informed the Admiral of their approach.—Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The English Admiral considering, that the Spaniards would probably be much superior to him, in close fight, by reason of the size of their ships and the number of their troops, wisely resolved, to content himself with harassing them

SECTION III. CHAP. V. in their voyage, and with watching attentively, all the advantages which might be derived from "storms, cross winds, and such like fortuitous accidents." It was not long, before he discerned a favourable opportunity for attacking the vice-Admiral, Recaldo.—This he did in person; and on that occasion, displayed so much dexterity in working the ship, and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spaniards for the fate of their vice-Admiral. Several other rencounters occurred, and in all of them, the English proved victorious, through the great advantage which they derived from the lightness of their ships, and the dexterity of their sailors. The Spaniards, however, still continued to advance, till they came opposite to Calais; there, the Duke de Medina having ordered them to cast anchor, he sent information to the Duke of Parma of his arrival, and entreated him to hasten the embarkation of his forces. Tarnese accordingly began to put his troops on board. But, at the same time, he informed Medina, that agreeably to the King's instructions, the vessels which he had prepared were proper only for transporting the troops, but utterly unfit for fighting; and for this reason, till the Armada was brought nearer, and the coast cleared of the Dutch ships which had blocked up the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, he could not stir from his present station, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence

SECTION III. CHAP. V. of which, would probably be the entire loss of the Netherlands. In compliance with this request, the Armada was ordered to advance; and it had arrived within sight of Dunkirk, between the English fleet on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, when a sudden calm put a stop to all its motions. In this situation, the three fleets remained for one whole day. About the middle of the night a breeze sprung up; and Lord Howard had recourse to an expedient which had been happily devised on the preceding day. Having filled eight ships with pitch, sulphur, and other combustible materials, he set them on fire, and sent them before the wind, against the different divisions of the Spanish fleet. When the Spaniards beheld these ships, in flames, approaching towards them, it brought to their remembrance the havock which had been made by the fire-ships, which had been employed against the Duke of Parma's bridge, at the siege of Antwerp. The darkness of the night increased the terror with which their imaginations were overwhelmed, and the panic flew, from one end of the fleet to the other. Each crew, anxious only for their own preservation, thought of nothing but how to escape from the present danger. Some of them, took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and suffered their ships to drive with blind precipitation, without considering, whether they did not thereby expose themselves to a greater danger than that, which

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
they were so solicitous to avoid. In this confusion, the ships ran foul of one another; the shock was dreadful and several of them received so much damage as to be rendered unfit for future use.

When day-light returned, Lord Howard had the satisfaction to perceive, that his stratagem had fully produced the desired effect. The enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed. His fleet had lately received a great augmentation, by those under Lord Seymour, and Sir William Winter, who had left sufficient force to guard the coast of Flanders. Being bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, he made haste to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy in different quarters, at the same time, with the utmost impetuosity and ardour. The engagement began at four in the morning and lasted till six at night.

The Spaniards displayed in every rencounter the most intrepid bravery; but, from the causes already mentioned, they did very little execution against the English; while many of their own ships were greatly damaged, and twelve of the largest were either run aground or sunk, or compelled to surrender. It was now evident that the purpose of the Armada, was utterly frustrated. The Spanish Admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but as the winds were contrary to his

return through the channel, he resolved to take the circuit of the Island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and, had not their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the public officers in supplying them, they had obliged the Armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain glorious enterprise, was sufficiently illustrious to the English, but the event of their escape was fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; and the ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea, while the mariners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the Western Isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen; yet Philip, whose command of temper, was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet (said he) to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised, that the calamity is not greater." This calamity, however, was sensibly felt all over Spain, and there was scarcely a single family of rank in the kingdom, that did not go into mourning for the death of some near relation; insomuch, that Philip, dreading the effect which the universal face of sorrow might produce upon

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
The Armada entirely lost.

SECTION III. the minds of the people, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate after the battle of Cannæ, and published an edict to abridge the time of public mourning.

III.  
CHAP. V.  
Elizabeth's  
care for her  
successor.

A. D. 1589.

The reign, which had now accomplished its grand object, rapidly advanced to its conclusion. Elizabeth had reached the summit of her greatness and prosperity. In the benevolent purposes of the Supreme Governor, she had been made the instrument of humbling the Popish power, which had, for ages, triumphed over the liberties of mankind; and to complete her satisfaction, Sir Philip Sidney returned from Scotland, bringing the most satisfactory account of the state of the King's mind, whom she had long designed as her successor.—He charged Sir Philip to declare his perfect reconciliation to the Queen, and his entire devotion to the Protestant Religion, and his firm purpose to preserve an inviolable friendship between the two kingdoms. The Queen continued to watch over him with the most careful solicitude; and by her advice, attended with the most costly presents, he shortly after contracted marriage with Ann the daughter of Frederick, King of Denmark.

Death of  
Walsingham.  
A. D. 1590.

These mighty events, of such consequence to the future prosperity of the country, were followed by the death of that exemplary man and eminent statesman, Sir Francis Walsingham. He was one of the greatest Patriots which adorn the annals of our history. He devoted his whole time,

and all the resources of his capacious mind, to the service of his country; and at his death, afforded a singular proof of his integrity and singleness of mind; and, it ought to be gratefully remembered by his countrymen, that the man, who for so many years, had had the control of the public purse, died so poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him privately, by night, lest his body should have been arrested for debt.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

France, throughout all this period, was plunged State of France in the evils of civil war. It would be endless to enter into a detail of all the treachery and cruelty exercised by the Popish party in that country; and which was, at last, permitted to prevail. The humanity of the English Government, and its sincere desire for the prevalence of Protestant principles, frequently urged them to interfere; and at this time, the French King, Henry IV, who was a Protestant, solicited the aid of Queen Elizabeth, against the formidable Popish factions which prevailed, and resisted his authority; and the Earl of Essex, who now appeared on the stage of public life, was dispatched to his assistance at the head of a chosen body of men: but to little purpose.—The strife was desperate, and the King to end the contest, embraced the Roman Catholic religion!—Fatal resolve! to which I apprehend, in a great measure, may be traced the disastrous Revolution of 1792. But to return. Still new

SECTION III. CHAP. V. plots of the most vicious character, were invented by the Romanists. A person, of the name of Husket, was sent on a mission from the English exiles abroad, supported by the counsel and money of Spain, to induce Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, to assume his title to the English throne, derived from his great grandmother Mary, who was daughter to Henry VII. Boundless promises of support were made to him, if he would advance his claim; and, on the other hand, he was threatened with the most direful vengeance if he should dare to refuse. The Earl, however, justly fearing lest some snare was laid for him, impeached Husket; who on his own confession, was condemned; imprecating curses upon the heads of those, by whose counsel he had been induced to act. But Husket's execution did not save the unfortunate Earl, who died, in the most deplorable manner by poison!

Wicked designs of the Papists.

But no sooner were the unwearied Papists disappointed in one project, than another was attempted. Their grand design was now to make the Infanta of Spain, a centre for all their machinations; and a book was written, the joint labour of three noted persons—the Jesuit Parsons, Cardinal Allen, and Francis Eaglefield. The scope of this work, was to prove the descent of the Infanta from Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror, in which they entered into such minute genealogical computations, as confounded all the disquisitions of Heraldry.—But it suited their purpose.

Would, that they had allowed such means to suffice! But this slow and uncertain method of effecting their purpose, was far from satisfactory. Assassins were hired abroad to attempt the life of the Queen. But not finding an immediate occasion, her life was attempted by poison, and one of her Physicians, Frederick Lopez, a Jew, was bribed for that purpose. This wretched man, made a full confession of his crime; and the day after, Francis Cullen, an Irish fencing master, was executed for engaging to assassinate her.

During this time, incessant expeditions were fitted out against the power of Spain, both at private and public expence, in which the most heroic deeds were achieved and immense treasures pilaged from the Spaniards. It would require a volume to speak of these enterprizes, conducted by men, whose names deserve to stand high in the naval annals of their country, Sir John Norris, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Martin Frobisher, Richard Hawkins, son of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, and James Lancaster. But the chief utility of these expeditions, was the nautical skill and enterprize acquired by our countrymen, which laid the foundation for their superiority over all other nations.

But the Queen's Council having found a leader on whose judgment and courage they could depend, determined upon a more decisive step, and sent out a splendid expedition under the Earl of

SECTION III. CHAP. V. Rise of the Earl of Essex. A. D. 1591.

SECTION Essex who had been advanced to great power.—

III.

CHAP. V.

All the eminent men of that day were engaged in this enterprise. The fleet set sail with secret orders, which were not to be opened till they had passed Cape Saint Vincent;—the first time I find this custom on record. The damage occasioned to the Spaniards by this expedition, in all parts, was beyond precedent, and surpassed the bounds of calculation. On their return they were received with eminent marks of the Queen's favour, especially the Earl of Essex.—But, unfortunately, this nobleman's aspiring temper, too much emboldened by success, made him presume upon the favour of his Royal Mistress; and he shewed his displeasure at certain appointments which had been made, during his absence. This extravagant pride, which he had not judgment to control, as it was injurious to his country, so it laid the foundation of his own ruin.

In the following year, the King of Spain, whose resources were boundless, in the hope of retrieving his past defeats, made great preparations against England, and the Earl of Essex was again dispatched to meet him, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail. In this expedition the spirit of pride which haunted him, was manifest, in a serious quarrel which he entertained against Sir Walter Raleigh, who had landed, without his permission, and made a successful attack upon the Spanish town of Fayall. On the return also of

the fleet, he was again displeased at several promotions which had taken place. Sir Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burleigh, had been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy, which he had intended for one of his friends. But, what more particularly offended him, was the honor which the Queen had conferred on the Lord Admiral Howard, who had been created Earl of Nottingham. This promotion, to which that nobleman was entitled, for his high services, gave him precedence over the Earl of Essex, inasmuch as he was, from his station, a chief officer of the kingdom. However, on this occasion, the vain glory of Essex was fully gratified; for he was created Earl Marshal of England.

The ninth Parliament of this reign had now been assembled. In this Parliament, the executive government brought in many solid and useful laws, which were enacted; and the House voted an address of congratulation to the Queen. From this address, which is an authoritative record, will best be seen what was the grand object designed by Providence, in this reign. After remarking favorably on the laws which had been passed, they congratulate the Queen on THE RESTORATION OF THE TRUE RELIGION; THE HAPPY GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM; AND ITS DELIVERANCE FROM FOREIGN ENEMIES.

It had hitherto been the policy of the Queen and her Advisers, to prevent the French nation from uniting with their inveterate enemy, the

SECTION

III.

CHAP. V.

Parliament.  
A. D. 1593.

War with  
France.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. King of Spain. But, at length, in spite of all their efforts, by the interest of the Pope, France was prevailed upon, to enter into a Treaty of alliance with Spain. Upon this, it was strongly debated at the Council Table, whether it would not be more advantageous for England, to endeavour to make peace with Spain. At this debate a remarkable circumstance occurred. The wise and sagacious Burleigh inclined for peace; but the Earl of Essex, with all the warmth and inexperience of his youth, strongly urged the continuance of the War, and affirmed, that no peace could be made with Spain, which would not be dishonorable to England. The Lord Treasurer remarked to him, *that he breathed nothing, but blood and slaughter*. The debate continued for some time, with much warmth on the part of Essex, when Lord Burleigh drew from his pocket, the Book of Psalms; and, as if prophetic of the future, without speaking another word, pointed to the verse. "The bloody minded man shall not live out half his days."\* This debate occasioned the Earl of Essex to publish an apology, and reasons in justification of his opinion.

Pride of Essex. But another incident occurred, in which this gifted, but undisciplined nobleman was concerned, which strongly marked the predominant evil of his disposition, and set on fire the whole train of his passions, so as never to be extinguished. It

\* Psalm lv. 23.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. happened at a debate respecting Ireland, in which the Queen was present, with the Lord Cecil, the High Admiral, and Wendebank, clerk of the closet, that the Queen proposed Sir William Knolles, as the fittest man for the difficult task of subjugating Ireland. Essex obstinately asserted, that Sir George Carew was greatly to be preferred to him. But the Queen was inflexible; and Essex forgetting himself, turned his back upon his Sovereign, as if in contempt of her opinion. The spirit of her fathers was roused, she gave the insolent Earl a box on the ear, and commanded him to leave the Council chamber. This was too humiliating for the high and chivalrous spirit of Essex to bear. He was stung with resentment, and laying his hand upon his sword, declared that he would not have submitted to such an indignity, even from her Father. The Lord Burleigh endeavoured to soften his resentment, which he, in some measure, effected, and a reconciliation ensued. But the wound was never healed in the breast of Essex. This was the last business, in which that great and distinguished statesman, Burleigh engaged. He had pursued a long, and arduous, and patriotic course; and never did mortal man, run a more glorious race. He was endowed by God, with singular abilities for his high station. His learning and attainments were profound. His wisdom, oracular. His integrity, unimpeachable. His piety sincere, and his industry unpar-

Character of  
Lord Burleigh.

SECTION III. alleled. He was not only the ornament, but the grand support of the Councils of his country. His services were so valued by the Queen, that she entertained for him the most profound respect and esteem. She would never permit him to continue standing in her presence, but desiring him to sit, would remark: "My Lord, we make use of you, not for your legs, but for your head." Her estimation of his worth was still further exemplified in his last illness. On one occasion, when she was visiting the couch of her dying Minister, on entering the door of the apartment, his attendants desired her Majesty to stoop her head, she generously answered. "For your Master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain." Nor was the struggle long; his strength had been already consumed in the service of his country; and after a few days, he peacefully resigned his soul in the 78th year of his age. England, these were thy worthies, raised up by an Almighty power, to conduct thee in that auspicious course in which He had determined thee to move, and to build thee up, as an Exemplar State, amongst the nations of the Earth! Let the name of Burleigh be honored by posterity to our latest descendants, as the great adviser of Queen Elizabeth in all her contests, for the Establishment of our Protestant Constitution and the Restoration of the Catholic Church in these Realms.

His Death,  
A. D. 1598.

III.  
CHAP. V.

Nor is it a little remarkable, that Philip the King of Spain and the great antagonist of England, ended his fatal career at the same juncture; a person of great sagacity, perseverance and foresight; and who had scarcely lost a day since his memorable vow, in his endeavours to extirpate heresy by fire and sword. In the execution of that vow he had waded through rivers of blood. All his treaties, alliances, artifices and wars were to carry it into effect. In the furtherance of his schemes what tongue can tell the cruelties he perpetrated, the agonies he inflicted, and the lives he destroyed!

He was unsuccessful in all his Foreign wars; but fastened the fatal bondage of Popery on his own unhappy country; which it is now, after a lapse of three centuries, shaking off, amidst all the horrors of civil war and intestine convulsion. But his hour of retribution had arrived; and I have it in my power, to draw aside the curtain of his death-bed, and, to lay open to the reader, the secret spring of all his actions. A short time before his death, he sent for his confessor, who immediately waited upon the anxious and dying Prince. "Father Confessor! said he, as you occupy THE PLACE OF GOD, I protest to you, that I will do every thing you shall say to be necessary, FOR MY BEING SAVED; so, that what I omit doing will be placed to your account, as I am ready to acquit myself of all that shall be ordered to me." This extraordinary record is preserved in the "Curiosities of

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
Death of Philip.

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. V.

Literature,"\* and is more important, when placed in its proper connection, than thousands of controversial volumes on the system of Popery. Philip was not vindictive. He was not of a malignant disposition. He was not cruel. He did not persecute Protestants to the death, because he was insensible to the claims of Christianity.—All his most cruel, bloody acts, were dictated by a high sense of religious obligation! In this brief description the whole genius of Popery is exhibited. It has usurped the authority of God, and by its power, depraved and prejudiced man, is enabled to wield the sword of the Most High. Philip believed his Confessor to be "*in the place of God*" to him. His desire was to be "*SAVED*," and he appealed to him for his sincerity, and enquired, whether he had done every thing to secure it.—His crimes, therefore, must not be imputed to him, but to his religion. How awful is the delusion! How supernatural and mighty its influence! and how strikingly is the situation of its unfortunate victim portrayed, in Holy Writ—"He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say: Is there not a *LIE* in my right hand?" †

Advance of  
the Country.

The grand integral portions of the British Empire were now fast advancing to an Incorporation, which was to consolidate its strength, and to extend its power and influence to the remotest bound-

Page, 295, Vol. 1.

† Isaiah, xliv. 20.

## SECTION

## III.

## CHAP. V.

daries of the earth. The accession of Scotland was to take place, by the descent of the English crown to the Sovereign of that kingdom; and Ireland, which had been a kind of dependency upon England, since the time of Henry II, was now under the vigorous counsels of Elizabeth, to be brought under the full authority of the English sceptre. Through the whole of this reign, Ireland had been the scene of endless insurrections, and the cause of infinite troubles to England. The insubordination of the Irish people, had offered a favorable opportunity to Philip, the King of Spain, for promoting his hostile designs against Elizabeth. Partial invasions of Ireland had been attempted by the Spanish Government, many years before the fitting out of the "*Invincible Armada*,"—and now an army of several thousand Spaniards, attended by a Pope's Nuncio, had landed on the Irish shore, intending to form a junction with the Earl of Tyrone, who was at the head of a most formidable rebellion. The power of the rebels increased daily, and they committed the most frightful ravages in all parts of the country. To quell such a formidable rebellion, was a difficult enterprise; and it was the subject of deep debate, who should be sent on such an important work. The Queen and her Council considered the Earl of Essex too rash and inexperienced, for such an undertaking: but he aspired to it; and his secret enemies urged him to undertake it, in the hope that, it would prove

Invasion of  
Ireland.  
A. D. 1599.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. his overthrow. Preparations were made, and in the end, the Earl of Essex was appointed Deputy of Ireland, and General of the English forces.

But "his heart was lifted with pride," and his counsels were rash and imprudent. He allowed opportunities to pass, which might have been followed up with advantage, and lost time in pursuing trifling successes, which could lead to no important result. The Queen was highly incensed at his movements, blamed his whole conduct, and freely told him, that, *she believed that he had other thoughts in his head, than doing service to his Prince and his country.* Essex was exasperated by these reflections; and at the first rise of his resentment, resolved to hasten into England with a select body of men, to chastise his enemies, and overpower them by force. By the entreaties of the Earl of Southampton, he was deterred from putting this design into execution: but instead of attending to his duty, and rectifying his past misconduct, with an infatuation which discovered the evil influence under which he laboured, he left his command, and without permission, returned into England; where he was, by the Queen's order, committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper. He was succeeded as Deputy in Ireland, by Mountjoy; who may be termed the Agricola of Ireland. This excellent commander entered upon his task with great zeal and energy; fortified all the principal towns of the kingdom, afforded no rest to the rebel

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. forces—soon drove them into the fastnesses of the country, and entirely subdued the rebels in Ulster and Leinster, and indeed, in all places was victorious. Sir George Carew was not less successful in Munster, where he prevailed against the forces of the titular Earl of Desmond: and thus for the present, the war was triumphantly concluded, and the final subjugation of Ireland greatly advanced.

The ACTION of the Reign now rapidly advanced to its consummation. Essex, after a confinement of six months, was arraigned with great formality before the Queen's Council, for his misconduct in Ireland; and by the sentence of the Court he was degraded from all his offices and civil employments. By this blow he appeared to be awakened. He became so submissive and sensible of his faults, that the Queen granted him his liberty; advising him for the future, *to make discretion his Keeper*—to retire into the country, and by no means to visit the Court. He was still more affected by the Queen's clemency, and sent her a most humble and submissive message, with which the Queen was so much gratified, that she said, "would to heaven his actions were answerable to his words! he has long tried my patience, I must now try his humility." Essex grew confident of her returning favour, and his humility vanished, with the prospect of returning prosperity; and he ventured to ask the Queen for the monopoly of

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. sweet wines. True to her purpose of trying his temper, she answered, *That she must first understand the value of it: that benefits were not to be bestowed blindfold; that a spirited horse must be kept short of provender, in order to bring him under due management.* This unexpected answer was more than he could bear. He was fired with indignation, and urged on by his secret enemies, he blindly rushed into the most desperate counsels, which hastened his destruction.

Death of the  
Earl of Essex.  
A. D. 1601.

He secretly raised soldiers, fortified his house, where he had assembled more than three hundred Gentlemen of rank and fortune:—but the Queen, having dispatched a messenger to the Lord Mayor to preserve tranquillity in the City, sent the members of her Privy Council to the Earl's house, who, immediately made many of them prisoners, whilst he, rushing out with his principal followers, endeavoured to raise the citizens in his cause: but no one answered his appeal; and returning to his house, after a fruitless resistance, was taken, and shortly after, suffered on the scaffold the just reward of his deeds. Thus fell the Earl of Essex, the victim of pride and vain glory; by which the influence of his noble rank, his undoubted abilities, and his personal courage were lost to his country: nay, by its fatal indulgence, he became a public burden and disgrace, and his name has descended, covered with dishonour.

The Queen had now assembled her last Parliament, in which there prevailed the most perfect unanimity and good feeling.—For, in an address to the Queen, in which the Commons condemned the practice of monopolies, the Queen addressed them in a speech that deserves to be written in letters of gold, and inscribed on the walls of all our palaces. After observing, that she would not allow any privileges which might be injurious to her subjects; she added, “The splendor of Royal Majesty hath not so blinded my eyes, that I should suffer licentious power to prevail over Justice. I am not one of those Princes, who can be deceived by the glory of a name. I know the Commonwealth is to be governed for the good of those committed to me, not of myself to whom it has been entrusted; and I am sensible that an account must one day be given before a Superior Judge. I think myself most happy that, by God's assistance, I have so prosperously governed the Commonwealth; and that I have had such loving subjects, that for their good I would most willingly part not only with my kingdom, but with my life.”

Philip, indeed, the general persecutor of Protestant Christendom, was no more; but the exterminating war which he had commenced, was carried on, in Flanders, with increasing fury. The confederate States, however, were invincible; and with the help of the English Queen, defended themselves with great fortitude and success. Nor

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
The Queen's  
address to her  
Parliament.

SECTION was this all. The unwearied Spaniards dispatched  
 III. a formidable armament to assist the disaffected in  
 CHAP. V. Ireland, who had not yet relinquished their hopes  
 of final triumph. This expedition was under Don  
 John D'Aquila, who, to shew his sacred errand,  
 published a flaming manifesto, in which he assumed  
 the title of "General of the Catholic King,  
 in God's war, for maintaining the truth in Ire-  
 land."

Tyrone's re-  
 bellion.  
 A. D. 1602. He was immediately joined by Tyrone and the  
 principal rebels, which swelled his army to more  
 than six thousand men, with a considerable body  
 of horse: but the Lord Deputy with his wonted  
 vigour, without waiting for a reinforcement, with  
 nothing but the remnants of an army, attacked  
 them with his usual bravery. They were routed  
 with great slaughter, and the whole expedition,  
 which at one time, had the most formidable pros-  
 pects of success, disappeared at one blow, and  
 melted away like snow in summer. Don Alfonzo  
 O'Campo was taken prisoner, with three other  
 Spanish leaders and six ensigns; one thousand  
 two hundred men were slain.—And whilst this ex-  
 pedition was so suddenly dispersed, the greatest  
 permanent good to England was achieved. The  
 Spaniards were finally expelled from the country  
 —the Rebels entirely subdued—the Queen's au-  
 thority fully established—the hearts of the Protes-  
 tants revived—and Ireland, for the first time,  
 conquered!

Every thing was now tending to its close. The SECTION  
 Pope, who perceived that the illustrious Queen in III.  
 the course of nature, must soon follow her distin- CHAP. V.  
 guished Statesmen, and be removed from the seat The Pope's  
 of power, which she had so long upheld and adorn- attempts.  
 ed, boldly sent two 'Breves' into England; one  
 addressed to the Clergy and the other to the laity,  
 in which, he assumed the authority to exclude any  
 person from the English Crown, however nearly  
 allied by blood, who would not swear to use his  
 utmost endeavours to restore the Roman Catholic  
 Faith. This Breve was aimed at the King of  
 Scotland, and laid the foundation, as the cele-  
 brated Camden affirms, for the Gun-powder Plot,  
 which will be developed in its proper place.

The principles of Protestantism were now fully Contest  
 established in the Realm.—That the Pope of among the  
 Rome can have no civil or Ecclesiastical authority Papists.  
 in England—That the Bible alone is the "Infal-  
 lible standard of faith and morals; and that the  
 visible Catholic Church can have no other tem-  
 poral head than the Sovereign power of the realm.  
 Of the triumph of these principles which are sim-  
 ple and reasonable, the Romanists themselves,  
 became important witnesses, in the famous contest  
 which arose at this period, between the order of  
 the Jesuits and the Romish Priests. The secular  
 Priests in their books, highly extolled the Queen,  
 and made it appear—"That during the first eleven  
 years of the reign, not a single Papist had his life

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. called in question, on account of his Religion—that even in the ten years which followed the publication of the Bull of Pope Pius V, and the rebellion of the Papists, not more than twelve Priests had been put to death for treason, till the year 1780, when the Jesuits crept into England—they asserted, that the wicked designs of the Jesuits threw every thing into confusion; and enforced the making of severe laws against them—that by the procurement of Parsons, not less than fifty Jesuits had been yearly sent, to disturb the peace of England.—That Parsons, the arch-Jesuit, incited the Spaniards to invade England; and set up the title of the Infanta of Spain to the English crown.—That Holt, a Jesuit, persuaded Husket to raise a rebellion, and hired Cullen, York, and Williams to assassinate the Queen—that Watson a Jesuit, persuaded Squire to poison her. Inasmuch, as they aver, that the Queen, whose judgment was, *that conscience ought never to be forced*, was under the necessity of using severity, or of betraying the safety of her Country.” These and other reproaches, the English Romish Priests cast upon the Jesuits, and which are extant in their own writings.

Banished  
from the King  
dom.

Nor were the Jesuits behind in their recriminations. But the Queen and her Council would believe neither the pretensions of the one, nor the excuses of the other. In spite of their animosities, they believed, they were both ready to pervert

the minds of the Queen's subjects; and both were banished by Proclamation.—Which under Providence, was a most seasonable decree; for at that very moment, a powerful effort was making, and Winter and Tesmond, Jesuits, were sent over into Spain, where they were forming a dangerous conspiracy to cut off Queen Elizabeth, and to exclude James the King of Scotland from the succession.

The work of this illustrious Queen had now been accomplished. Her latest effort was to treat with the French King, for the life of a Protestant nobleman the Duke of Bouillon; and her last succours were sent to assist the Protestants of Geneva against the designs of the Duke of Savoy. Whilst she was thus acting for the lasting benefit of mankind, her sun, which had shone so long and so brightly, rapidly declined. The infirmities of age hastened by the consuming anxieties of a long and arduous reign, suddenly undermined her constitution. She retired to the palace of Richmond, which she called her “warm box,” and which, she said, *had now become necessary for her distempered body; and in the retirement of which, she could better attend to the duties of Religion, and the salvation of her soul.* It was at this time, that she permitted her coronation ring, which had grown into the flesh and become painful, to be filed from her finger; a circumstance which did not fail to be considered as an inauspicious omen,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

Illustrious  
character and  
Death of the  
Queen.  
A. D. 1603.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
signifying the dissolution of her marriage with her people. She was afflicted with a swelling in the throat, which induced a loss of appetite and extreme weakness. In this state, she was troubled with anxieties respecting those transactions which had lately taken place.—She feared lest her severity, had urged the Earl of Essex into treasonable courses, and thought she had been too hasty in his execution. On the other hand, she thought she had been too lenient in the pardon of the Earl of Tyrone, as if she had encouraged rebellion by her clemency. But she soon rallied from these desponding thoughts, and bore her exhausting sickness with great patience and resignation; offering to those around her, the lessons of wisdom which she had gleaned from a long and painful experience. “She was filled,” she said, “with this life, and desired to be translated to a state of immortality.” She observed, “Death, which was abhorred of so many, was but a just debt, which all must pay to nature: and “that our spirits, of right, must be restored to God, from whom they came.”

Her strength gradually wasting, she was waited upon by the Lord Keeper and the Secretary of State, to enquire into her mind with respect to her successor. Her answer was—“I have said, my throne is the throne of Kings; and that no mean person shall succeed me.”—and when they pressed her for a further declaration, she answered,

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.  
“I have said that a King is to succeed me; and who should that be, but my nearest kinsman, the King of Scotland.”

She had now done with the world, and all its busy and tumultuous affairs; and gave herself entirely to the duties of religion, and to solemn reflections on the tribunal before which, she was about to appear. The Archbishop of Canterbury, was constantly at her side, and with him, she united in humble and fervent prayer.

On one occasion, when the excellent Bishop was exhorting her to put her trust solely, in the merits of Christ, and to stay herself upon him, she answered; “I do,”—and added “*that she was weary of this miserable life, subject to so many calamities and dangers; that she earnestly desired to pass to that eternal light, which flowed with the most perfect felicity, and that she was hastening to her heavenly kingdom, to the presence and holy arms of her good Saviour.*”

Then, somewhat turning herself, with a serene countenance, and tranquil mind, she rested her head upon her right hand, and in this manner, composed herself for her dissolution. The moment was fast approaching, which the Archbishop perceiving, directed her to fix her thoughts on God. to which she replied; “I do; nor do they wander from him.” These were her last words; but from the motion of her hands and eyes, it was evident that her whole mind was absorbed in

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. heavenly meditation and mental prayer. Thus gradually and silently she sunk to rest, and on the fourth of March, about midnight, expired in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her Reign.

The tidings of her death filled the whole country with inexpressible grief, which displayed itself in floods of tears. In reality, no Prince since the foundation of the World, engaged the hearts of her subjects, in a degree equal to Queen Elizabeth. The nation deplored her as a family would, which had lost its only parent. Her subjects admired her for her great qualifications: they loved her for her disinterested patriotism and princely virtues. Coxcombs in thinking, have attempted to sully the fairest reputation that was ever acquired, by dragging to the light, and enlarging upon, the frailties of the woman. Even Hume has not been ashamed to retail the idle impertinencies of Melvil the Scotch Ambassador. Frivolities utterly unworthy of the page of history; and by which it is impossible to believe she could have been actuated, in the discharge of her high and responsible duties.

The men of her own day were assuredly, the best judges of her personal worth and excellency. We, may be allowed, with justice, to pass an opinion on the result of her actions. The wisdom and greatness of her reign were celebrated by the ablest pens of that period; and all subsequent

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V. writers have agreed that during her administration, she conferred the most inestimable benefits upon her Country. She was not perfection. Her management of the Puritan divines was not judicious. They were undoubtedly the ablest preachers and the most exemplary men in the church, and their services ought to have been secured by concession. But they were repelled by an unconciliating and arbitrary policy. Had she conceded to the demands of the more violent, who doggedly adhered to the platform of discipline adopted by the foreign reformed churches, she would have fallen into a still greater error, and swept away all the landmarks of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. These were preserved, unfortunately with many of those secular incumbrances which the more reasonable Puritans would have abolished, whilst the spirit of religion, without which, the sacred edifice, in all its proportions is reared in vain, was in a great measure extinguished. But these things are yet to appear. We are never safe when we depart from well established principles; we are never secure when we listen not to the voice of moderation and reason.

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.

THIS mighty Princess was an eminent instrument in the hand of God, for the furtherance of his benevolent purposes towards England; and in Judgement, Justice, Courage, Clemency, and Patriotism, must remain, to the latest posterity, the admiration of mankind. She succeeded her father in the high office of Arbitress of Europe; and held the dignity with as firm a hand, founded on more just and sacred principles. Spain in its arbitrary and intolerant course was checked and driven back. In France, the Protestant House of Valois was supported by her counsels, and that of Bourbon, by her aids. Scotland was secured by her policy—The Netherlands, by her armies—Ireland by her power. The King of Portugal was relieved by her bounty, and the King of Poland with her sympathy. Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, took up, and laid down their arms at her pleasure. The fame of England extended beyond the limits of Europe, and penetrated the remote parts of Asia, Africa, and America; and the name of ELIZABETH, was honoured amongst the Turks, the Persians; Barbarians and Indians.

In almost all the kingdoms of the world, she enlarged the boundaries of commerce, and procured extensive privileges for the encouragement of her merchants. Her Navy; enlarged beyond former example, rode triumphantly over her seas, the dread of her enemies and the safeguard of her Isle. And to crown all, in the midst of the most un-

heard of difficulties, she established the rational and eternal Principles of POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS PROTESTANTISM! and bequeathed them in all their excellency to future generations, to be upheld by them, with the same firm and unyielding magnanimity; and to be considered as unchangeable, as they are unimpeachable!

SECTION III.  
CHAP. V.



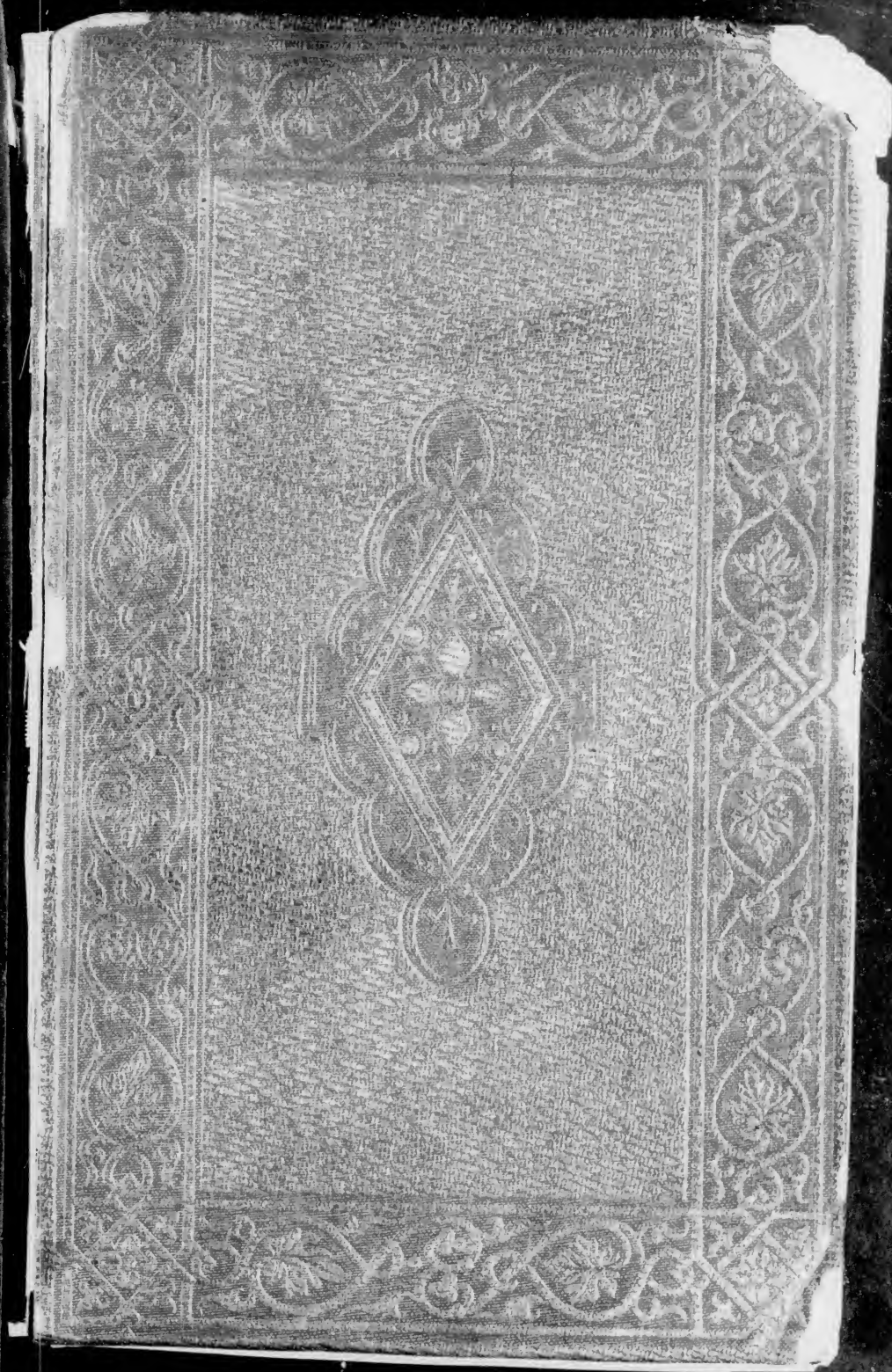
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



0021064067



# VOLUME 2



Class 942

Book Sch6

Columbia College Library 2

Madison Av. and 49th St. New York.

Bought with the A. A. Low Fund.

*Beside the main topic this book also treats of*

*Subject No.*

*On page*

*Subject No.*

*On page*

THE  
THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY;

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS UPON HISTORY  
ITS TRUE GENIUS AND REAL CHARACTER;

AND TO PRESENT IT,  
NOT AS A DISJOINTED SERIES OF FACTS,

BUT  
AS ONE GRAND WHOLE:

BY  
THE REV. J. D. SCHOMBERG, B. A.,

OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Late Master of Stoke Grammar School, Leicestershire, and Vicar of Polesworth,  
Warwickshire; Author of the Elements of the British Constitution;  
Church of England its own Witness, &c,

---

VOL II.

---

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO.—R GROOMBRIDGE.  
LEICESTER:—J. G. AND T. C. BROWN, BIBLE AND CROWN,  
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

MDCCCXLII.

1881

942  
Sch 6  
Vol-2

## CONTENTS.

---

VOL. II.

SECTION IV., p. 1.—From the Accession of the House  
of Stuart to the Abdication of James II.

SECTION IV., p. 645—From the Reign of William III. to  
our own times.

73180

THEOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY, &c.

---

SECTION IV. CHAPTER I.

---

JAMES THE FIRST.—THE SOVEREIGN POWER UNDEFINED, AND ARBITRARY—THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION VINDICATED BY PARLIAMENT.

---

IN accordance with the wishes of the late Queen, and in consequence of his own undoubted right, the Lords of the council immediately proclaimed James VI of Scotland, King of England, Ireland, and France, under the title of James I. and dispatched an honorable embassy, to acquaint him with the event.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.  
Accession of  
James.  
A. D. 1603.

The exaltation of this Prince to the throne of England, opened a new era in English History, by the vast accession of strength which the kingdom derived from the union of the two crowns.—Nor did this arise so much from the riches or number of people which it acquired, as from the termination of those unhappy disputes, which had

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. subsisted for centuries, and had occasioned an immense expenditure of national wealth, and a prodigious waste of human life. Henceforward, their destinies are to be united; and that which violence and the sword had not been able to effect, was brought about by the simplest means, under the superintending Providence of the Most High, and for the furtherance of his benevolent purposes with respect to the British Empire.

Grandson of Margaret daughter of Henry VII. It is difficult to say which of the two nations most rejoiced at the accession of the King of Scotland to the throne of England. The English felt unbounded satisfaction in receiving a Prince (whose title was undoubted) descended from the union of their two great families, and whose reputation for learning and experience, ranked him with the most gifted of men. The Scots were filled with exultation in the triumph they experienced, of giving a race of Kings to their more powerful neighbours, whose encroachments on their independence, they had, hitherto, resisted with success. It was well the Scots did not perceive the disastrous consequences which followed this union, and which arose, not from any essential evil in the union itself, but from the state of their own country and government at that period. The union of the two crowns was to be for their ultimate advantage; but not, as we shall see, for their immediate happiness. Their national crimes and barbarity required a long and tedious remedy.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. But the King was now on his way. On the fourteenth of April, he left Edinburgh for London, and at the very outset of his reign discovered the peculiarity of his disposition and habits. He journeyed,—not with the ardour of a Monarch, but with the tranquillity of a philosopher,—not with the care and solicitude of a King succeeding to the cares of a great Empire, but as a private gentleman in the pursuit of amusement and pleasure. His progress to the metropolis of his new Kingdom, which occupied about a month, was conducted as a hunting expedition, and attended with vast concourses of people, who in every place, hailed the Royal hunting party with unbounded demonstrations of joy. He was magnificently and freely entertained on his route, and presented with rich gifts at every stage of his progress, so that a Scotchman in his train, who remarked this profuse liberality, was heard to remark: “This people would spoil a good King.” The King discovered his satisfaction, by the utmost condescension and familiarity, and by the liberality with which he bestowed titles of honor. Such, indeed, was his promptitude in this respect, that before he had well reached the seat of his government, he had conferred the title of knighthood on more than two hundred and thirty seven individuals, and admitted to the dignity of Privy Councillors, many of the first nobility of Scotland.

His Morbid disposition.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

James has been greatly censured for his profusion in bestowing these honorary distinctions; but without due deliberation. There is every reason to believe, that the conduct of James was dictated by the soundest maxims of policy:—with that deliberation and foresight, which, in many other respects, shewed him superior to the age in which he lived. The fountain of honor had been sealed up, during the last reign, and the country unduly deprived of its just rewards; and undoubtedly, if the income of the individuals was sufficient to sustain the dignity, the Crown was adorned and the country benefited by their creation.

Person and  
Character.

The personal appearance of the King was not prepossessing. His countenance was homely and his features harsh, but not devoid of expression. In stature he was somewhat above the middle size and his form, well proportioned: but his dress was plain and ill adapted to his person. He was endowed by nature with great abilities, which had been fostered and strengthened by early culture, and a somewhat severe discipline under the celebrated Buchanan. He became deeply versed in every kind of ancient learning—his mind well stored with the lessons of past experience, and his taste grounded on the best models of antiquity; so that, when he came to the English Throne, he was undoubtedly, one of the most erudite and elegant scholars of the day. Many historians have attempted to throw discredit upon the learning

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

and acquirements of this Monarch. But in vain. His written speeches in Parliament, his published works and his promptitude and readiness on all occasions are testimonies in his favour, which cannot be gainsayed. But with all his learning and wisdom he had great defects. It must be remembered that he had other instructors than Buchanan. The Duchess of Mar was his preceptress, a woman of high feeling and dignified sentiment, and the young King was early instructed to entertain the most lofty ideas of the kingly character; and from his earliest years, was addressed as the “Lord’s anointed.” But his position as the King of Scotland had still more to do with the formation of his character. He ascended the throne of that kingdom, at an early age, under very unfavourable circumstances. He had to contend with every evil to which the kingly power has ever been subject. His immediate attendants were abject and parasitical. His nobles were proud, insolent and tyrannical, his subjects bigotted and severe; and the great proportion of the people, ignorant and barbarous. His power was protected by expedients, and his government conducted by stratagem. Hence arose the versatility of his character. His flatterers produced in him, a predominant vanity and affectation of learning, highly unbecoming, and almost inconsistent with his real attainments. The distance and haughtiness of his nobles, induced the necessity, almost, of

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. creating favorites, to supply the place of more becoming and dignified friendships; and, the extreme difficulties of his government, which he had not power, openly, to combat, exercised him in the wiles of dissimulation and cunning. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that all historians have found such difficulty in describing his character. We shall not further anticipate, that which properly belongs to the conclusion of the reign; but it was necessary, in conformity with our plan, to form a just perception of the disposition of the chief ruler, in order to form a proper estimate of the acts of his administration.

Ministers of the late Queen, retained in Office. Such was the character of the Monarch, under whose auspices, England was now to advance in its course; and in his first act, he discovered that prudence and wisdom, which was reasonable to be expected from his long experience in government. By his letters he retained the distinguished ministers of the late Queen in their places, and afterwards, on his arrival, confirmed their appointments. Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards created Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State; Thomas Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer; Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord High Chancellor; and Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral.

The nation was now ready, once more to start in its career, and with such eminent men as associates to the executive power, every thing bid fair,

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. for a powerful and prosperous reign. But the King's pacific disposition, his love of ease, and manner of conducting public business, did not afford that scope for the exercise of their talents, which they would have enjoyed under a more energetic and enterprising Monarch. To these famous and long-tried Councillors, the King added the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards the Earl of Northampton. In the appointment of the two latter noblemen, the King was doubtless actuated, as much by gratitude as policy, the one, being brother, and the other, son, to the late Duke of Norfolk, who had suffered, during the last reign, for his devotion to the interests of his mother. In their appointment also, inasmuch as they were both supposed to be the adherents of Popery, the King, in some measure, checked the discontent of the Romanists, who, already, began to surmise, that they had little to expect from the temper of the King or the change of Government.

Scarcely had these things been transacted, when Foreign Ambassadors arrived from Foreign powers, as well to congratulate the King upon his accession, as to convey assurances of amity and good will. First, in point of time, was Frederick V. Count Palatine of the Rhine; a person of great enterprise and high Protestant principle, whose fortunes were destined to be nearly allied to those of Eng-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

land. The States of Holland who had been so many years struggling for their independence, were early in soliciting the good will of James. An Embassy also arrived from the Emperor of Germany, Rodolphus II. who had succeeded to the dominions of the House of Austria. Nor did the King of Denmark, Christian IV. forget to congratulate his brother-in-law, on his advancement to the English Throne. Whilst, on the part of the great and heroic Henry IV. of France, Monsieur de Rigni was sent, with offers of alliance and friendship.

Breve of  
Clement VIII.

At this moment a conspiracy was discovered, which indeed, would scarcely deserve to be mentioned, did it not involve, in its consequences, the disgrace and ruin of two great and illustrious men, who had stood high in the favour and councils of the late Sovereign. The scheme of the conspirators was the same as that which had been attempted in the last reign, to dethrone the present monarch, and to place Arabella Stuart, his cousin-german, and equally descended, with himself, from Henry VII, upon the throne. The foundation of this conspiracy was the *Breve* which had been sent into England by Pope Clement VIII, during the reign of Elizabeth, excluding from the succession, every claimant, however nearly allied in blood, whose sentiments were known to be adverse to the Romish religion.—Nay, the instructions of the Breve were much stronger, and com-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

manded, that they should admit none to succeed to the kingdom *when that miserable woman should die, but such a person, of whose good inclinations to the See of Rome, they should, at least, be well persuaded.* Pope Clement VIII, still filled the Papal throne. The Breve was still in force: and although the supporters of the Papacy had some reason to hope, that for his mother's sake, James would be favourable to their cause, yet when they remembered the open declaration of his sentiments in Scotland; when they observed the manner in which he was received by his protestant subjects in England; his retention of the ministers of the late Queen in office, and heard his declarations respecting the Church of England, all hope of favour died within them, and they saw that they had nothing to expect but from their own exertions.

In this conspiracy, Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were concerned: but to what extent the latter illustrious person was implicated, remains in great obscurity. Weldon asserts his innocence: but his statements are denied by Bishop Goodman.\* With us, probably it will be sufficient to know, that the evidence on his trial was incomplete; and that he was condemned more by the force of authority, than direct testimony.—Lord Cobham was pardoned after he had laid his head upon the block; and Sir Walter Raleigh

Conspiracy  
from it.

\* See his *Aulicus Coquinariae*, B. 78.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. was committed to prison, where he continued many years, and employed his refined and vigorous powers in the pursuit of literature. It was during this confinement, he produced his admired and immortal work, on the History of the World. The two Romish Priests who were engaged in this abortive and ill-timed conspiracy, and Mr Broke, brother of Lord Cobham, were condemned and executed.

State of the Church.

The first subject of enquiry to which the royal attention was directed, was the state of ecclesiastical affairs—a subject of all others, most congenial to the mind and taste of the Monarch; and which, in its results, was likely to involve great and serious consequences.

Whitgift, the Archbishop, a man of great capacity and judgement, had dispatched the Dean of Canterbury, immediately on the death of the Queen, to congratulate King James on his accession, and to assure him of the duty and allegiance of the English Clergy. The manner in which his messenger was received, and the gracious answer returned by the King, assured the Archbishop of his good-will towards the Church of England, and afforded general satisfaction. But whilst the King was on his progress towards London, he was presented with an address, signed by nearly a thousand of the Clergy, and which, on that account, was styled, the “Millenary Petition,” in which they earnestly requested a further Reformation in

the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church. The Clergy belonging to this party were denominated “Puritans.” Their desire for alteration in doctrine, was extremely limited; their objections to the ceremonies of public worship, trifling, but, their complaints against Ecclesiastical arrangements and government, weighty and powerful, and deserving of the most serious consideration.

Whilst it is evident that the King entertained very favorable views of the Church of England, and was generally satisfied as to its doctrines and discipline, there were some subjects on which he desired information. For this purpose as well as to give audience to the Puritan Divines, he appointed a conference at Hampton Court, which commenced its sitting on the fourteenth day of January. The King, who was surrounded by many of the chief nobility, acted as President on this important occasion, and discovered more capacity, vigour and learning than on any future occasion. The first days conference with the Archbishop and other Bishops, was occupied in the discussion of certain inquiries propounded by himself. These points were on the form of Absolution; on Confirmation of children; on Lay-baptism in cases of urgency, and on the abuses which existed under the name of Excommunication. The King delivered his opinions on each point, with great eloquence and precision; and discover-

Hampton Court Conference. A. D. 1603.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. ed such traditional and theological learning as filled the audience with admiration; and on all the subjects under discussion, judicious alterations or explanations were introduced into the Rubric of the "Book of Common Prayer."

Discipline of  
the Church in-  
vaded.

In this Conference with the Bishops, the King carried himself with great affability and candour, and his observations were, generally, just and pertinent. But unfortunately whilst the members of this Conference possessed every qualification for judging, and every requisite for enforcing it, either through prejudice or the selfishness of power, their decisions on discipline, was inconsistent with the character and authority of the Church. According to the notes drawn up by Bishop Bancroft and printed in Strype,\* it was agreed, *that excommunication as then used should be taken away, both in name and nature; and a writ out of Chancery, to punish the contumacious, should be framed.* It seems incredible to us, who can view the case dispassionately, that persons of such eminence for piety and learning, should have agreed to a proposition, so utterly subversive of the first Principles of the Christian Institution. On what ground, could they agree to dispense with the power of the Church to excommunicate its turbulent or refractory members, and refer that awful responsibility to the Court of Chancery? The Power of Excommunication is the indefeasable right of

\* Strype's Whitgift, ii. 492.

the "Holy Catholic Apostolic Church;" which SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. cannot be assumed by any other power, or exercised by any delegated authority. It is a prerogative sole and independent, and stands upon the same authority as the order of the Christian Ministry itself. If one can be dispensed with, so may the other. They both stand on the divine commission.

It is true, that James may have found great abuses and inconveniences attending the application of this power, as it was then exercised, when the principles of civil and ecclesiastical government were imperfectly understood. Perhaps he thought by this method, to remedy them. But instead of such a result, he perpetuated a grievous infliction upon the Church, which, as it proceeded on a false principle, we shall, no doubt, find productive of serious mischief. When the Papal supremacy was overthrown, it was unfortunate that the Sovereigns who succeeded, did not perceive the propriety of separating the civil, from the spiritual supremacy.\* The Sovereign, it is clear, was rightful political head of all ecclesiastical persons and causes. But what had that power to do with the spiritual authority of the church? What right had the Sovereign to invade the prerogative of the Church, and wield the spiritual sword? or what right had the Church to descend from her proper sphere, and in her judgments, em-

\* See Courrayer on the Supremacy.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. ploy the temporal sword. In short, this great point was not understood at the Reformation, and, the misapprehension has been the source of numerous and inveterate evils.

Doctrines and The conference proceeded, and on the sixteenth of January, the Puritan Divines were admitted, at the head of whom was Doctor Reynolds, professor of divinity at Oxford. In doctrine, the only alteration proposed, was the introduction into the XVI Article, immediately following the words "after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace," of a qualifying clause. It was also proposed, that the Lambeth Articles which were highly Calvinistic should be inserted. The observations of the King on this subject for their sound sense and practical wisdom, are worthy of record. "Meantime I wish that the doctrine of predestination may be tenderly handled, lest, on the one side, God's Omnipotency be questioned by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predestination; or, on the other side, a desperate presumption arreared, by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in grace."

Ceremonies established.

When an exception was taken to the reading of the Apochrypha, the King desired them to mark those chapters which were exceptionable; and a minute was made to omit the reading of such portions, as were inconsistent with the canonical Scripture. But when objections were made to the surplice, the sign of the Cross in Baptism, and the

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. use of the ring in Marriage, the King interrupted the learned Professor and said, *he apprehended that the Surplice was a very comely garment; that the Cross was as old as Constantine, who could not be charged with Popery; besides, that it was no more a significant sign than imposition of hands, which was not objected to*, and thus, these points as they deserved, were summarily dismissed.

But when Doctor Reynolds arrived at the principal point in dispute, and pointed out the grievances in Church Government, and the abuses of the Ecclesiastical courts; and entreated the King to restore the local clerical assemblies, which they enjoyed in Archbishop Grindal's time, and, that Church matters which could not be resolved there, might be reserved for the Archdeacons' visitation, and from thence, if necessary, be transferred to the Diocesan Synod—the King, remembering what he had suffered under Presbyterian tyranny in Scotland; and still smarting under the galling infliction, lost all patience and burst into a flame; and, without waiting for any further remark, he observed, that *he saw they were aiming at a Scots Presbytery*; and, after indulging in a lively sally at the expense of the Scotch Reformers, ended with the arbitrary announcement—"If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else worse."

I have been particular to give a just and perspicuous view of this conference because it is es-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. sential to our history; and forms a very important link in the line of events. An opportunity was afforded to those in power, of consulting the best interests of the Church and Nation. Dissent at this period, was unknown. It was not contemplated by the Puritans. For, some time after this Conference, in their defence for refusing subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, "willingly and from their hearts," they use these words. "We protest before the almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England as they be established by public authority, to be true visible Churches of Christ, that we desire the continuance of our ministry in them, above all earthly things, as that, without which, our whole life would be wearisome and bitter to us."

Notwithstanding this declaration, no doubt there were amongst the divines, many who were endued with a rash, innovating spirit, and, who from their residence abroad, had imbibed the Presbyterian views of discipline; but they were, generally speaking, moderate in their demands, and determined, if possible, to preserve the unity of the Church. The Bishops, also, were temperate and judicious men, and sincere in their desires to benefit the Church, by remedying abuses and amending the Ecclesiastical laws. But the King's arbitrary conduct, which shewed itself at the conclusion of the conference, put an end to all salutary Reform; extinguished all hope in the breasts of

the moderate Reformers, stimulated the decision of the wavering, and inflamed the minds of the intemperate. SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

In all probability whatever had been the decision of this conference, a very great number of persons would have remained dissatisfied; and the unity of the Church might still have been endangered. The King, in coming to the decision which he did, was guided by rule, founded on an intimate knowledge of the subject. His view of the case generally, was most reasonable. He felt assured that, those were the true principles of Church polity, which came nearest to the ancient and universal practice. It was wise, therefore, and just, to stand upon the grand principle of Church government, and not to submit to any innovation. His resolution on this point, founded on reason and knowledge, was firm and immovable; and, so far he is deserving of our highest gratitude. And, when we consider his peculiar situation during the early part of his life—the scenes of religious violence and tumult amongst which his opinions were formed; the extended and peculiar character of his education, which eminently fitted him for taking a just view of this most important subject, he will appear an eminent instrument in the Hand of God; and, more especially as at that time, the individual power of the Monarch was supreme in Ecclesiastical matters, and might, through rashness or ignorance, have

SECTION IV. overthrown the whole frame-work of the Church Establishment.

CHAP. I.

But not in  
Charity.

Notwithstanding, whilst the King and Bishops were fully justified in permitting no innovation on the essential principle of Church Government, they might, by a conciliatory conduct, have availed themselves of the learning and piety of the Puritans, to the incredible advantage of the Church. I do not mean that they should have dispensed with uniformity in worship. I think they were bound to maintain it. But, as most of their objections were really trifling, by a little concession, great good might have been obtained, at little cost. Unfortunately, conciliation was not attempted.

True Power  
of the Church.

Nor was this the worst. A false and arbitrary position was taken up, and persevered in, which has been the foundation of unheard-of evils in the Commonwealth. Not content with exacting uniformity in the administration of public Worship, which they had a solemn right to do, and depriving those of their Ecclesiastical functions, who would not submit to the decisions of the Church—they proceeded to coerce, and fine and imprison them for disobedience. Upon no principle divine or human, could such a course be justified. The Author of Christianity granted no such authority. His commission to his Church was great, awful and irresponsible. But it was wholly spiritual. No carnal, no earthly instrument of coercion, was allowed. The Church requires no aid to strength-

en her judgments. They are inconceivably grand, and beyond the aid of human power, which can only encumber them. It is as if the speed of the tempest could be accelerated by machinery, or the voice of thunder increased by the discharge of artillery. The Church, indeed, demands the countenance and support of the Civil Governor, because she is "by many infallible proofs" a divine institution. But if he attempts more than this, and uses his temporal power, for counteracting or enforcing her decrees, he invades her prerogative, and must create immeasurable evils in her administration.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

But, if Jesus Christ, did not grant any such temporal power to his Church—nay, it would be derogatory to his divine character to suppose the possibility of it, inasmuch as he has granted to it, a power, infinitely transcending all earthly power; and which, can only be degraded and injured by its interference—if Jesus Christ has not sanctioned it, upon what ground can any human authority assume the power of coercing the human mind? It is unjust and arbitrary to attempt it: and, if attempted, impossible to accomplish.

This simple principle, as grand as it is simple, was not understood by King James. He might have learnt it, in the troublous school in which he was educated. But his extravagant notions of the Kingly Prerogative, were exasperated by the sha-

Invaded by  
James.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.  
dow of opposition, and he commenced a system of action, which was rapidly followed by the most serious evils, and overwhelmed his House with destruction. But I must not anticipate.

Catechism,  
Canons, Bible.

But other matters were transacted in this conference, which have been rendered important from the direction and character which they have given to our Ecclesiastical affairs. By a decree of this Conference, the Canons were compiled by the Convocation which sat concurrent with the succeeding Parliament. These Canons, or regulations for the discipline of the Church, are one hundred and forty-one in number, but are not considered binding on the Laity, because the King presuming on his prerogative, did not condescend to ask the sanction of Parliament. The general character of these Canons is harsh and arbitrary, and suited to the period at which they were promulgated. Many of their enactments have been superseded by later statutes. Others have been rendered obsolete by the change of times and customs, whilst as a whole, they are inoperative and inconvenient. We must not forget to acknowledge our obligations to this Conference, for that concise and beautiful summary of the Christian Sacraments, which is appended to the Catechism of the Church, and respecting which, we can have but one wish, that it may be perpetual.

This vain attempt of the King to give the force of law to his royal prerogative, has been the source

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.  
of prodigious evil. The Church has been left without a directory or rule. Ministerial authority, in fact, abolished, and every man left without a master, to do what was right in his own eyes: nor can I perceive the justice of the distinction between the Clergy and Laity. I can easily conceive how a Clergyman may be amenable to his diocesan, without any such rules, in all simple Ecclesiastical admonition and censure; but surely, where Canons are sanctioned and enforced by civil punishments, the Clergy ought to be as much under the protection of law, as the Laity. It is slavery to admit any such distinction. A Clergyman does not lose his citizenship, by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop and Presbytery.

But we are still more immeasurably indebted to it, for the present authorised translation of the Holy Bible. This, indeed, was the glory of the reign; and had King James lived and reigned for no other purpose than to accomplish this magnificent work, he had not lived in vain; his reign would have answered a great and sufficient purpose. As a complete work, it was perhaps, one of the greatest achievements ever accomplished by human ability and has stood the test of the severest criticism, which the learning of later years has been able to exercise. It is true, some of the words which it contains have become obsolete, some passages are obscure, and even some errors have been discovered; but still as a composition,

Version of  
the Bible.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. like the Book of Common Prayer, it stands unrivalled, and will long remain the Palladium of English Protestantism as well as the standard of the English language. Through its medium the sacred lamp of Truth has shone with a pure and steady light, and through the energies of the British Nation, has penetrated into the darkest and most remote corners of the earth. The names of the translators deserve to be recorded to our latest posterity.\*

\* Their number was forty seven, and they were divided into six Committees to meet at Westminster, and the two Universities.

Andrews, D. of *Westminster*.  
Overall, D. of *St. Pauls*.

Saravin,  
Clerke,  
Layfield  
Leigh,  
Burleigh,  
Kinge,  
Thomson,  
Bedwell,

Barlow, D. of *Chester*,  
Hutchinson,  
Spenser,  
Fenton,  
Rabbett,  
Sanderson,  
Dakins,

*The Classes at Cambridge were*

Lively,  
Richardson,  
Chaderton,  
Dillingham,  
Harrison,  
Andrews,  
Spaldinge,  
Birge,

Pentateuch.—The story  
from Joshua to the First  
Book of Chronicles exclusive.

The Epistles of St. Paul,  
and the Canonical Epistles.

From the First of Chroni-  
cles with the rest of the story,  
and the Hagiographia, viz.  
Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Can-  
tica, Ecclesiastes.

The first meeting of parliament which immediately followed, passed over without any thing remarkable except the King's speech, which was a kind of prologue to the parliamentary scenes which were shortly to be transacted. It was a master piece of eloquence, adorned with learning and replete with enlightened views, far superior to the age in which he lived. He propounded with precision, the duties of Kings and subjects. He went further; and with a frankness, which almost amounted to rashness, he removed the hal-  
lowed vail, which the hand of time had thrown over the institutions of the Monarchy; and called

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. Meeting of  
Parliament.

Duport,  
Brathwaite,  
Radcliffe,  
Ward,  
Downes,  
Boyse,  
Warde,

The Prayer of Manasses,  
and the rest of the Apocrypha.

*At Oxford.*

Hardinge,  
Reynolds,  
Holland,  
Kilby,  
Smith,  
Brett,  
Fareclowe,

The four greater Prophets  
with the Lamentation, and the  
twelve lesser Prophets.

Ravis, D. of *Ch. Ch.*  
Abbot, D. of *Winchester*,  
Montague, D. of *Worces.*  
Thompson, D. of *Winds.*  
Savile,  
Perin,  
Ravens,  
Harmer,

The four Gospels, Acts of  
the Apostles, Apocalypse.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

the attention of mankind to the abstract principles of Government—principles which they had scarcely ever ventured to investigate. He boldly stated the grand and fundamental law of our Constitution—that the Monarch is amenable for his actions to none but God—a statement sufficiently startling when made as an abstract proposition, without its proper limitation or rational safeguard. The King fully believed the abstract principle, founded on a divine and original right, which flowed from his legitimate title to the throne. He considered himself as “the anointed of God,” and acknowledged no limitation to his prerogative, but the good of the people. Indeed, the power and sovereignty of the English Kings at this period, was undefined. All the rational principles of Government were inherent in the constitution, but they had not then been fully examined, and were not understood. The King led the way, and boldly commenced the examination; and was thus made the unconscious instrument of evolving the true principles of our civil polity. This position, that the King “*can do no wrong*,” and is answerable to God, alone, for his actions, is now fully recognized as a fundamental maxim of our political system; but rendered perfectly consistent with reason and common sense, by the adoption of another principle, that the official advisers of the Monarch are answerable for their conduct, to the representatives of the people,—an arrangement

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

which places the rights of the people as well as those of the Monarch, under the divine sanction, and gives to both, an interest in the impartial administration of the Most High. The authority of the Prince emanates from the Divine Power; the rights of the people are secured by the sanction of divine justice. “Passive obedience and non-resistance” are idle terms which have occupied the volumes of Polemics; but which have no meaning under our happy constitution. It cannot be presumed, that the Sovereign power is more the object of the divine care, than the multitude of the people. Both are recognized by the state as equally the subjects of his care. The prerogative of the King is secured from popular invasion; the rights of the people, from royal aggression.

In this same speech, to which we have been directing the reader's attention, the King drew a strong contrast between a legitimate Sovereign and a usurper, in which he ventured to assert—that the former, considered himself ordained to secure the wealth and prosperity of the people, whilst the latter, viewed his people as ordained to satisfy his inordinate desires and appetites—thus claiming for “rightful” Sovereigns, a kind of moral as well as political perfection. These overwrought statements, inconsistent with the sobriety of truth, afforded, no doubt, ample materials for thought to the reflecting and independent spirits

Extreme  
views of the  
King.

SECTION of the age, and laid the foundation for consequences little anticipated by this sagacious Prince.

IV.  
CHAP. I.  
Offends the  
Protestants.

With equal candour he declared his sentiments on the all-important subject of Religion, and shewed by what means the Romish Religion might not only be tolerated, but brought into unity with the established Catholic faith of the realm, if its guardians would do as the Church of England had done—trace back the Institutions of Christianity, abolish all innovations on the primitive doctrine and practice, and bring the usages of the church, as near as possible, into conformity with the Catholic and Apostolic Institution. If they would act on this principle, the King promised to “meet them half-way;” by which he meant, that he would subject the Reformation of the English Church, to the same ordeal; and ground the union of the two churches on the result of the investigation. This reasonable and enlightened view of the subject, gave general dissatisfaction to the nation, which had just escaped out of the merciless hands of Popery, and still remembered with horror, the fires and tortures of that intolerant domination. The people imagined that the King spoke too favorably of Romanism; and the Puritan clergy, especially, not only took umbrage at the royal declaration, but even made it a subject of outcry and alarm. But time, which tries our opinions, has fully established the solidity and accuracy of the King’s statements. The

knowledge and experience of modern times have only served to illustrate and confirm their truth; and, to demonstrate, that it is the only true principle upon which Ecclesiastical Reform can be conducted, and the only ground on which we can be justified even in acknowledging the Church of Rome as an Institution of Christ.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

But this is not all: not only did the King give offence to the Protestants by these declarations, he gave still greater offence to the Romanists, by a declaration equally candid and reasonable, that “*the Papists were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintained the Pope to be their spiritual head, and to have the power to dethrone Kings.*”

Offends the  
Romanists.

In this Parliament also he commenced his efforts for accomplishing the union of the two kingdoms, a grand political project, in which he again shewed himself superior to the prejudices of the age. He took the name of King of Great Britain, and quartered the arms of the two nations on his flags, and to give a striking idea of the peaceful advantages of such a union, he caused the iron gates of the frontier towns to be converted into ploughshares. But in vain. All he could accomplish, was the appointment of Commissioners to treat upon the subject; but the prejudices of both countries were immovable. Scotland was doomed to suffer a century of barbarism, and placed in a situation, of all others, the most singular and unhappy. Its Monarch from being the

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. most limited, had, by his accession to the English throne, become the most powerful Sovereign in Europe. Its nobles from being the most free and independent chiefs of Christendom, had, by the union of the two crowns, become the most subject and dependent, whilst the people exposed to the absolute dictation of their Monarch, and to the uncontrolled jurisdiction of their aristocracy, suffered all the miseries peculiar to both those forms of Government.

Peace with Spain.

The war in which Queen Elizabeth had been engaged with Spain, was not yet concluded; and James, on his accession to the English throne, found himself placed in an anomalous situation: as King of Scotland, he was at peace with Spain, as King of England he was at war with that power. But his ruling policy was peace, which arose partly from an open and pacific disposition, but still more, from a solid conviction of the justice and advantage of a system of peace. The King of Spain and the Pope also, from different motives, favored pacific measures, and a treaty of peace was soon concluded, with an interchange of the most magnificent presents; and a perfect reconciliation was established between the two Monarchs—a reconciliation which was as hearty and sincere on the one side, as it was hollow and deceptive on the other, and which, in the end, proved most disastrous to the House of Stuart. Peace itself may be bought too dear, when purchased at

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. the expense of principle; and in this instance, it is to be feared, to gratify some personal peculiarity the King rejected the lessons of national experience. A system of peace, in itself, must be good, and is, certainly, most consistent with the principles of eternal truth and justice. It was the policy pursued by Henry VII; but there was more vigour in his administration, and a more effective preparation for war; and it may be laid down as an established maxim, that amidst the uncertain and fluctuating changes of political affairs, arising from the violence and suddenness of human passions, a system of peace can never be adopted, without a serious preparation for war.

Scarcely had this important treaty been concluded, and the emblems of peace were floating from every tower and eminence in the kingdom; when, before the meeting of Parliament, which had been summoned, a fearful conspiracy was discovered; which had for its object, the destruction of the King, Lords, and Commons at one blow. The cellars under the two houses of Parliament were hired, and stored with gunpowder, which, on the opening of the Session was to be fired; and to involve all the members of the Legislature in one common and tremendous ruin. Never did a more infernal project enter into the human mind: and, in the Records of Crime, it stands unparalleled for the wicked ingenuity of its contrivance, and the cruel barbarity of its intended

Gunpowder Plot.  
A. D. 1605.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
execution: and affords to mankind, another striking proof of the intolerant spirit of that APOSTATE CHURCH, which gave it birth.

The Conspirators.

The principal conspirators, were generally, men of ancient family, unspotted character, and independent fortune. Catesby, who may be considered as the chief projector of the plot, was descended from Catesby, of infamous memory, the wicked counsellor of Richard III, whose evil genius he inherited; and on whom the Divine vengeance, was about to retribute the crimes of his progenitor. The conspirators met for the purpose of consultation, in a place behind Saint Clement's church, and when they had resolved upon the manner of executing their enterprise, their next step was to consult their *spiritual guides*, on the lawfulness of undertaking it. The individual, whom they chiefly consulted on this occasion, was Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, in connexion with Oswalde Tesmond, and John Gerard, associates of the same order. The project was highly applauded; and they were assured that they might proceed with *a good conscience! and perform the deed; since their design was against heretics, and persons excommunicated.*

Satisfied of the religious and meritorious character of their undertaking, they proceeded without delay, to bind themselves to its accomplishment, by solemn oaths, which were administered by the Jesuit, Gerard; and such was the resolution and

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
religious fury inspired into their breasts; that although twenty persons were possessed of the dreadful secret, no emotions of pity, no hope of reward, no fear of punishment prevailed on any of the conspirators to abandon the plot, or, to make a discovery of it. Every arrangement was now made, and the conspirators waited with impatience for the meeting of Parliament. The most difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise, was committed to Guido Fawkes, who had been in the Spanish service, and was a person of desperate courage, and a furious Romanist. To him was intrusted the care of the cellars, in which the gunpowder was stored. Suspicion was absent. The fatal day was rapidly approaching; and Guido Fawkes, with blind, fanatical zeal, was fully resolved to fire the train, and to sacrifice himself, that he might *avenge the Church, and destroy the enemies of God.*

Nothing was now wanting but the flight of time to crown their barbarous plot with success. It was deep as hell;—secret as the grave!—and impenetrable as the shades of night. But it was not to succeed; there was an overruling Power above, with whom “the darkness is no darkness at all;” and to whose all-seeing eye, the hearts of men and their secret machinations are naked and exposed. He, saw through the clouds and mystery with which they had thought to conceal their murderous design; and, in his righteous providence, he

The Plot frustrated.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
execution: and affords to mankind, another striking proof of the intolerant spirit of that APOSTATE CHURCH, which gave it birth.

The Conspirators.

The principal conspirators, were generally, men of ancient family, unspotted character, and independent fortune. Catesby, who may be considered as the chief projector of the plot, was descended from Catesby, of infamous memory, the wicked counsellor of Richard III, whose evil genius he inherited; and on whom the Divine vengeance, was about to retribute the crimes of his progenitor. The conspirators met for the purpose of consultation, in a place behind Saint Clement's church, and when they had resolved upon the manner of executing their enterprise, their next step was to consult their *spiritual guides*, on the lawfulness of undertaking it. The individual, whom they chiefly consulted on this occasion, was Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, in connexion with Oswalde Tesmond, and John Gerard, associates of the same order. The project was highly applauded; and they were assured that they might proceed with a *good conscience! and perform the deed; since their design was against heretics, and persons excommunicated.*

Satisfied of the religious and meritorious character of their undertaking, they proceeded without delay, to bind themselves to its accomplishment, by solemn oaths, which were administered by the Jesuit, Gerard; and such was the resolution and

religious fury inspired into their breasts; that although twenty persons were possessed of the dreadful secret, no emotions of pity, no hope of reward, no fear of punishment prevailed on any of the conspirators to abandon the plot, or, to make a discovery of it. Every arrangement was now made, and the conspirators waited with impatience for the meeting of Parliament. The most difficult and dangerous part of the enterprise, was committed to Guido Fawkes, who had been in the Spanish service, and was a person of desperate courage, and a furious Romanist. To him was intrusted the care of the cellars, in which the gunpowder was stored. Suspicion was absent. The fatal day was rapidly approaching; and Guido Fawkes, with blind, fanatical zeal, was fully resolved to fire the train, and to sacrifice himself, that he might *avenge the Church, and destroy the enemies of God.*

Nothing was now wanting but the flight of time to crown their barbarous plot with success. It was deep as hell;—secret as the grave!—and impenetrable as the shades of night. But it was not to succeed; there was an overruling Power above, with whom “the darkness is no darkness at all;” and to whose all-seeing eye, the hearts of men and their secret machinations are naked and exposed. He, saw through the clouds and mystery with which they had thought to conceal their murderous design; and, in his righteous providence, he

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

The Plot frustrated.

SECTION determined to bring the hidden deed to light, and to exhibit it, in all its frightful enormity, before the eyes of an astonished world. The discovery arose from the same fanaticism which gave it birth. Just before the perpetration of the final act, a conscientious scruple arose in the breasts of the confederates, not awakened by any generous sentiment, but generated by their bigotted partialities—whether it would be lawful to destroy the righteous with the wicked—the Popish, with the Protestant lords. The case of conscience was formally proposed by Catesby to their spiritual director; and, it was resolved by Garnet to this effect, that if the advantage would be greater by destroying the innocent with the guilty, it was lawful to destroy the whole. This difficulty surmounted, nothing was left but for every man to hasten to his post; and in silence to await the catastrophe. All were obedient to their solemn engagements; and all, but one, fully coincided in the decision of Garnet; and this one, had a private partiality to gratify. He wished to save Lord Monteagle, and, in order to prevent his attending Parliament, wrote to him a letter couched in the following mysterious terms: “My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have resolved to punish the wicked-

IV.  
CHAP. I.

ness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement: but retire yourself into the country where you may expect the event in safety: for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you.”

This letter was received only ten days before the meeting of parliament, and although the nobleman to whom it was addressed, treated it with levity, as a frolic to deter him from attending Parliament, yet, from prudential motives, he was urged to lay it before the principal Secretary of State. And so powerful was the suggestion, that although it was seven o'clock when the letter was put into his hands, he presented it to the Earl of Salisbury that very night. The noble Secretary did not appear to attach much greater importance to the epistle, than Lord Monteagle; but observed that some expressions contained in it, reminded him of certain intimations which he had received from foreign courts, to the effect that the Roman Catholics intended to back their petition to the Parliament, in a manner, which was not expected, and, could not be refused. This seeming co-inci-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

Leads to a  
suspicion,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

dence so far prevailed on the mind of the Secretary, that he was induced to submit the epistle to the scrutiny of the Council; who resolved, that it was of sufficient importance to be shewn to the King. But still, it did not appear to require immediate or urgent dispatch. The King was on a hunting excursion; and the document was quietly repositied in the cabinet of the Minister. The day after his return, which was the first of November, the letter was placed in his hands, with a detail of the circumstances connected with it.—The King on perusing the letter, collected from the manner and style of the composition, that the warning it contained, was not to be despised. The Secretary in order to elicit the grounds upon which the King's judgment was formed; observed, that its inconsistency proved it to be the product of folly or madness; and to shew this, directed the King's attention to the passage, "The danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter," and observed, that the warning could be of no use, if the burning of the letter would remove the danger. But the King in return, requested him to consider the phraseology of the former sentence.—"They shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and not see who hurts them;" and, that this taken in conjunction with what he had just quoted, appeared to him to imply some sudden danger, such as might be expected from gunpowder.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

The result of this conference, was an order to the Lord Chamberlain, to search the rooms and cellars connected with the two houses of Parliament. This search was not commenced till the afternoon of the fourth of November.—The Lord Chamberlain was accompanied by Lord Monteagle, who was curious to see the end of this mysterious affair. When they came to the vaults under the Houses, where the wood and coals of the conspirators were housed, they asked in a careless manner, to whom they belonged, and who the person was, who seemed to have the care of them. This person was, Guido Fawkes; who represented Piercy's servant, under the assumed name of Johnson. Their report having been made to the Council, the King was more fully confirmed in his suspicions; and it was resolved, that the vaults should be thoroughly examined. Accordingly, a commission was given to Sir Thomas Knyvett, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber and a Magistrate of Westminster; who, with a few attendants, arriving about midnight, and, only twelve hours before the meeting of Parliament, found a person of suspicious character, muffled in a large cloak, standing at the entrance of the vault. This was Guido Fawkes, ever faithful to his desperate trust, who discovered, at the very moment of his capture, his fitness for the murderous service he had undertaken: with an oath of brutal fierceness, he declared, that if he had been taken within the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
cellar, he would have set fire to the train. On his person was found a dark lantern, with every material necessary for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Every thing was now discovered. Sir Thomas Knyvett hastened to the palace and acquainted the Lord Chamberlain and the Council in waiting, with the discovery. Such was their impatient joy, that they hastened to the King's apartment and awoke him from sleep, to convey to him the joyful intelligence.

Circumstances of the discovery.

Such were the circumstances, attending the secret working and discovery of this inhuman plot. During a whole year, it had been elaborately wrought without exciting a whisper of suspicion: Never was a band of conspirators more faithful to a desperate enterprise. Never were conspirators more confident of success. Nothing was heard—nothing known, till within twelve hours of its intended perpetration. Yet it was silently and signally frustrated. Lord Monteagle, had not the most distant suspicion, when he conveyed the mysterious letter to the Secretary of State, that the two houses of Parliament were to be destroyed by gunpowder—the Earl of Salisbury himself, had no idea of such a catastrophe—the mine was prepared, but they were unconscious of their danger: the volcano was charged beneath them, and prepared for explosion, but they were secure: a sudden thought darted into the mind of the King,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
and discovered the whole! Yet it was but a conjecture; and, he had so little confidence in it, that it was agreed, lest they should bring odium upon themselves for such a suspicion, that, if Sir Thomas Knyvett found no material of destruction under the houses, they should pretend, that the search was made after some stolen furniture of the King's. Yet the impression was strong enough, to lead to the discovery. In the first place, on the mind of Lord Monteagle, to induce him to lay the letter before the Secretary; on the mind of the Secretary, to lay it before the Council: on the Council, to submit it to the King: on the King, to cause the houses to be examined. How little was it in the intention of the Conspirator, who wrote the letter, that it should lead to the discovery of the Plot! Every word he used, was studied, with a design of avoiding such a result.—Yet it led to it, by a surprising chain of circumstances. O! Thou great and overruling Power, whose purposes are inconceivably wise and benevolent, it was thy doing!—It is thine to frustrate the designs of the wicked, and to bring to light, the hidden works of darkness and death!

The perpetrators of the intended deed, themselves, attributed the discovery, to a supernatural agency. They were secure of their own fidelity. They were confident in their cause, and certain of success; and thus, when Guido Fawkes was examined before the Council, he boldly avowed

Impiety of the Church of Rome.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

his intention ; and declared that, " the Devil, and not God, had betrayed his good design." But this declaration, was as much a blasphemy against God, as the conspiracy was an outrage against nature. How fearfully responsible is the system, which makes the Almighty and Blessed God, the abettor of treason, of treachery, of cruelty and murder ; and, the Devil, the patron of humanity and benevolence ! Nor yet would we involve the whole body of Roman Catholics in the guilt of this atrocious conspiracy ; nor, must the whole responsibility be considered to rest upon the immediate actors in this intended tragedy.—It was zeal for *their religion*, which engaged them in the enterprise. They sought the sanction and advice of their spiritual guides, and obtained their approval—nay, absolution was granted to them beforehand. The conspirators believed their treason to be a most pious deed, and most acceptable to God. It was not Guido Fawkes, who said ; " It was the Devil and not God who had betrayed his good design," but the Spirit of Romanism. A serious responsibility, no doubt, attaches to him and to his associates, but the chief evil and responsibility is attributable to the system itself.—The guilt of the transaction, must rest upon the Church of Rome. All the circumstances of the conspiracy were known and approved of, at Rome. Nay, whilst the Plot was preparing, prayers were offered up for its success, in the principal seat of

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

Christendom ! Nor will this appear incredible, when it is considered, that Garnet, who heard the confessions of the Conspirators, encouraged and absolved them, and was executed for his treason, is reckoned, with the approval of the Church, amongst the martyrs of the society of the Jesuits. At Louvain, he was addressed in prayer : and Widdington informs us, that his bones were preserved as relics ; and his image set up over altars : whilst his portrait was publicly sold at Rome, with an inscription to the effect, that he was executed for the Catholic Faith.\*

Can a system of Religion which generates such monstrous evils, be from God ? Can he who is the source of benevolence and love, be supposed to countenance such refinement in cruelty ? Can Jesus Christ who came into the world, "not to destroy men's lives but to save them," be considered the author of such furious and malignant passions, and of wholesale extirpation ? Can Jesus Christ, who forbid all persecution for the furtherance of his Religion, and who "died for his enemies," be supposed to acquiesce in the furtherance of a scheme, unworthy of the most brutal of men ? Yet, on the ground of religion, it is sought to be justified by the adherents of Romanism. Vain attempt ! even, at the bar of fallible reason, which

Guilty of  
Blasphemy.

\* Peter Henricus Garnettus, Anglus, Londini pro fide Catholica suspensus et necatus 3 Maii, 1606. *Lathbury.*

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. pronounces it a most glaring insult upon the Majesty of Heaven, and a most unpardonable blasphemy against the Son of God. For admitting every pretension of the Roman Catholic Church, put forth as the grounds of persecution—that it is the only true, infallible and authorized Church; and that there cannot, by any possibility, be salvation out of her pale—yet, supposing all this to be true—it would be contrary to reason and to the avowed principles of Christianity, to extirpate its enemies by fire and sword. Nor would such a course of policy be inconsistent only with the precepts of Christianity, but contrary to the dictates of humanity and common sense, which would teach them to prolong to the utmost extent, the lives of miserable and infatuated Heretics, who at the hour of their death, must be consigned to eternal damnation. Under such circumstances, to hurry them off the stage of life, and place them, for ever, without purgatorial remedy, beyond the boundaries of hope, is not only antichristian, but inhuman! One circumstance, connected with the subject, deserves yet to be recorded. Whilst the principal conspirators were defending themselves in a house which they had fortified, against the Sheriff of Worcester, strange to say, the house was blown up with gunpowder, by a spark which accidentally fell upon their ammunition. By the explosion their faces were so blackened and their bodies so scorched, that when the gates were open-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. ed they presented a remarkable spectacle, and appeared like infernals. Catesby and Piercy were slain in the attack. The others were taken prisoners. What a striking retribution!

But we shall not enlarge further on this melancholy subject. It has little to do with the direct history of our country, except that it filled the minds of the men of that generation with horror, and induced the legislature to repress the adherents of Popery, by grievous penalties, and civil disqualifications; and, indeed, has influenced our whole political economy, from that time to a very recent date—a subject we shall not anticipate.

The second session of the first Parliament which had been destined to destruction on the fifth of November, met in perfect safety on the ninth of that month. The King, in his address, entered minutely into the circumstances of the late conspiracy, in which he evinced extraordinary moderation and temper, and discovered a mind deeply imbued with the sense of a divine interposition. A portion of his speech on this occasion, in which his great penetration and candour are eminently seen, must not be omitted; “for” added the King, “however the blind superstition of their errors in religion, has been the only motive in this desperate attempt, it must not be thought that all who profess the ROMAN religion are guilty of the same: for as it is true that no other Sect, or Heresy, no, not excepting Turk, Jew, or Pagan, or those

Fifth of November, appointed a day of Thanksgiving for ever.

The King's Speech.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. that worship the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes or People upon the account of that; yet it is true on the other side, that many honest men blinded perhaps with some opinions of Popery,—as the Real Presence, the number of the Sacraments and some such school questions, do either not know, or not believe, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the MYSTERY OF INIQUITY, and therefore, we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits, may be saved; detesting in that point; the cruelty of the Puritans that will allow no salvation to any Papist. As on the one part, many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain, *so none of those who truly know and believe the whole grounds of Popery, can prove either good Christians or faithful subjects.*"

State of  
Peace.

The tempest of passion which had been excited in the minds of men by the discovery of this atrocious Plot, after the execution of the conspirators and the enacting of severe penalties against the adherents of Romanism, began to subside; and a period of tranquillity ensued, highly favourable to the culture of the peaceful arts. The "peaceful King" himself led the way. His candour, condescension, speculative reasoning and exhibition of learning on all public occasions, roused the genius of the nation, and turned the minds of men to the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. study of letters. Many of the bold and adventurous, whose ardent spirits had been engaged in foreign and warlike pursuits, taking example from their Sovereign, now exercised themselves in the subtleties of dispute, and applied themselves to a practical knowledge of the Constitution, as well as to the abstract principles of Government. In short, there was a great and sudden development of the national mind. Learning was extended: the liberal and mechanical arts were enlarged, and preparations were making, on an extensive scale, for great and fundamental changes in the commonwealth.

The celebrated Camden, author of the "Britannia" which searches into the origin, manners, and laws of the ancient Britons, was not less illustrious for his virtues, than his learning. Francis Bacon, Lord High Chancellor, likewise adorned this age. He was a man of universal genius—a philosopher and statesman; and has been called the light of science, and the father of experimental philosophy. Shakespeare "the poet of nature" still flourished. His works are replete with wit, variety and genius. He excelled, both in the comic and tragic muse; but unfortunately, he wanted the taste and refinement, which have since been introduced into the cultivation of our language; and, his compositions are full of barbarisms and conceits, which characterized the age in which he lived. Indeed, his writings possess every defect

Men of  
learning.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. which can be imagined; but his extraordinary genius, triumphs over every disadvantage, and makes him both read and admired. Ben Johnson also adorned this reign; and his works, replete with learning, but with less genius than Shakespeare, delighted his countrymen.

Improvement  
in Commerce.

Whilst learning flourished, the boundaries of Trade and Commerce were extended. With an activity befitting the character which he had assumed as "the pacific King," he turned his attention to this branch of national prosperity. He enlarged the patents of the East India Company, which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth, and gave them a perpetual charter. The King and his son Prince Henry, who had just received the honor of knighthood and was the admiration of all men, went to Deptford to view a ship of twelve hundred tons burden, which had just been built by the Company; and which was named by the Royal visitors.—"The Trade's increase;" whilst the King completed a man of War of sixty-four guns, the largest ever yet known in England.

Struggles of  
the Reforma-  
tion in France.

Whilst England was advancing in its tranquil course, and under its mild Government, every rank in society enjoyed the amplest freedom and security—the neighbouring kingdom of France was yet convulsed with the struggles, which the Church of that Kingdom was making, to free itself from the yoke of Papal domination. Its Prince, Henry IV, a man of heroic courage and

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. enlarged views, favored the Reformation. But in vain. His talents and capacity for business were unequalled; and his courage invincible; but, he was unable to effect his purposes against the power of the Jesuits, who, at that time, gave law to Europe; and, he was obliged to make considerable concessions to the Roman Catholics; but this insolent Order were not satisfied; and the King was stabbed in the mouth, by one of their instruments. On which occasion he was warned, "*That the hand of God was visible in the action; for, he had now denied his Religion but with his mouth; but let him beware of denying it with his heart, for if he did, it was feared God would strike him there also,*"—a prediction, which was soon to be fulfilled. For, this enterprizing Monarch, with a perseverance and courage which nothing could daunt, had so far promoted the peace and unity of his kingdom, that a solemn treaty was entered into between the contending parties, known by the name of the Edict of Nantz, which granted greater privileges to the Protestants than they had ever before enjoyed. This noble-minded King, had still greater projects for his Country in view. But his doom was fixed; and a tragedy was about to be transacted, which filled all France and Europe with consternation. His assassination took place in the open day; and in the streets of Paris! He was returning to his palace, seated in his chariot, and surrounded by crowds of his

Assassination  
of the King of  
France.  
A. D. 1610.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. admiring and applauding subjects, when the assassin Ravilliac darted upon him, and stabbed him to the heart. Like Guy Fawkes, he gloried in the horrid deed; and declared, that he did it, because the King favoured two religions in his kingdom; and that in contending with the Pope, he was fighting against God! When shall this fatal delusion be banished from the earth?

Deterioration  
of the King's  
character.

During this period, the English people, as we have remarked, were enjoying a season of profound tranquillity. But a state of repose from more various and active pursuits, is not always productive of advantage to the human mind. Under the effects of indolence it becomes relaxed; and yields itself, without a struggle, to the allurements of pleasure and the suggestions of vice. On this occasion, we perceive its deleterious effects on the mind of the King. Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, on the death of the Earl of Dorset, had become Lord Treasurer, and, with uncommon ability managed the whole business of the state; whilst the King employed his time in a succession of dissipating amusements. The disposition of the Queen greatly tended to promote the taste of the Court, for these gay and frivolous diversions, by which they contrived to waste their time, and to turn day into night. They employed their whole time as if they had been born for pleasure. Plays, interludes, masquerades, and banquettings, seem to have consumed the fleeting period of their lives.

But it was dear-bought indulgence. These incessant and intoxicating draughts of pleasure, enervated their minds; and the King, as he was eminent in station, became the most conspicuous in ruin. The vigour of his understanding was impaired—and, lost to every noble sentiment, he became the slave, not of vicious indulgence, but of weak and effeminate passions. He became the slave of favoritism.

A great portion of the history of this Reign is occupied in narrating the rise and fall of Robert Carr, a person whom the King had raised from an inferior situation, through every grade of title and honor to the Dukedom of Somerset. It is a long, instructive, and tragic story. After being exalted to the highest dignity, and filling every station of authority and power, he was tried and condemned for murder, and though pardoned, he died in obscurity, under circumstances of great wretchedness. But, remarkable as it may appear, none of the acts of this favorite and minister, who, at one time, engrossed all the powers of the state, has any thing to do with the history of England, except so far as his licentiousness and profligacy tended to alienate the minds of the people from their Sovereign, and to hasten the catastrophe of the reign. Nor is there a long delay. Whilst the King was engulfed in pleasure, and devoted to the society of his favorites, whom he loaded with favors and enriched with a profuseness, which

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

Rise and fall  
of Carr, Duke  
of Somerset.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

would have ruined any treasury in Europe; and, whilst the splendor and festivities of the Court were increased by the arrival of Frederick V. Count Palatine of the Rhine, who had been contracted in marriage to the King's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth—a sudden gloom overspread the nation—the voice of the Almighty was heard—the Angel of death was commissioned—the King's eldest son was smitten, and the whole nation, at once, plunged into “lamentation, and mourning, and woe.”

Death of  
Prince Henry.

Prince Henry, who fell at the early age of eighteen, was the hope of the nation. He was endowed with extraordinary powers of mind, possessed of high intelligence, gifted with every moral virtue, and skilled in every manly exercise. He had a soul full of noble sentiments—he was chaste, temperate, of high honor and warlike genius. At his early age, he had a greater aptitude for business, and commanded more respect than his father, and promised fair to be one of the greatest Princes that ever lived. But it was not to be. He was presented to the nation with all his blooming and princely qualities about him, and immediately taken from them, that they might learn to appreciate the extent of the divine infliction. The vices and follies and weakness of the King, were to be punished in his children; and the Monarchy itself, was to be humbled and circumscribed; and the first step in this great transaction

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

was the removal of Prince Henry, whose high and transcending qualities might have opposed an effectual barrier to the changes and disorders of the subsequent reign. Amongst many other excellent things handed down to us, respecting this Prince, one anecdote shall be recorded. One day as he was hunting the Stag, it happened that the game was killed in the chace, by a butcher's dog. The company present, endeavoured to incense him against the owner of the dog, and told him—that had his father been so interrupted, he would have sworn in such a manner, that no person could have endured it. “Away!” said the Prince, “all the diversion in the world, is not worth an oath!”

At the same time, died the great ornament of the State, and the chief support of the national Counsels, the Earl of Salisbury. His capacity was equal to his high station, and he was one of those wise and prudent persons, gifted by divine Providence, for managing the most difficult and intricate affairs, connected with the civil polity of States and Empires. Who can contemplate the death of this great Statesman at this conjuncture, in such near connexion with the death of the Prince in whom was observed all the qualities of a great King, without perceiving, that the two-fold bereavement, was intended as an infliction upon the whole nation? Every day discovered convincing proofs of the folly and incapacity of those who assumed the helm of power. Robert Carr, the great

Death of the  
Earl of Salis-  
bury.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
favorite, was created Earl of Rochester, and became Prime Minister. Under that profligate Statesman, every thing became venal—confusion reigned in every department—the business of the State was conducted without order; and its policy directed by no principle of honour, morality, or religion. The consequences of such a system, as we shall see, rapidly unfolded themselves; and the gulph appeared, upon which the vessel of the State was steering, and into which, it was about to be plunged.

But whilst these disasters were preparing for the Nation, they were in the end, to work out the most striking advantages; and at this juncture, when the evils began to make their appearance, the Almighty Ruler, discovered the instrument or the means, by which the remedy would be effected—the source, from whence the prosperity and glory of the kingdom would be renewed, and its happiness recovered!

The Elector  
Frederick.

This was Frederick V, Prince of the Palatinate, whom we have mentioned above, as having arrived in the Country before the death of Prince Henry. By that event, his nuptials had been delayed; but his marriage was at length solemnized with great magnificence; and he returned to his kingdom, attended with the best wishes of the whole Nation, which seemed to be gifted with a prophetic intimation, that their Country would, one day or other, be essentially served by the descendants of that marriage.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
The repose and tranquillity which the King had hitherto enjoyed, were now at an end. The profuseness and immorality of the Court, had attracted the attention of the nation, and the weakness and pusillanimity of the Government, invited opposition: and a struggle was about to commence between the King and the Parliament, which was not to cease, till the final expulsion of the Stuart dynasty! Strong and powerful reasons must have existed for such an arduous and fatal contest, which will, no doubt, be evolved, as we advance in our enquiry.

We have already had occasion to notice the extreme and arbitrary views which the King entertained of his Royal Prerogative. No doubt, they had been instilled into his mind, at a very early period, by those who had the care of his education. But, these tyrannical maxims of Government, were also the fault of the age. On the breaking up of the feudal Chieftainship in England, the chief power had centered in the Sovereign, and the limits of the Royal Prerogative, though well defined by the *Magna Charta*, had often been transgressed with impunity. The great principles of the Constitution had grown into obscurity; and, that rational liberty, which would secure equally, the rights of the King and the liberties of the subject, had not yet been evolved from those latent principles. This was now to be done. Everything in the character of James, facilitated the ac-

Principles of  
the Constitu-  
tion invaded.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

by arbitrary  
Institutions,

complishment of this important work. His predecessor conducted her government upon arbitrary principles, but she wielded her power with uncommon wisdom and felicity. She was exact and scrupulous in all her awards, and carried her government with a just and impartial hand. She acted as an absolute Monarch; but always for the good of her country. But she left the institutions of arbitrary power to be managed by less skilful hands. Of these, the "High Commission Court" and "the Star Chamber," were powerful instruments of tyranny; and were, of themselves, sufficient to lay the liberties of the subject, prostrate at the feet of the Prince. To the former of these courts, all Ecclesiastical causes were carried.—The lives and liberties of the Clergy were subject to its control. The Judges in this court did not proceed by information, but if necessary, on rumour and suspicion. They were both accusers and Judges. They had the power of administering an oath, by which individuals could be made to criminate themselves and their friends; and, on a refusal of taking the oath, they had the power of punishing by imprisonment. The court of the "Star Chamber," was equally arbitrary in civil affairs. These inquisitory Courts were suited to her disposition, and were managed by Elizabeth, with such dexterity and prudence, as secured them from becoming the ground of public complaint.—But James, with all his vaunting of the Royal

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

are to be vindicated.

Prerogative, did not inherit the arbitrary disposition of Elizabeth, and he knew not how to manage these unwieldy attributes of arbitrary power. Yet, he proclaimed his intention of acting upon the maxims of his predecessors; and, not contenting himself with their silent adoption, he condescended to justify his high assumptions of kingly power, by arguments, drawn from the "divine right" of Kings; and to expound and establish his extravagant opinions before Parliament. In the mean time, the energies of the nation were awakening; and the spirit of liberty darting its penetrating glance through the mists of ages, was about to demand the restoration of its unalienable rights, whilst the Almighty Power, tempering the evils which must necessarily result from the contest of such mighty principles, watched over the struggle with an impartial balance; and, was preparing for the emancipated energies of mankind, vast tracts of knowledge and glory, which had never been traversed by the energies of the human mind. His Omnipotence could have achieved, at once, the mightiest and most beneficial changes; but this, as we have had occasion to remark, is not the conduct of the divine economy. The possibility of rapid changes in the moral history of man, is imagined on the supposition, that there exist no controlling passions in man. Were men always inclined to justice—had they no selfish views to gratify—no prejudices to foster—and no appetites

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. to serve—their improvement would be rapid and uniform. But human happiness is retarded, by human depravity; and it would be totally ruined and subverted, were it not for the wise and benevolent ordination of the Great King, who, “ordering the unruly wills and affections of sinful men,” makes them subservient to his benevolent purposes.

Parliament  
assembled.  
A. D. 1615

The second Parliament of James I. was assembled on the fifth of April. Great efforts had been made by the friends of the Court, to secure the return of such members, as might easily be induced to comply with the wishes of the Government. But in vain. No sooner was Parliament assembled, than the House of Commons, instead of voting supplies for the necessities of Government, commenced a searching inquiry into the state of the Nation. They inveighed strongly against the King's prodigality, animadverted upon the increase of Popish recusants, which they attributed to the admission of several of the Popish nobility, to the Councils of the King—reprobated the silencing of many respectable and laborious ministers, and expressed their dissatisfaction at the various treaties in which the King had engaged, for the marriage of his sons with the daughters of Popish Princes. These were the subjects of animadversion; and such was the bold spirit of freedom, in which their remonstrances were framed, that the King without waiting for any supplies, or allowing them to pass a single act, dissolved the

Parliament on the seventh of June. This was easily accomplished by the force of the Royal Prerogative; but it was not so easy to dissolve the rugged breast of opposition, or allay the determined spirit of liberty which had been awakened in the minds of his subjects. On the contrary, the attempt to silence by force, the just remonstrances of the people, only aggravated the evil, and the natural dissatisfaction was increased and perpetuated.

It is also remarkable, that, the King himself, became the instrument of increasing the formidable character of the opposition which was now developing itself. He had, by an unusual policy, discouraged the residence of the nobility and gentry in London, where they had been in the habit of spending their immense incomes in attendance on the Court, and impoverishing their families by their waste and extravagance. Whatever may have been the King's motives, whether he was afraid lest they should unite their counsels against the Government, or whether he disliked the restraint which their presence imposed upon him, he used every means to restrain them to their residences in the country; and thus laid the foundation for a new and independent power, which afterwards exercised great influence on the affairs of the state. The effect of the King's policy acted like magic. The revenues of the gentry, which had been expended in imitating the splendor and ex-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

Rise of the  
Country party.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
travagance of the Court, confined to the more simple and less expensive habits of dignified retirement, soon accumulated into wealth. Their bond of union was also strengthened by frequent intercourse and mutual hospitality; whilst, by acts of benevolence to their neighbours and dependents, their influence became greatly enlarged and extended. This was the rise of the "Country party." Its growth was rapid, and it soon began to exercise a powerful influence on the destinies of the nation.

Rise and fall  
of the King's  
favorite.

Robert Carr, Duke of Somerset, had now almost run his short, profligate and splendid career, and his sun was about to set in blood and darkness; whilst its rapid decline was precipitated by the sudden rise of another favorite in the person of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, equally as profligate and unprincipled as himself. This individual, was a younger son of Sir George Villiers of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, where the family had resided, from the Conquest. His person was handsome, and his manners accomplished. He was well skilled in every elegant and graceful accomplishment, and deeply versed in all the arts of address and gallantry, which had received their last polish in the Court of France. With such endowments it was imagined, he would be altogether captivating in the eyes of the English Monarch, who, in the words of Lord Clarendon, "of all wise men living, was most delighted with handsome persons, and fine clothes." Nor was the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
anticipation vain. Soon after his appearance at Court, he was appointed cup-bearer to the King, an office, the duties of which he discharged with such admirable grace, that, in a few weeks after his first advancement, he received the honour of Knight-hood, and was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber. Nor did the captivated Monarch rest, till every title of honour, and every emolument of place, was heaped upon his aspiring favorite. He was made Knight of the order of the Garter, and in rapid succession, created Baron, Viscount, Earl, and Marquess; and appointed Master of the Horse, and Lord High Admiral of England. Alas! it was a towering height, too suddenly raised to be permanent; and, like the rise of all bad men, whilst productive of evils to others, generally ends in destruction to themselves.

But to return. The Duke of Somerset, who had long been in the ascendant, and had the disposal of all the honors and privileges of the State, had, by his private licentiousness, which ended in treachery and murder, prepared for himself a fearful retribution; shortly after the appearance of Villiers at Court, he was tried and convicted of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and smitten before the rising splendor of the new favorite, he was given up by the King, imprisoned and condemned to die; and, though pardoned by the Royal clemency, he passed the rest of his life in infamy, and died in obscurity.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Charles I.  
created Prince  
of Wales.

A. D. 1616.

But a more remarkable and exalted personage, must now be introduced to the notice of the reader,—the high-principled, virtuous, and accomplished son of the Sovereign, who this year, with great solemnity, received the honour of Knight-hood, and was created Prince of Wales. On this occasion, the people had a transient view of their future Sovereign, on whose devoted head, were to rest the destinies of the nation. He was about seventeen years of age, of a delicate form, slender and well-proportioned. and of a most engaging appearance.—His deportment was grave—his manners, affable; and his skill in manly exercises, as well as the more elegant accomplishments, was attended with a solidity and consistency rarely to be found in persons of his age and station.

The King's great anxiety, which in the sequel, overruled all the national councils, and had an influence over the affairs of Christendom, was to find a match for the young Prince, whose virtues and endowments had rendered him the delight of the nation. After some overtures made to the Court of France, the King, at length, fixed his determination on a daughter of the King of Spain; at that time, the most flourishing monarchy in Europe. He could not have undertaken a more difficult task. Every political obstacle was in his way. The Spanish Armada, and all the troubles of the late reign, were still fresh in the memory of the people. They had but just escaped from

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

all the horrors of the Gunpowder Plot. The most stringent statutes and Acts of Parliament, were in force against the adherents of Popery; and its abettors were considered as the greatest enemies of the nation. In defiance of all these considerations, the King commenced his negotiations with the Court of Spain. Gondomar, at that juncture, was the Spanish Ambassador at the English court, a man of great abilities and polished manners.—His wit and gaiety gained the Royal favour, and by flattering the weakness and vanity of the King, he gained a great ascendancy over his counsels. He urged the King, by every argument, to engage him in the pursuit of the scheme. The suit was encouraged in Spain: but every pretext was made to cause delay. The Court of Rome temporized, and delayed to grant a dispensation: in order, if possible, to gain more favorable terms, and greater toleration for the Roman Catholics in England. But difficulties and delays seemed only to increase the ardour of the King, and he laboured to render his government as lenient as possible, towards his Roman Catholic subjects.

Symptoms of dissatisfaction were discovered from every quarter, at the laxity with which the Laws were administered against the Papists; but the King's infatuation was now manifest; and every future act of his life, seemed to have a tendency to hasten the catastrophe of his reign. The dissatisfaction which had been created in his

The King's  
visit to Scot-  
land.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. English dominions was now extended to Scotland. He made a royal progress into that country, chiefly for the purpose of regulating ecclesiastical matters, and restoring the ancient Government of the Church. In our history at the reign of Elizabeth, we have noticed the manner in which the Reformation was conducted in that Country, and

Spirit of the Scotch Reformation, have shewn, that it was brought about by means very different from those which led to the same result in England. In the one case, it was accomplished by legal authority, without the concurrence of the common people. In Scotland, it was carried in opposition to the Civil power, by tumult and violence, aided by popular enthusiasm. The spirit of insubordination at that time, in Scotland, was increased, by the discovery of certain peculiar and atrocious attempts of the Papal adherents, in unison with the Executive power, to overthrow the nascent religious liberties of the Nation; and the resentment occasioned by the discovery, was further aggravated by the wicked and flagitious lives of the leading Ecclesiastics. The abhorrence created by such enormities in rude and untutored minds, was soon transferred from the persons of the offenders, to the offices which they enjoyed; and it is easy to perceive, that the same fervor which was prepared to abolish the additions and superstitions of Popery would overthrow its whole polity, and not leave a vestige of it remaining, if not restrained by the

civil power. In England, part of Germany, and in the Northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed, so that the ancient Episcopal Jurisdiction, under certain limitations, has been retained. But in Scotland it was otherwise. The sovereign authority was overawed and could make no effectual resistance to the wild extravagance of the times. The popular indignation and disgust was directed and increased, by the zeal and insubordination of the Presbyters of the Church, who were roused to unite with the people from a sense of the common danger. At the head of the Presbyters was that extraordinary man, John Knox, whose character and conduct have given to the Scottish Church, its peculiarities both of doctrine and government. He had imbibed the principles which he propagated with such zeal and success, during his residence in Geneva. Zinglius and Calvin the Reformers of Switzerland, were in a measure, under the necessity of carrying on the affairs of the Church without the concurrence of their Bishops, by whom, in fact, they were deserted. The Church of Geneva, formed under the inspection of Calvin, was esteemed the most perfect model of Presbyterian Government. Knox studied and admired the system; and, on his return home, warmly recommended it to his countrymen. Nor in vain. It was admirably suited to their disposition and was adopted with ardour, and such was the astonishing effects the combined doc-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

led to extravagance.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
and sullenness.

trine, discipline, and worship, produced upon their minds, that unchecked by authority, they ran into such violent extremes as to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Their minds were absorbed in divine contemplations; and leaving the plain and practical statements of the Holy Scriptures, which are always consistent with reason and common sense, they fancied themselves the subjects of divine inspiration, and the peculiar favorites of heaven. These extravagant notions, which were fostered by the simplicity and fervor of their religious exercises, produced a sternness and inflexibility of character which was almost superhuman. And, afterwards, when this extreme agitation of the religious passions subsided, it left behind a determined obstinacy, which no reason could convince, no force overcome. "It was," to use the words of a popular\* writer, "this gloomy fanaticism which had, by degrees, infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen, obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly led James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the Church of England."

The King's great aversion to Presbyterianism.

It is certain that James, while King of Scotland was obliged against his judgment, to declare in favour of the Ecclesiastical Government of that kingdom, yet he entertained a secret dislike to the whole Presbyterian system. At a very early age,

\* Russell's modern Europe. Part II. Let. II.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

he experienced much trouble and anxiety, from the boldness and insolence of the Presbyterian Clergy, who, from a zeal for the glory of God, as they conceived, and for the safety and purity of the Kirk, contended "for the most tyrannical and inquisitorial powers, which they exercised with less forbearance, and with all the arrogance of a Roman Consistory." On one occasion, when King James had granted permission to some of the Popish Nobility, who had been banished, to return to their homes, one of the Presbyterian Ministers declared from the pulpit, "that the King by this act, discovered the treachery of his own heart, that all Kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the Court"\* Another affirmed in the principal church of the Capital, "that the King was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hand."† Such was the rash and inconsistent language of the Ministers of the Gospel, which at that time, led to serious disturbances in the city, and afterwards, increased to more serious and dreadful evils. On this occasion, the citizens of Edinburgh rose in the most tumultuous manner and surrounded the House of Session, where the King was present, and demanded some of his Counsellors whom they named "that they might tear them in pieces." On his refusal, some cried "Bring out the wicked Haman,"

\* Robertson, Hist. Scot. Vol. ii.

† Idem.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

His attempt  
to restore Epis-  
copacy.

others shouted, "the Sword of the Lord and Gideon;" and James, for some time, was a prisoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of an enraged populace.\*

Soon after his accession to the English throne, he nominated Bishops to the vacant Bishopricks of Scotland, but their dignities were little more than nominal for some time. The principal object of his visit to his native country, was to gain from the Scottish Parliament an acknowledgment of his supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs. He did not however obtain it. But in the Parliament of Perth, A. D. 1621, the revenues of the Bishops were restored, and they re-assumed their seats in Parliament: and in the assembly of Glasgow, their Ecclesiastical power was, in a great measure, re-restored. They were declared moderators in every diocesan assembly, and to have the right of ordaining and depriving of ministers, and the visiting of Kirks. The presentation to vacant benefices was placed in their hands, and, they were intrusted with the powers of excommunication and absolution. The next step was to confer upon them their peculiar Ecclesiastical character; and a commission was issued to empower three English Bishops to proceed to the consecration of the Bishops of Scotland, which, after some delay, was accomplished. Episcopacy was then in reality, established. Nothing remained but to bring about a uniformity in worship, and to impose the

\* Robertson.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

The King  
not influenced  
by principle.

Liturgy. Many consultations were held; but the King being assured that the attempt would raise a commotion in the Kingdom, wisely stopped short of an innovation, for which the people were totally unprepared, and which, in the succeeding reign, produced such unhappy results.

But the zeal of the King to restore the government of the Catholic Church, arose merely from a desire to establish the frame-work of Episcopacy, as more agreeable to Apostolical antiquity; and, perhaps, for the purpose of consolidating the Royal prerogative; but we are afraid, that the holiness and salvation of men, which is the sole object of the Church, entered not into his calculations. —His moral character had greatly deteriorated. He became vain, deceitful, fond of pleasure, imperious and arbitrary. He even made war upon religious duty, and issued a license to the common people, to indulge in all common pastimes on the sabbath, after evening prayers. This license was called "the Book of Sports," as it enumerated the different pastimes which were allowed. Nothing indeed, can more forcibly display the unprincipled state of the King's mind, than this permission to trample upon the sanctity of the sabbath, except the limitations which accompanied it. No Papist —no Puritan—none, in short, who had not attended the services of their Parish Church, were to be benefited by this indulgence. It was probably imagined, that the Church of England

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. would be built up by such unhallowed means.— That such an agreeable license would crowd her temples with worshippers, and attach them to her interests. Alas! when the Church has such defenders, what is to be expected but a departure from that holiness, which is the strength of the Church; and a declension from those fundamental doctrines which can alone secure its prosperity, and the favor of its divine head? The Archbishop who was then at Croydon, forbade the King's declaration to be read in that Church, in which he was followed by many of the Clergy; but, where it was read, it gave very serious offence, and was one cause of the many evils which were about to be visited on our unhappy country.

Sir Walter Raleigh hastens his own ruin.

A. D. 1618.

At this time also, another event occurred which had a tendency to render the Government unpopular—the public execution of the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. He had been for some time released from prison, and might have lived the rest of his life in peace; but his restless and energetic mind urged him to new and desperate enterprises. He was informed by Captain Kemish, a bold leader and navigator, of a valuable gold mine on the coast of Guiana, but which had been taken possession of by the Spaniards, who had a small town on the spot, called Saint Thomas. Their design was to secure this mine. Sir Walter made such representations to the King, that he obtained a commission under the Great Seal of England, and

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. set out on his expedition with ten ships, well equipped, for war or peace. It was an unjust undertaking and he might have succeeded in his projects, had he not been required to acquaint the King, with the names of the coast and river, where he meant to disembark. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, became thus fully acquainted with the whole design, and gave timely notice to the Spaniards on the coast of Guiana. In consequence, Sir Walter Raleigh, after encountering every difficulty, when he arrived at the river on which Saint Thomas was situated, met with a formidable resistance. Saint Thomas was taken, after a desperate attack by Captain Kemish and the eldest son of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which, the latter was slain. But the mine itself was fortified and defended by such superior numbers that its capture was impracticable. On the return of Captain Kemish, the whole fleet was greatly discouraged with the intelligence. Captain Kemish shot himself; and Sir Walter Raleigh was obliged by his mutinous companions, to return home.—He was re-committed to the Tower.—Gondomar, made such violent representations of this breach of peace, to the King, that he was obliged to sacrifice Raleigh to his resentment. He was tried and condemned; and the next day, met his fate on the scaffold with a noble and generous firmness. Feeling the edge of the axe, he said; "Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure one, for all ills:" then

SECTION IV. calmly laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal stroke.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the  
State and  
Church Puri-  
tans.

Whatever justice there might be in his sentence, his death gave general dissatisfaction, as he was universally considered a sacrifice to the court of Spain. Indeed, every thing was sacrificed to the King's desire of accomplishing the marriage of his son, with the Infanta of Spain. His whole mind was absorbed in this one subject: and on finding himself opposed by the complaints of the people, and the remonstrances of the Parliament, his most strenuous exertions were used, for the purpose of extending the royal prerogative. This was another fatal mistake, which could not fail to be productive of the most serious evils. All the opposition which he received from the nation, only served to increase his determination; and such was the intensity of his zeal, that he accounted all those as his enemies, who opposed his Prerogative; and included under the name of Puritans, all who resisted its unconstitutional exercise.—Those who opposed the doctrine of unlimited power in the Sovereign, were called *State Puritans*, and those who entertained objections to the Ecclesiastical rites and discipline, were denominated *Church Puritans*. The Church Puritans were, at that time, really few; and might have been easily propitiated: but the arbitrary policy which was now adopted, rapidly increased their number; and, uniting with those, who stood by the principles of

the Constitution, they soon formed the majority of the nation. The King, without disguise, threw all his influence into the opposite scale. The way to preferment and dignity in the Church and State, was to maintain the absolute authority of the Prince, to exclaim against the rigours of Calvinism, and to speak favorably of the Romanists. Thus were formed the two great parties in the State, which at a period not far distant, came into fearful collision with the Court, nor rested from the furious contest, till the evil was purgated and the Constitution triumphed.

Some great names, whose zeal in the cause of the royal prerogative, was exercised through the whole contest, were now promoted to fill the vacant Bishopricks: Buckeridge, Neile, Harsnet, and Laud. The last of these, was a man of great parts and piety; and destined to act a prominent part in scenes, which were now rapidly advancing upon the nation.

Under the sanction of the Court, and wherever the influence of the new Bishops extended, the pulpits resounded with the inculcation of arbitrary principles, unknown to the Constitution. Every thing was to be carried by blind power. But the spirit of the Constitution would not tolerate this usurpation; and the free-born spirit of our forefathers, was roused to oppose it. As might be expected, at such a crisis, the opinions entertained by both parties were extravagant. On one

SECTION IV.

CHAP. I.

Preferments  
in the Church.

Extravagant  
Statements of  
both parties.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. side, it was maintained—that the King was not bound by the laws, nor by his coronation oath—that he was not obliged to call Parliaments to make laws, but might do without them; and that it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in granting subsidies.\* On the other side, it was strenuously insisted, that subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force and defend themselves,—the commonwealth and the true religion in the field, against the chief Magistrate, when he became a tyrant—when he forced his subjects upon blasphemy and idolatry—when any intolerable burdens were laid upon them; or, when resistance was the only expedient to secure their lives, fortunes, and liberties.† Such were the violent and extravagant statements, to which the opposing parties had recourse in the commencement of this great struggle, and which ought to have admonished the Executive against proceeding in its dangerous course, without a vigorous preparation.

Great concessions to the Romanists.

Whilst the King's policy was thus fostering the most deadly evils in the commonwealth, he still strongly pursued his negotiations with the Court of Spain; and, after many delays, the articles of the marriage were drawn up, and it was agreed, that the marriage should be solemnized in Spain, and afterwards reiterated in England.—That the

\* Sermon before the University of Oxford.

† Cowell, Vicar-General of Canterbury.

Infanta's household might be Roman Catholics; and, that a suitable place should be provided for public worship, according to the Church of Rome; that she should be attended with a competent number of Chaplains, and a Confessor; and, that the children of the marriage, should not be compelled in matters of religion, nor their titles to the crown prejudiced by their being Catholics. Nothing was now wanting, but the dispensation of the Pope to permit a daughter of the Church, to marry a heretic; and the hopes of the King seemed to be on the point of being realized. But at that moment of his exultation, the first blow was preparing by a divine Hand, which was to crush the weak and tottering fabric, that he had so industriously reared on false principles, and which he had attempted to support by unconstitutional means.

In the month of March, the Queen, who had been afflicted with a lingering dropsy, sunk under her disease in the forty-sixth year of her age.—Her death was a subject of deep concern to the King. Nor without reason; for, she was a virtuous woman, and a dutiful wife. But she requires little notice from the historian.—She had no great qualities, and was devoted to frivolous pleasures and puerile amusements.

But a heavier blow was impending, which now suddenly advancing upon him from an unexpected quarter, plunged him into inextricable difficulties. The greater part of the European Continent had

SECTION IV.

CHAP. I.

The Queen's death.

Misfortunes of the King's Son-in-law.  
A. D. 1619.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. long been in a state of anarchy and confusion; and now, unexampled scenes of slaughter and bloodshed were about to be transacted, in which England was to be involved. Matthias, the Emperor of Germany, had fixed his mind upon his cousin Ferdinand, as his successor in the empire; and, during his life, appointed him King of Bohemia. The Protestants of Bohemia were very numerous, and enjoyed complete religious freedom. By this appointment, both their civil and religious privileges were invaded. A furious civil war broke out, during which the Emperor died, and was succeeded by Ferdinand, who determined to subdue the Bohemians by force of arms. In this he was assisted by the whole power of the Spanish Monarchy, which was the principal branch of the House of Austria. All the Protestant Princes of Germany united with the Bohemians, who elected for their King, Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and son in-law to the English Monarch. —The English nation were loud in their demands for war. People of all ranks were on fire, to engage in support of the Elector Palatine; and to rescue their Protestant brethren from the dangers to which they were exposed. The Archbishop of Canterbury was at his post at this critical juncture, and wrote a letter to the King's Council, in which he strongly urged the necessity of a vigorous interference, and pointed out the advantages, which might result to the Protestant Faith. But the

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. King could not be moved. His happiness was too much involved in the success of his negotiations with the Court of Spain, to permit him to interfere. But even had he been disposed to listen to the wishes of his people, he would have been prevented by the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, whose influence over him, was even superior to that of the Duke of Buckingham. In consequence, James refused to acknowledge the title of his son in-law as King of Bohemia, or, to send the least aid to the Confederates. The King of Spain openly espoused the quarrel, and sent an immense army, under his General Spinola. The war became a matter of concern, to the whole Christian world: but the King of England, who ought to have been foremost, as the first Protestant power, was obliged to stand neutral; and all that was supplied from our shores in this glorious struggle, was a body of volunteers, consisting of the best and noblest families in the kingdom, who abandoned by their infatuated King, jeopardized their lives for the honor of their country.

It is true, James was neither an inattentive nor unfeeling observer of these events. He was indolent and duped and beguiled. The King A. D. 1620. was most anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, by negotiation and treaty. But whilst he was thus amused and beguiled by the Roman Catholic leaders, the combatants, on both sides, were actively engaged in making preparations for a decisive contest. The

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
fatal hour approached; and the opposing forces were now rapidly concentrating on the city of Prague. The details of that dreadful conflict belong not to this history. The Bohemians were defeated; and the Elector Palatine, not only expelled from his newly acquired kingdom, but driven as a fugitive from his paternal dominions, placed under the ban of the empire, and obliged, with his wife and children, to seek a shelter and subsistence in a foreign land.

under the influence of the Spanish ambassador.

The misfortunes of his family seemed to rouse the King to action; and an order in Council was made to promote the restoration of the Palatinate; a sum of money was dispatched to the Confederates, to encourage them not to lay down their arms; whilst Sir Edward Villiers was sent to negotiate with the Emperor. But, the credulous King was still beguiled, and the honor of the nation insulted by these transactions: Gondomar was supreme in his Councils—a circumstance which he announces in a letter to the Duke of Lerma in the following terms:—*that he had lulled King James asleep, so that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his Parliament or his subjects, should be able to awake him.*

Parliament meets on the 30th January, A. D. 1621.

But he was mistaken. The Parliament was at hand, to avenge the wrongs of their country, and to redress their own. No sooner was it assembled than petitions poured in from all sides, complain-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
ing of grievances and extortions of such a serious character, that the Commons were obliged to attend to them immediately; and in consequence, some of the chief instruments of these cruel and arbitrary proceedings were severely punished; among whom were Sir Giles Montessor, and Sir Francis Mitchel, the Empson and Dudley of their day. The House then made such determined and pressing representations to the King, that Lord Digby was dispatched to obtain a peremptory answer from the Emperor, relating to the Palatinate. On his return, he was commanded by the King to give an account of his journey to the House, and of the failure of his mission, and to intimate that nothing was now left but war. But though the Ministers of the Crown encouraged the Parliament to war, the House was fully convinced that there was insincerity in those professions. They were fully alive to the circumstances of his situation, and knew the affection he entertained for the Spanish alliance. They perceived the danger to which the Protestant Religion was exposed, not only in the late calamities, by which it had been oppressed in Germany, but the severities which the Protestants were made to endure in France, under Louis XIII. and they determined to try the spirit of the King, by a strong remonstrance on the state of the nation. This remonstrance was answered by an indignant letter from the King, to the Speaker of the House. The House with great calmness,

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

re-considered the grounds of their remonstrance: and, feeling assured that they were not only just and reasonable, but cogent and necessary, they followed their remonstrance with a petition, declaratory of their right to take into consideration, every thing which concerned the honor and safety of the King, the welfare of Religion, and state of the kingdom; and in conclusion, they stated, *that whereas his Majesty seemed to abridge them of the ancient privilege of Parliament, they were forced to pray his Majesty to allow it.* It is said that when the members of the House, appointed for the purpose, waited upon him with the petition, the King called for twelve chairs, saying "twelve kings are come to me;" and his reply, which was characteristic of his manner, distinctly points out the important principles which were at issue, between him and his Parliament. He said, *That their first Petition was unworthy of answer, that their giving advice about his son's match, and urging him to a war, was intrenching upon his prerogative—that he could not allow the style calling it their ancient and undoubted inheritance; but could rather have wished, that they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself, since most of them grew from precedents, shewing rather a toleration, than an Inheritance.*

Remarks on  
"Divine  
Right."

In this reply, which was in the form of a written communication to the House, the King was

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

historically right, but morally, and politically wrong. The rights of civil Society, had been slowly evolved from the ignorance and darkness of feudal times: and had, from time to time, been acknowledged and ratified by the sovereign power. Hence, arising as they did, from the necessities and experience of mankind, they were, generally, in conformity with right reason like the *unwritten or common Law*; which, therefore, is considered as co-incident with the Divine will. Thus these social rights, become the undoubted inheritance and birth-right of the people, with which the King had no more power to interfere, than he had to abridge the divine Law of the ten Commandments. The Rights of the People depend on the same title as the Right of Kings—on the will of the Supreme Being; and when their privileges are in conformity with reason and Revelation, they are equally held of "Divine Right." Both the King and people are under equal obligations to exercise their privileges, within the proper limits prescribed by law. James recognized the supremacy of God, and acknowledged himself amenable to him; but, he seemed to imagine he was in the place of God to the people, and that they were solely dependent upon his grace and bounty; forgetting, that they had rights derived to them, from the same eternal source as his own, for the exercise of which, they were equally responsible; and, that both were bound to acknowledge, and act under, the SUPREMACY of LAW.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Resolution  
of the Com-  
mons.

The King's answer plainly convinced the Commons that their privileges were in danger. They saw, that if the absolute and independent rights of the nation, were made to depend upon the will of the Monarch, all the ancient documents which secured them, and which were deposited in the public archives, were so many rolls of waste paper, and their long cherished ideas of freedom illusory. They determined, therefore, on a bold step, and resolved to enter upon the journals of the House, a brief transcript of MAGNA CHARTA and transmit it as a solemn Protestation to their successors in Parliament. This memorable declaration deserves to be written in letters of gold, as it certainly lies at the foundation of our present liberties. It was couched in the following terms. "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects, and matter of counsel or debate in Parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding on these businesses, every member of the house of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, *freedom of speech* to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

This was a noble and patriotic declaration, full of manly sentiments and constitutional principles; and, in style and manner, worthy of any assembly of any age or nation. But it ill suited the genius of the King, and was destructive of all his abstract speculations on Government, and his extreme notions on the extent of the Royal Prerogative. He took immediate alarm, and hastened to London, where, on the thirty-first of December, in a full assembly of the Council, and in the presence of the Judges, he declared the protestation null and invalid—with his own hand, tore the abhorred instrument out of the Journal book of the House, and dissolved the Parliament by proclamation. This act may be considered as the declaration of War between the Royal Prerogative and the popular rights, and, especially, as it was followed up by the arbitrary imprisonment of several of the leading Members of the Commons, whose names deserve to be recorded like their declaration, and to be had in remembrance by our latest posterity.

Sir Edward  
Cook, Sir Ro-  
bert Philips,  
and Mr. Selden  
imprisoned.

The King unfettered by Parliament, pursued his former unjust policy without making any preparations to support it; and more effectually, to check the Church Puritans who, by their zeal and activity, were in great favor with the people—he issued injunctions to the Archbishop to restrain the preaching of his clergy, whilst the Roman Catholics were treated with the utmost indulgence

The Archbi-  
shop remon-  
strates.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. —arbitrary doctrines were propagated from the pulpits of the Court party and the public supplies were raised by the sole authority of the Royal Prerogative. The Archbishop who stood by the doctrines of the Reformation and the principles of the Constitution, nobly remonstrated against the proceedings of the Executive, and solemnly advised the King to return to the spirit of the Constitution, and to the legitimate method of raising money by the consent of Parliament. As might be expected at such a time when moderation was not a virtue, the venerable Prelate lost favor at Court, and a remarkable accident which happened to him, whilst it served to shew the merciful disposition and great clemency of the King, destroyed his influence with the Government. Being on a visit to Lord Zouch's and going out, one day, with a hunting party, whilst the keeper was running amongst the deer to bring them to "a favorable mark," the Archbishop shot an arrow which unfortunately pierced the unhappy man in the side, and killed him. The Archbishop who was of a meek and gentle disposition, was overwhelmed with grief; he made every provision for the poor man's family, but he could not overcome the melancholy impression which it produced upon his mind; and, he retired to one of his own alms-houses at Guildford. The compassion of the King's nature was awakened, he sent for him to Lambeth, recollected not his free remon-

strances and solemn admonitions, but granted him a royal pardon and dispensation, in order that no exception might be taken as to his Episcopal character. But no consideration could induce the Archbishop to return to the Council, or, to take an active share in public affairs.

This event also greatly facilitated the progress of events. The Council-board met with no interruption to its proceedings. Many of the Puritans discouraged at these threatening appearances, and despairing of better times, retired to the new plantations in America. Popish Recusants were enlarged—the penal laws were suspended—a great number of Jesuits flocked over as Missionaries—and the Protestant Religion was threatened with subversion. In the State, every thing became venal. The Duke of Buckingham, and his mother who was a zealous Papist, entirely ruled in the Councils of the country, and had the disposal of all places of trust and emolument; whilst Gondomar, ambassador to the King of Spain, directed the foreign policy of the nation—a proof of which will be seen in the fact, that Lord Vaux, a Roman Catholic was permitted to transport four thousand men to reinforce the armies of the King of Spain, directed against the States of Holland—where the King's banished children resided—and against their patrimony the Palatinate, which he had made such efforts to preserve! Whilst every thing being now in a favourable situation for the purpose, Lord

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
Digby who was created Earl of Bristol, was despatched as Ambassador, to bring the treaty of marriage with Spain to a conclusion.

Buckingham  
courts the  
Prince,  
A. D. 1623.

The treaty now rapidly progressed, and it is highly probable, that by his determined perseverance, and with the aid of the Earl of Bristol, a man of great talent, industry and integrity; the King would eventually have carried his scheme, had it not been frustrated, by one of the vices of his own character—his subserviency to favoritism. The Duke of Buckingham, whose licentious profligacy was ready to avail itself of any opportunity, which might lead to his personal indulgence, or the gratification of his passions, ingratiated himself in the favor of the Prince, and represented to him the unsatisfactory method of being married by treaty; and picturing to his free and open disposition, the dazzling visions of Chivalry and Romance, he induced the Prince to unite with him in a request to the King, for permission to visit the Court of Spain, in order that he might have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with his future Queen.

Conduces him  
to Spain.

The King was taken by surprise, but on a little reflection, saw the impropriety and rashness of such an enterprise, and seemed to have resolution sufficient to prevent its execution. But he was overcome by their importunities, and in granting permission, shewed the weakness of his nature—the evil genius, which counteracted and rendered void all the better qualities of his mind. The

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.  
folly and rashness of the whole proceeding was as forcibly expressed by the King's fool on the occasion of their departure, as in the whole account of it by the Earl of Clarendon. The fool respectfully approaching the King, placed his cap upon his head. The King asking him the reason, he answered: because he had sent the Prince into Spain. But says his Majesty, "what if he should come back safe?" "Why, then," says Archy: "I will take my cap off from your head, and put it on the King of Spain's."

The two adventurers lost not a moment, but, immediately on obtaining permission, set out with two attendants. On their way through France, they delayed one day, to view the grandeur of the city, and the splendor of that voluptuous court; and it was on the evening of that day, that the Prince and his companion were admitted incognito, to a private dancing masque in the Palace, where they had an opportunity of viewing to advantage, all the distinguished ladies of the French Court; and amongst the rest, the Prince saw and admired his future Queen! This was the King's sister, Henrietta Maria, a Princess of great beauty and many accomplishments; and who was destined to exercise great influence over the Councils of our country, during a troublous period of its history! No further delay of consequence occurred, and the royal party arrived safely in Spain.

A striking  
circumstance.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Generous conduct of the Spaniards.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which the Prince was received in Spain. The whole people was moved as the heart of one man, and his marriage with the Infanta was carried by universal acclamation. It was desired by the King in Council, that he should enter the Royal Palace, in the same state as the Kings of Spain after their Coronation. A guard of honour was appointed to attend upon him. A general Pardon was proclaimed, and the prisons thrown open. The Queen welcomed him with magnificent presents; and King Philip IV. "one of the most magnificent Monarchs that ever sat upon the Spanish throne," presented him with a golden key, which would unlock all the doors of his private apartments; into which the Prince might, without interruption, have access at all times. His gallant conduct and generous confidence, approved itself to the manners of the Spanish people; and his grave deportment and modest reserve suited the genius of that nation. He was universally admired and loved, and every effort was made by all ranks of people, to secure his esteem and regard for their country. The Ecclesiastics, induced by the openness and candor of his disposition, sedulously laboured to attach him to their religion. Even the Pope himself condescended to write to him, for the purpose of effecting such "a glorious conversion." But the Prince was unmoved either by their flattery, or their arguments; and stood firm

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

to the principles of his religion, which he defended with great knowledge and ability; and afforded at that early age, a bright example of moderation, candour, and firmness. Nothing could resist the impression which his conduct made on the minds of all men; and the long promised dispensation from the Pope, at length arrived. The articles of the marriage were sworn to by the King, the Prince and the Privy Council. The Infanta was called the Princess of England—a Chapel was building for her in England, and a fleet was prepared for her convoy. All opposition in England ceased, and the marriage seemed to be inevitable. But it was not to take place. The Pope who granted the dispensation died; which of necessity caused new delays, and the Duke of Buckingham, who had rendered himself odious to the whole Court of Spain, by his pride and licentiousness, took occasion from this interruption, to shew his resentment, and ruin the whole project. By false and exaggerated statements, he obtained a letter from James to command their return. The Prince obeyed, and took a solemn and affectionate farewell of the King of Spain and the Infanta. No doubt, the Prince felt some indignation at the delays which had occurred, and especially the disappointment of returning without his bride: but there is no reason to think that he had the most distant idea of dissolving his engagement with the Infanta, for whom he had always expressed the

Buckingham breaks off the match.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. warmest attachment. Such however were the representations of the Duke of Buckingham, that he was seduced from the path of honor, and he determined, in conjunction with the Duke, to break off the treaty with Spain.

Their return hailed by the people

They landed at Portsmouth, on the fifth of October, and never was the heir to a throne received with such transport by an admiring nation, as the Prince was, on his return. The national joy was spontaneous and unbounded; and without any edict, thanksgivings were offered up for his safe return. The King was at Royston, where they waited upon him. It was a heavy blow to him, when he heard them recount in the most exaggerated terms, the delays and vexatious interruptions which they had experienced and the entire failure of the negociation; which they attributed to the insincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards, while the Duke severely reflected upon the conduct of the Earl of Bristol, whom the King knew to be a most faithful servant. The rumour of these things quickly spread through the kingdom and gave general satisfaction. The Prince and the Duke stood high, at this moment, in the public estimation!

Sincerity of the Spaniards.

Whilst Charles and Buckingham were employed in seeking pretences which might give some appearance of justice to their intended breach of treaty, the dispensation from the new Pope arrived in Spain. On this occasion, every demonstration

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. of joy was manifested by the people. Bonfires were lighted in every city, and town, and village of the kingdom. The day after, the marriage was fixed. Preparations were made on such a magnificent scale as Spain had never witnessed. The Infanta's household was arranged—her dowry of two millions of money prepared, and her voyage to England determined: when behold! the marriage proxy was countermanded from England, and at one blow, a treaty broken off, which, for seven years, had been the chief object of the King's solicitude; and that too, at the very moment, when it seemed certain of accomplishment; and with it, the restoration of the Palatinate, which the Court of Spain always considered as included in the treaty.

A Parliament was now called, and the Duke, who had fully ingratiated himself with the Prince, perceived that nothing could save him from the resentment of the King, but establishing his character with Parliament. In this he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes; and such was his power and influence with the two houses, that he determined upon the ruin of the Earl of Bristol, who had already received instructions to return home. In the mean time, he made use of his popularity to obtain an impeachment against the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord High Treasurer, a man of great abilities, whose high qualities and independence marked him out for ruin. The King was highly displeased at these proceedings,

Intrigues of Buckingham, A. D. 1624.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

and only awaited the return of the Earl of Bristol upon whose fidelity he could rely, to humble his audacious favorite. In the mean time, he pointed out to them the evil consequences likely to result from such measures and told the Duke, *that in this fit of popularity he was preparing a rod for his own back*; and, turning to the Prince, he prophetically said: *that after his death he would have a surfeit of Parliamentary impeachments, and would remember, to his sorrow, how much he had contributed to weaken the power of the Crown by his late conduct.*" But to no avail: the House of Commons were encouraged by all the influence of the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham, and supported by the wishes of the nation. The treaty with Spain was annulled—large supplies granted, and war declared against both the Emperor and the King of Spain.

Earl of Bristol imprisoned.

On the arrival of the Earl of Bristol, such was the influence of the Duke, that the King who was unworthy of such a servant was obliged to yield, and he was committed to the Tower. This nobleman had left the Spanish Court with great reputation, and his conduct deserves to be recorded as an honor to his country. When the Earl was preparing to leave Spain, the Spanish King, who was fully acquainted with his high integrity and unshaken fidelity to his master, entreated him to fix his residence at Madrid, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune,

rather than expose himself to the inveterate malice of Buckingham. Bristol expressed his gratitude for the princely offer, but at the same time, shewed the King that it was necessary for him to decline it. "Nothing" he said "would aid more effectually to establish the injurious reports of his calumniators than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dignity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the loss of that honor, which would be endangered by such exaltation." Philip was charmed with this answer and begged him, so far to submit to his desire to serve him, as to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, assuring him, that his acceptance of it should for ever remain a secret, and should never come to the ears of his master. Bristol's answer was truly magnanimous. "There is one person" he replied "who must necessarily know it; he is the Earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the King of England."

In vain did this heroic nobleman demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and laying his whole conduct before Parliament. He was, after a short time, released from confinement, but strictly ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all appearance in Parliament.

The affairs of the State were now in great perplexity, and the King's fatal policy was working out for him a fearful retribution. The growth of Popery during this period was extraordinary, and

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I.

His high character.

The King makes a solemn Promise

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. in spite of all the disadvantages under which it laboured, it was found by Parliament that more than sixty places of power and emolument were in the hands of its professors. The country swarmed with Jesuits and seminary Priests, and such was felt to be the critical state of affairs, that the House of Lords was roused to unite with the Commons, in a formal petition to the King to put the Laws into execution; and to bind him by his Royal word, that in all future treaties of marriage for his Son, he would not stipulate to relax the execution of the laws against Roman Catholics. It required all his "King craft" and political dissimulation to meet the occasion; but he gave them a solemn assurance that he never had intended a toleration of Popery; and that he never would endanger Protestantism, by attempting to relax the Laws against Papists.

which he  
breaks.

But alas! the dissimulation of the King was soon to be made manifest: for, instead of attending to the wishes of his Parliament, or observing the solemn promise which he had made to them, he entered, immediately, into a negotiation with France for the marriage of Henrietta Maria, sister to Lewis XIII, with his son Charles. Nor did he pay the least attention to his solemn promise, but made even greater concessions to the Romanists, then he had done in his treaty with the Court of Spain. And further to shew his disregard of the wishes of his people, he received the Arch-

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. bishop of Ambrun, who had been sent to England in disguise, with every token of respect and confidence. He held frequent conferences with this Prelate, who was a person of great ability and experience, and if we could believe the French authors who have written on that subject, the King declared himself fully inclined to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. But this must be false: Every action of his life—every word of his mouth clearly shew that it would have been impossible for James ever to have become a Papist. Every thing shews that the King was fully acquainted with the merits of the question between the two churches. He acknowledged that the Church of Rome had been a true Church at the very beginning of Christianity; and, that the Bishop of Rome enjoyed great privileges and held a *Primary* in rank, at a very early period. But no person knew better, the errors of the Church of Rome and its departure from the Apostolic doctrine; and no person more strenuously denied the *supremacy* of the Pope, or would more pertinaciously have resisted its application. The King's conviction on these subjects was so perfect, that it was morally impossible that he could ever have been induced to act in opposition to it. At the same time, it is certain, that he made great concessions to the Archbishop. He released many of the Roman Catholics who had been imprisoned for recusancy, and all the penal Statutes against

The King never favored Popery, as Popery.

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. them were again suspended. Nay, such was the Archbishop's influence, that he obtained permission to hold a confirmation at the French Ambassador's Chapel, where that rite was administered to ten thousand Roman Catholics, in the presence of a great concourse of spectators; and it is not improbable, that he discoursed with him, as the French writers assert, on his intention of calling a convention to settle religious differences, and to lay a foundation for a general toleration. Of this we have no reason to doubt, because it was his favorite project, in which he shewed the superiority of his mind; but he no less discovered his weakness in thinking it practicable.

His real views  
built on a  
visionary speculation.

We cannot but regret, that he was not allowed to try the scheme, which he considered a remedy, for many of the evils with which his throne was surrounded. Is it not evident, that the Pope would not authorise the lawfulness of any convention, in which the infallibility of the Church and his Supremacy were not acknowledged? But to acknowledge these, would be destruction to the principles of Protestantism. All hope, therefore, of any reconciliation with the Church of Rome is a chimera: but, chimera as it is, the speculative mind of James, aided by his compassionate heart, thought it not impossible; and it is evident to every attentive reader of history, that he steadily kept this object in view throughout his whole reign. Indeed, it is the knowledge of this fact,

SECTION IV. CHAP. I. that can alone account for his conduct towards the professors of that religion. His writings, as well as public speeches declare, that he held their principles in abhorrence; that he considered them idolatrous in worship, and apostate in doctrine—yet he did not despair of recovering them by reason and argument. They rebelled against him: they conspired to take away his life, yet he forgave them. He endeavoured to palliate their crime in Parliament, and render them less odious to their countrymen; and it is impossible not to admire the amiable, though mistaken policy of the King. What did he accomplish? Let the state of things at the conclusion of his reign, and the transactions of the succeeding reign, answer that question. To the very last, he placed this mistaken confidence in Popery. Although deluded and dishonoured, flattered and despised, he still fostered the generous hope of reconciling them. The treaty of marriage between his son and the Princess Henrietta of France, was hastened to a conclusion, with a precipitation which is remarkable; as if it was determined by Heaven, he should behold with his eyes an alliance, which was destined to involve his family in disgrace and ruin, and to bring his dynasty to an end—a fact which has been remarked by the author of the life of Cardinal Richieu, who must be regarded as an unprejudiced witness:—"As this match," he observes, "was against all the maxims of good policy, so it drew

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

Circumstances attending the King's death.

A. D. 1625.

upon his son, King Charles, all those mischiefs which, perhaps, never befel any King succeeding to an hereditary Crown : and his sons born of that marriage, and seduced, by their Mother's persuasions, have been most unfortunate since his death."

But we must not enlarge. The die was now cast. The days of the King were numbered, and the scene hastens to its close. The voice of the nation prevailed over the backwardness of the Monarch, and an army of twelve thousand men, was dispatched under the Count Mansfeldt, to the relief of the Palatinate. But through the treachery of the French, the expedition never reached its destination. The Government of that kingdom had promised a free passage through their territories ; but their promise was so long delayed, that the troops cooped up in their crowded vessels were visited with pestilence. The contagion was so fatal, that only one third of the men landed on the coast of Holland ; and this miserable remnant, was so wasted with sickness and desertion that not a vestige of the armament was left behind.—Such a disastrous result—such an extermination, was a signal mark of the divine displeasure. The Palatinate was, at a future period, to be recovered, and to become the source of English prosperity and glory : but not to him or his son, who, at that time, was doomed "to drink the dregs of the cup of trembling and wring them out." His own tardy

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. I.

and reluctant help, which came not at the proper season, was now offered too late ; and his army, like that of Sennacherib's, fell before the Angel of Jehovah. Nay, the fatal commission extended to himself, and the King was smitten with death. He was seized whilst in his palace at Whitehall, with the ague, which daily increasing, he retired to Theobald's, attended by his faithful servant, Bishop Williams, the Lord Keeper, who continued his attendance till midnight, and, perceiving little hope of recovery, he acquainted the Prince. The next morning, he entered the King's apartment to acquaint him with his approaching dissolution, and kneeling down said ; *he knew he should neither displease nor discourage him, if he brought him the message of Isaiah to Hezekiah, "to set his house in order," for he concluded that his days would be but few.* To which the King answered : *I am satisfied, and I desire you to assist me in preparing to go hence and to be with Christ, whose mercy I earnestly pray for, and hope to find.* He desired the Prince to be summoned to his bedside ; and, amongst many wise precepts which he offered for his future consideration and conduct—he emphatically admonished him—*To love his intended wife, but not her religion !*

Advice to his Son.

He now dismissed all cares of the world ; and the remaining period of his life was devoted to reading and prayer, in which he was attended by Bishop Williams, who never left his royal master, nor

His Last hours.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. undressed himself, till after his death. On Wednesday, the time was more particularly devoted to solemn discourses on repentance and remission of sins—of the Resurrection and eternal life; which was followed, on the Thursday, by the administration of the Holy Sacrament, in which the King participated with great devotion; and, as it is stated, by those who were present, with “singular comfort.” After this he grew sensibly weaker and languished through the two succeeding days, during which time it is said, it was necessary for the Lord Keeper to interfere, with his authority, to repel the Romanists who were watching around the chamber of the dying Monarch. On Sunday morning, March, twenty-seventh, he expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, leaving the affairs of his kingdom, in a most perplexed and unsettled condition.

We have seen with what high pretensions of title, reputation, and learning, James ascended the English Throne. His actions are now before us; and we are enabled to judge with accuracy of his real character, as it has been evolved by the actions of his life. The judgment of posterity is unfavorable to his memory. He certainly possessed great attainments and extensive learning; but he wanted that solidity of judgment, which was necessary to turn them to good account. Hence, his superior abilities were used for the purpose of ostentation and display—which rendered him open

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. I. to the pernicious influence of flattery. His personal gratification made him lose sight of the dignity of the Monarch; and, on this principle, he exposed himself to all the evils of *favoritism*. His moral qualities, like his intellectual endowments, were of the highest order; but they lost their character for want of consistency. Though he was not vicious, his virtues became vices, for want of regard to a fixed principle of virtue. His friendship degenerated into familiarity—his wit, which was enriched with the stores of learning, into ribaldry—his generosity, into profuseness—his wisdom, into pedantry—his compassion, into weakness—his foresight, into dissimulation; and his love of peace, into pusillanimity. He had no true notions of Religion, for, he had no integrity of conduct. He was Calvinistic in his views of Christian doctrine, and Episcopalian in his notions of Church government; but he afforded no evidence of his being a Christian INDEED. He promoted the translation of the Bible—but his life was not regulated by its Divine precepts. He defended the Church, but he did not adorn it, by fulfilling the vows of his baptism. His actions were not guided by Christian principle, nor directed to any great end.—His own selfish gratification was the foundation of his policy, and the Pole-star of his course.

Never was a mind endowed with such solid advantages, so greatly deteriorated by the circum-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

stances of situation. With such endowments, his name might have been gloriously enrolled in the annals of his country. His memory might have left a sweet fragrance behind, grateful to his surviving subjects, and salutary to succeeding generations. But with such a capacity for doing good, what evils did he not bring upon his family, and his country! He was not insensible to the evils which surrounded him. He saw the danger which threatened the monarchy, from the inroad of popular aggression, and he pursued that line of policy which he thought best adapted, to check the evils which he apprehended. He thought to stem the spirit of freedom by the bulwarks of power—but in vain:—It was an unrighteous attempt in the sight of Him, “by whom Kings rule and Princes decree righteousness;” and the resistless torrent of public opinion was permitted, for a season, to overflow, and carry away with it, every vestige of the monarchy and of legitimate government. The policy of the King was dictated by the principle of selfishness, without reference to the will of the Searcher of Hearts, who demands of all his creatures, whether kings or people, a steady uprightness and integrity of purpose, founded on the unalterable principles of Justice and Charity. But neglecting this high and lofty position, he had recourse to subterfuge, dissimulation and stratagem; and endeavoured to strengthen himself by alliances foreign to the happiness and interests of his

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. I.

kingdom. But in vain did he attempt to fortify himself by *wicked* counsels.—Every thing he purposed, failed of its intention, and wrought out for him a fearful retribution; so that, on this unfortunate Prince, might seem to have been laid the “Burden of Damascus,” recorded in the sublime Prophecy of Isaiah. “Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy Salvation, and hast not been mindful of the Rock of thy strength, therefore thou shalt plant pleasant plants, and shall set it with strange ships: In the day thou shalt make thy plant to grow, and, in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish; but the HARVEST shall be a HEAP, in the DAY OF GRIEF AND DESPERATE SORROW.” \*

\* Isaiah, xvii. 10.

## CHAPTER II.

CHARLES I.—ARBITRARY POLICY OF THE EXECUTIVE—  
INVASION OF THE CONSTITUTION BY PARLIAMENT  
—CIVIL WAR AND SUBVERSION OF THE MONARCHY.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Charles I.  
A. D. 1625.  
State of the  
nation.

SUCH, was the critical and alarming situation of affairs on the accession of Charles I. to the throne of his father, whose fatal policy had laid the foundation of a struggle, between the arbitrary principle and the spirit of freedom inherent in the constitution, and which rendered a rupture between the Sovereign and the people, inevitable. This is the grand object which is now before us, and which rapidly progressed when the reins of government were seized by a young and vigorous hand, urged on by the counsels of a rash and unprincipled minister in the person of the Duke of Buckingham. It was evident, that under such circumstances, the State must soon be hurried either within the barriers of despotism, or, plunged into the gulf of confusion and anarchy.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

The awful and monitory page must now be unfolded; and, from the calamities of the past, may we learn wisdom for the future! The adherents of Popery had rapidly increased during the last reign, and at the death of James, were rampant for power; pursuing their designs with all subtlety and perseverance. The Puritan Clergy had greatly augmented their numbers and influence, and were in great credit and esteem with all ranks of people; whilst that portion of the Clergy, who adhered to the arbitrary principles of the Sovereign, were in equal discredit, and considered the enemies of their country; in addition to which, the constitutional part of the nation, under the name of "State Puritans," and with whom, the "Church Puritans" coalesced, now formed a majority of the kingdom. Both these latter parties, by the arbitrary policy adopted by the government in Church and State, had been driven into the opposite extremes. The one verged to *Presbyterianism*—the other to *Republicanism*.

Notwithstanding these deep seated evils, which were secretly and infallibly working some great catastrophe in the State—the appearance of things at the commencement of the reign, was highly flattering. Just as, when nature is preparing, in her subterraneous caverns, some grand explosion, the appearance of the heavens may be clear and unruffled, affording no intimation of the event; so, on the accession of Charles, every thing bore the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. appearance of tranquillity and continued happiness, and his Coronation was solemnized with universal demonstrations of joy. He had not only gained popularity by his conduct, during the late Parlia-

Character of the King ment, but he had always been a great favorite with the nation, and not without just reason. He was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, of a fine and commanding form, of grave and modest deportment, and of eminent proficiency in learning. He was free from all vices and licentious excesses—religious, chaste, and temperate. He was perfect in vaulting, and all other manly and martial exercises; and was accounted the best marksman, and most expert manager of the horse, of any person in the three kingdoms.

Such was the Sovereign who now ascended the English throne: endowed with every qualification which could adorn the man, or distinguish the Monarch; as if Heaven determined, by the innocence and splendor of the victim, to shew its abhorrence of the character and conduct of his father, and to demonstrate to all future generations, the madness of fanatic zeal and popular licentiousness.

His marriage. After the obsequies of the late King, in which Charles dispensed with the usual forms of etiquette, and acted as chief mourner, his marriage with the sister of the King of France, was solemnised with great magnificence. The Queen herself was in the bloom of youth, and adorned with every grace, which could render her attractive in

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. the eyes of her husband. She had great beauty and vivacity; and possessed a lively wit and heroic spirit—but there was one root of bitterness—her religion—which was the bane of her own and her husband's happiness, and the foundation of innumerable calamities to the nation, which had adopted her.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Abbot, who, in the last reign, had been an active Counsellor; and had, with great fidelity, resisted the arbitrary policy of the court, was now on the decline. He had been a celebrated preacher, and was a person of eminent piety and unbounded hospitality; laborious and zealous in the discharge of his high duties, moderate in his political and religious views: in high repute with the nobility and gentry, and a decided favourer of the puritanical Clergy, who, alarmed at the advance of Popery, and oppressed by the rigorous and arbitrary measures of the Government, were fast verging, as we have hinted to the principles of Presbyterianism.

Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, a person of towering genius, and of an aspiring temper, was still Lord High Chancellor. He was admirably fitted for his high station, as well by the superiority of his natural endowments, as by his extensive learning and political sagacity. He was uncorrupt in morals, and patriotic in purpose. His beneficence and generosity were princely. His manners were bland and insinuating. His mode-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
ration was just, and averse to the extreme arbitrary policy of the court party. He endeavoured to temper the views of the contending parties and to bring them to an amicable understanding. But his genius, and skill, and perseverance were in vain: there were other master-spirits at work, which scorned the maxims of experience, and set at nought the lessons of prudence and moderation.

Laud, Bishop  
of St. David's.

Doctor William Laud, was now Bishop of Saint David's; an eminence to which his own abilities, seconded by the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, had elevated him. He was a man of a generous and ardent disposition—of an elevated and heroic temper. He was possessed of solid learning and unquestionable integrity—but without that practical knowledge of men and things, which could have enabled him, successfully to struggle with the difficulties of the times. His zeal for the honor of God and the unity and strict discipline of the Church, was bold and uncompromising. He placed himself in the fore-front of the battle; and, with unshaken resolution, determined to oppose the latitudinarian views of the Archbishop and the Puritan divines. In order to accomplish this, he adhered to the arbitrary policy of the late reign; and maintained extreme views of ancient ecclesiastical polity, totally at variance with the genius of the times, and to avoid the error into which he saw the country hastening, he pursued the opposite extreme, and carried his ob-

servances within the pale of superstition. His SECTION IV.  
maxim was, "There is no end of yielding:" and, he carried his plans with an inflexibility, which amounted to obstinacy. The consciousness of his rectitude, led him to disdain all conciliatory measures. His zeal was without caution—his wisdom without prudence. In short, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, he sought the accomplishment of his wishes, "without the least condescension to the acts and stratagems of the Court, and without any other friendship or support, than what the splendor of a pious life, and his unpolished integrity would reconcile to him;" and to sum up this review of his character, it will only be necessary to add what Judge Whitlock, who was not only a contemporary, but a fine and accurate discerner of the motives and actions of men, used to say—that *he was too full of fire though a just and a good man; and, that his want of experience in state matters, and his too much zeal and heat for the Church, if he proceeded in the way he was in, would set the nation on fire.*

The fatal tragedy now opens. The temporary popularity which Charles and the Duke of Buckingham had enjoyed, for breaking off the Spanish match, threw them off their guard; and the King entered upon the government with the most implicit confidence in Parliament. Contrary to the prudent advice of the Lord High Chancellor, the writs were immediately issued, before the friends

Confidence  
of the King  
abused.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Arbitrary  
conduct of the  
Commons.

and servants of the King could have time to secure their interests in the elections. But the King would brook no delay; and confident in his own integrity and the love of his subjects, he rejected all interference with the election of the members, and on the meeting of Parliament, he would not allow his Ministers to mention the amount of subsidies required to carry on the war, which had been engaged in through their own solicitations, but left himself in their hands, and, threw himself upon the generosity of the House.

But his confidence was misplaced. Instead of entering upon the business of the Session, and granting liberal supplies for supporting the dignity of the crown and the honor of the country, in the important contest in which it had embarked, they proceeded to endless debates on topics of popular interest; and petitioned the King on the state of Religion and the increase of Popery. We might have esteemed their determination to enquire into grievances, at the commencement of a new reign, both prudent and patriotic, had it not been for two circumstances, which shewed that a consciousness of their power had rendered them arbitrary and tyrannical. They summoned to the bar of the House, two Clergymen; one, to answer for a book which he had published, in which it was considered he had made some important concessions to Popery; and another, for maintaining in a sermon before the King, extravagant opinions of the Royal

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Impolicy of  
the King.

Prerogative. These individuals were severely reprimanded, and without reference to any other tribunal, fined to a great amount.

This petty and *unconstitutional* warfare arose, in a great measure, from the temper of the times, and the ill-defined authority of the House of Commons; and ought to have been met by an insinuating remedial policy. This was the advice of the Lord Chancellor Williams: but the Court stood on its high pretensions, and shewed their contempt of the House of Commons, by raising the obnoxious individuals to the Bench. There was also another subject, which was entirely in their own power, and which discovered that the Commons were actuated by factious and selfish principles—without the least provocation, and after receiving from the King the most conciliating answer to their Petition, as if in mockery of his wants, they granted supplies which were utterly inadequate to the necessities of the State.

The Plague now raging in London, it became necessary that the Parliament should be adjourned; but the King, hoping to obtain further supplies, proposed to adjourn the Session to Oxford. The Lord Chancellor Williams, with his usual wisdom, endeavoured to prevent it. He had secret information that complaints were prepared against the Duke of Buckingham; and his judgment told him, it was unlikely that the Commons would vote supplies twice in one Session. But his

Advice of  
Bishop Wil-  
liams rejected.

SECTION IV. counsel was overruled, and his fall determined, by the Duke.

CHAP. II.

The Commons proceed to accuse the Duke of Buckingham,

The Parliament met at Oxford, and every thing fell out as the Chancellor had predicted. As soon as they were assembled, regardless of the welfare of their Country, they entered upon topics connected with controversial divinity; and appointed a Committee of Religion. Mr. Montague, was again summoned, and his book ordered to be examined. His cause was warmly recommended by the Bishops, to the Duke of Buckingham, who justly insisted, that all differences in the Church, ought to be decided in an Ecclesiastical assembly, and was the privilege of Convocation. But to no purpose. The Commons conscious of their power in holding the supplies, loudly complained of the public management; and, most of all, of the unbounded power and mal-administration of the Duke himself. The Duke was indignant; and the Lord Chancellor again ventured to administer faithful and wholesome counsel; and advised the Duke to meet the storm with mild and conciliatory measures; using this remarkable expression, *that no wise man would think of being angry with the People of England*. But the Duke was too high and towering to listen to the well directed advice, and retired with displeasure.

and insult the King.

To all the Petitions of the Commons, the King returned the most gracious and prudent answers; notwithstanding, they ended their debates by a

short declaration, in which they thanked him for his gracious answer concerning religion—assured him of their true and hearty affections, and declared their loyal intention to *serve him in due time*, and in a Parliamentary way.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. II.

This was really a solemn mockery, and was highly resented by the Court, which was then at Woodstock; and it was resolved that the Parliament should be dissolved. When the Lord Chancellor heard of this resolution, he saw the impolicy of such a hasty step, and hastened, if possible, to prevent it. He used every argument to dissuade the King from such a step.—It is said, that he mingled tears with his supplications; but, his counsel was again rejected, through the influence of the mighty Duke; the Parliament was summarily dissolved, and the fatal strife perpetuated.

Summarily dissolved.

The result of this contest was to be of the greatest possible advantage to the community. The arbitrary exercise of the Sovereign power was to receive a severe check, and the constitutional liberties of the nation secured by the PETITION OF RIGHT; only second, among our national documents to the MAGNA CHARTA itself. It is one of those events in History, at the completion of which we are astonished. It was brought about without design. The chief actors themselves, whilst in a great measure, they pursued their own selfish purposes, were made the instruments of a good which they could not have anticipated. And whilst it

The "Petition of Right."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. discovers to us the benevolence of an overruling Providence, it establishes the fact, that whilst the antagonist principles of government are restrained within their proper boundaries, the struggle carried on between them, however violent, may be expected to be beneficial.

Character of Sir John Elliot. Sir John Elliot, a gentleman of Cornwall, was the great instrument in promoting the violent proceedings of Parliament, which we have already related; and, indeed, through the whole of this first struggle, which comprised a period of little more than four years, he was one of the chief actors; and in order to attain his purpose he sacrificed all his powers, and eventually his life itself. He possessed considerable parts and great energy of character; but he was a man of violent and outrageous passions. In his early life, he had travelled in company with the Duke of Buckingham, and on his advancement, he became his obsequious flatterer; but an extraordinary incident produced a violent change in his conduct, and induced him to become the bitter and irreconcilable enemy of his friend and patron. It happened on some occasion, that Sir John Elliot received a slight insult from a gentleman of high respectability in his own parish, for which he entertained a deep revenge, and even attempted his assassination. After the commission of the atrocious act, he hastened to the Duke of Buckingham, in order, through his interest, to secure his pardon: but he was somewhat mistaken

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. in his confidence. The Duke insisted upon a large pecuniary fine, as a ransom. After the fine was paid, it appeared that he had not dispatched his victim, who recovered. Guilty as he was, he applied for the restoration of his money, which could not be granted. From that moment, he entertained a violent prejudice against the Duke of Buckingham, and pursued him with unrelenting hatred to the day of his death.

Notwithstanding the insufficiency of the supplies which had been granted by Parliament, the King made every preparation in his power, for carrying on the War with Spain—a treaty of alliance was entered into with the United Provinces and France—Compulsory loans were raised by the power of the royal prerogative, and a fleet was sent out under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, and the Earl of Essex. But to no purpose. The fleet, which had been delayed two months from the difficulty of providing the necessary equipments, was encountered by violent storms. Disease invaded the Ships, whilst mutiny and insubordination amongst the men and incapacity in the Leaders, rendered the expedition abortive, and covered all who were concerned in it with disgrace and shame.

During this transaction another misfortune befel the Monarchy in the removal of Bishop Williams, from the office of Lord High Chancellor, almost the only man of his day who had sufficient

Fruitless expedition against Cadiz.

Bishop Williams removed.

SECTION IV. But with all his temper and moderation, he could not avoid the displeasure of the Duke of Buckingham, and the great Seal was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Coventry; whilst Bishop Laud was promoted to the immediate presence of the King; and became his Secretary and Counsellor for Ecclesiastical affairs.

Another Parliament assembled.

A. D. 1626.

These changes were highly displeasing to the nation, and increased the general dissatisfaction; whilst on the assembling of Parliament, although many of the late violent members were displaced, yet other ardent spirits were returned, amongst whom was Sir John Elliot, who, at all hazards was bent upon the ruin of the Duke of Buckingham. The commons as usual began their business with formal complaints against the conduct of the Government—the toleration of Papists, the mismanagement of the public Revenue, and, above all, against the enormous power and corruption of the Duke of Buckingham; and the state of feeling at that time, in the House and country, will appear from the circumstance, that when a certain member of Parliament observed, *that there were many gins and snares set for the Papists, but not one mouse-trap for the Puritans*, he was expelled the house!

The King who had been involved by his Father, in a line of policy diametrically opposed to the state of feeling which existed in the nation, con-

ducted himself with great dignity and moderation. But he was evidently ignorant of the extreme difficulties of his position, and of the dangers with which his throne was surrounded. He gave the House, in answer to their complaints, the strongest assurances of his willingness to redress all existing grievances; but at the same time, he highly resented their inquiry into the conduct of his favorite minister, and even said: "I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less, such as are of eminent place. I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham, I wonder what has so altered your affections towards him."

This answer was impolitic; and discovered that the King was ignorant of the extent of his prerogative, and assumed as true, a most unconstitutional maxim—that he was not only independent in the choice of his ministers, but that their conduct was beyond the control of Parliament. It was a feature of that policy against which the *mind* of the nation was directed, and had a direct tendency to inflame the public discontent. The effect in the house was as might be expected. The attempt of the King to stem the torrent by the force of authority, increased its turbulence, and made it overflow its banks. The most vehement speeches were directed against the Duke, on which occasion, Sir John Elliot was most conspicuous for his boldness and severity. The King

The public mind not to be forced.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

however, vindicated the honor of his friend and minister; and maintained his high prerogative in opposition to the power of Parliament; "Remember, said the unexperienced Monarch, that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil they are to continue, or not, to be." Such a high tone of expressions set the House in a flame, and to allay, in some measure, their resentment, the King commanded the Duke, personally, to vindicate his own character in a conference of the two Houses; which he did, with great prudence and address. But nothing could allay the storm; and, although there can be no doubt that he was sincerely bent on promoting the honor of his master and the prosperity of his country, yet nothing could prevent the retributory vengeance which was due to his pride and ambition, and that licentious exercise of power which made him obnoxious to a whole nation.

Duke of  
Buckingham  
impeached.  
A. D. 1626.

It will not be necessary to enter into a detail of his solemn impeachment by the whole body of the Commons: suffice it to say, that it was conducted by six of the ablest lawyers in the House, Glanville, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland. The prologue was made by Sir Dudley Diggs, and the epilogue by Sir John Elliot, who in the conclusion of his speech, compared the Duke "to a beast called Stellionatus, so blurred,

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

so spotted, so full of foul lines, as they knew not how to describe it: one, who intercepted, consumed, and exhausted the revenues of the crown, not only to satisfy his own lust, but the luxury of others; and thus by emptying the veins of the kingdom, had cast the whole body into a deep consumption."

The King interposed his authority, and Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot were imprisoned for the extravagant and libellous manner in which they had conducted the impeachment. But the Duke supported by the consciousness of his *ministerial* integrity, invited the trial; and on the eighth of June, made his defence before the House of Lords; and gave distinct answers to the thirteen articles which had been preferred against him; and, such was the force of his address and the modesty and humility with which it was delivered, that his enemies who expected a haughty and imperious answer, were entirely confounded.

Defends him-  
self with suc-  
cess.

But whilst his defence was calculated to allay the general discontent, and to remove much of the prejudice entertained against him by moderate and right judging men, it seemed as if nature herself had taken up the quarrel: for a phenomenon happened at this juncture, which, by its proximity to his residence, was interpreted as an omen against him. This phenomenon was a water spout, of large dimensions, which arose out of the Thames in a circular form; and when elevated about twelve feet above the level of the

But nothing  
can save him.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
river, was carried with great impetuosity to the other side, and made a furious assault against the garden walls of York House where the Duke then resided: it then burst asunder and gradually ascended till it vanished out of the sight of the astonished spectators; upon whose minds, as related by the writers of that day, it left a strong impression of the guilt and impending fate of the mighty Duke.

Parliament dissolved.

But the King, wearied out with the vexatious delays of the Commons, and their continued opposition to the Duke of Buckingham, against whom they were intending to present a formal remonstrance, determined on an immediate dissolution, after it had sat more than eighteen weeks, without passing one public act; although it was a period of time, greater than the longest session in the reign of Elizabeth.

Its character.

Undoubtedly, in this Parliament there were men of high attainments and of penetrating judgment, whose determination it was, if possible, to curtail and define the prerogatives of the crown; but they had no settled plan of operation, which rendered their deliberations irregular and inefficient. The majority were actuated by selfish and contracted views which made their opposition factious; and drove them to irritating expedients which tended to harass and perplex the government without benefiting their country.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
But the precipitate policy of the King only tended to increase the evils, which it was intended to remedy. His necessities were extreme. Not only did he require great sums of money to meet the expenses of the war; but his uncle and ally the King of Denmark, together with his confederates, met with a signal overthrow from the arms of the Emperor; and was reduced to great extremity. Charles used every effort to raise supplies. Tonnage and poundage were levied—loans of the gentry and nobility were exacted—the crown lands were mortgaged—the ports and maritime counties were taxed to a certain number of ships. In short, every thing that precedent could justify, or necessity invent was resorted to by the Council. Vast sums of money were paid with great cheerfulness for the King's service; but the nation, generally, was much dissatisfied; and loud complaints were made against these exactions. Bishop Laud made himself conspicuous on this occasion. He drew up a form of instruction for the Clergy on the exigency of the times, and the necessity that existed for a speedy and liberal supply. His example was followed by other clergymen, who considered it a sacred duty to come forward in support of their King and Country; nor should we have deemed their patriotic efforts unworthy of the highest praise, had they not favored a system of political policy which, if established, would have been fatal to our Consti-

Irregular methods of raising Money.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Extreme  
opinions incul-  
cated.

LAW alone  
paramount  
consistent with  
Scripture and  
reason,

tional liberties. Of all the Clergy, Doctor Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire, and Doctor Roger Mainwaring, were the most active; and advocated the most extreme and arbitrary principles of government. The latter, in two sermons, published under the title of "Religion and Allegiance," advanced this doctrine—"That the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties: but his *Royal will* and command in imposing taxes without consent of Parliament, does oblige the subject's conscience upon pain of eternal damnation." It is true, that Christianity strongly and unequivocally demands our submission and obedience to "the Powers that be;" but, we are no where called upon to violate common sense; nor, to yield up our social advantages and civil freedom. Certainly, if we believe the New Testament, we are bound to yield an absolute obedience to the governing powers: but we are not bound to give our assent to their unjust and arbitrary decrees; much less, can it ever become a *duty* to advocate a system of policy, inconsistent with rational freedom, or our acknowledged rights. Besides, as Englishmen, we do not owe a *divided* allegiance to "the Powers that be." We do not owe allegiance to the Executive or sovereign power, distinct from the concurrence of the two Houses of Parliament, but to their united will, which is—the LAW. And to the King, as the Executive Magistrate, acting

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

not then un-  
derstood.

under the sanction of Law, we acknowledge the most absolute submission. But during the period of which we are writing, these principles were not brought out into such bold relief as they are at present. Neither the extent of the Royal Prerogative—nor the liberty of the subject—nor the jurisdiction of Parliament, were practically defined: and hence it was, that such extravagant opinions were held on both sides; and which, required a long series of years to adjust and rectify. And it is easy to perceive, that, could such doctrines as those of Doctor Mainwaring have been established, and such methods of raising money perpetuated, the liberty of the subject would have been at the mercy of the Sovereign—the Monarchical power itself would have become exorbitant; and, in all probability, the advance of the country in its glorious career, as an EXEMPLAR STATE, would have been frustrated. But this was not to be: and we are deeply indebted to many heroic individuals of that day, who endangered their own ease, and, even liberty, by their opposition to the unconstitutional exercise of the Royal Prerogative. Amongst these are the names of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. George Ratcliff, Sir George Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone.

These gentlemen were treated with considerable severity, and imprisoned in Counties distant from their family and friends; a measure, which had an unhappy influence upon the public mind. The

The Patriots  
suffer.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. popular discontent was still further increased by the removal of Lord Chief Justice Carew, who was succeeded by Sir Nicholas Hyde; and still more, when Bishop Williams, for expressing an opinion in opposition to the loan, was summoned before the inquisition of the Star Chamber; whilst Bishop Laud, on the death of Doctor Arthur Lake, was translated to the See of Bath and Wells, and appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, at Windsor.

The Roman-  
ists presume.  
A. D. 1627.

The titular  
Bishop of Chal-  
cedon was sent  
as Vicar Gene-  
ral, and Arch-  
deacons ap-  
pointed in all  
the Dioceses of  
England.

Receive a  
check.

In the midst of these perplexing difficulties new sources of trial began to open upon the King, in his domestic relations; and he began to experience some of the evils arising from the infatuated policy of his father, in his marriage with a daughter of France. By the marriage articles it was agreed, as we have already stated, that the Queen was to have the choice of her own domestics—to be attended with a certain number of Priests and a Bishop, who should be allowed to exercise the peculiar functions of the Episcopal office. Fortified with such immunities—courted by the English Romanists, and supported by the authority of the Queen, they found little difficulty in extending their influence, and strengthening their cause.—Emboldened by success, they proceeded to the most unwarrantable lengths. A Vicar-general was appointed, the titular Bishop of Chalcedon, and Archdeacons through all the dioceses of England.

Not content with this public exhibition, they set all order and propriety so far at defiance,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. that the Queen, who was entirely devoted to her religion, was on some occasion of penance, ordered to proceed on foot to Tyburn, to perform her devotions. The King complained to the King of France; but still they carried themselves in the most offensive manner, and became missionaries, rather than domestics. The King's mind was greatly affected by their dishonourable conduct; which influenced the behaviour of his Queen, and created mutual disquietude. The King tried every expedient in vain. Every effort he made, seemed only to increase their opposition, and plunge him into greater perplexity; till at length, he determined upon their summary dismissal. Having repaired to Somerset House, he commanded the attendance of the Queen's household, and addressed them to the following effect;—"He was driven" he said, "to that extremity as personally to acquaint them, that he desired their return into France. That, though the deportment of some had been inoffensive, yet others had so abused, and affronted him, that he neither could nor would any longer endure it." The Bishop of Mende, and Madame Saint George, who had been the greatest offenders, began to make their apologies, but the King turned from them, and simply observed, "I name none, but I tell you my resolution."

The Queen was roused to immoderate warmth, when she heard of the King's determination, broke  
The Queen  
displeased,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. out into loud complaints, and reproached him for his ungracious conduct. The King, who was passionately attached to his consort, employed every tender and conciliatory method to pacify her, but to no purpose; till at length he insisted upon his authority, and peremptorily told her that it must be so. From that time, she became a more attached and obedient wife; but the King's sorrows in that quarter, were only in their commencement. He took every precaution to prevent any offence on the part of the King of France; but, all his endeavours were ineffectual; and he was plunged into a new war with France, which gratified, at once, the revenge and the disappointed lust of the Duke of Buckingham. Accordingly, he took upon himself the whole management of the war, and left the English shores with a well-manned fleet, and numerous land-forces; of which he took the command, both as Admiral and General. The Protestant party in France, was at this time, contending for freedom against the Popish power, in alliance with the French monarchy.—Rochelle was their chief strength, and which still held out against the whole power of France. The Duke, sailing to the town, offered them his assistance; but at this juncture, having suffered great disasters, they were afraid to unite with the English forces, and involve themselves in new difficulties, without consulting the heads of the Protestant union. In the mean time, the Duke landed his

which leads to  
a War with  
France.

troops on the Island of Rhè, with the intention of securing that important station as a field for future operations; and he had now a fair opportunity of discovering the energy and capacity of his mind. But he utterly failed in all his efforts, and shewed, that he did not possess sufficient talent for conducting any great or noble enterprise.

Nothing could exceed the storm of indignation which met the Duke on his return from this unsuccessful expedition. He went forth attended with all the hatred which attaches to a great favorite, and returned loaded with all the disgrace which attends an unfortunate General. All were loud in their complaints, except his gracious Master, who received him with that warm affection, which only served to increase the general resentment. The citizens complained of their trade—the merchants of their discouragements—the sailors on account of their arrears of pay—all clamoured for redress: and the odium of all the national grievances fell upon the unfortunate Duke.

These evils were still further inflamed by the persecution and deposition of the venerable Archbishop; who had been opposed, from the beginning, to the extreme and arbitrary measures of the Court, and studied, by moderation in the reform of manifest abuses, to meet the just demands of reasonable men. His fall presents a noble instance of intrepid firmness and disinterested virtue. It will be remembered that Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

Disgrace of  
the Duke of  
Buckingham.

Deposition of  
the Archbishop

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. was one of those, who vindicated, in extravagant terms, the absolute and independent power of the Sovereign. Before his book was published, it was necessary that it should receive the license of the Archbishop. But the sentiments which it contained, were such as the Archbishop could not sanction; and he steadily refused his "Imprimatur," in opposition, even, to the command of the King. His Sequestration immediately followed, and the jurisdiction of the Primacy was placed in the hands of six Bishops, of which, Laud was one.

Sir Robert Cotton.

In this exigency of affairs, the whole nation with one voice, demanded a Parliament: and it is a curious fact, that Sir Robert Cotton, the famous antiquary, was called before the King and Council to declare his opinion, in point of history and law, on the present juncture; a task which he performed in the most judicious manner; and in conclusion, gave his advice that a Parliament should be called. Such is the excellency of wisdom, and the power with which it can, sometimes, invest its possessor!

Parliament Summoned. A. D. 1628.

It was accordingly resolved in Council, that the Parliament should meet on the seventeenth of March; and, before the writs were issued, it was deemed proper to soothe the public mind by some popular acts of the executive. The Archbishop was restored—the Earl of Bristol and the Bishop of Lincoln, who had suffered great hardships, received the writ of summons; and all those who

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. were under a sentence of arbitrary imprisonment, were released. But in vain. These last hastening to their respective Counties, were unanimously elected, and returned to Parliament, as Patriots who had suffered for attachment to the Constitution.

The opening of this Parliament was a solemn crisis in our history; and every individual concerned in it, felt it to be so. The sermon was preached by Bishop Laud, in which he exhorted them to "unity" as the only means of saving their country from anarchy. The King opened the Session in person; with an able and conciliatory Speech. The House proceeded to their debates with great temper and resolution. They felt it to be their bounden duty to redress the grievances of the subject, and at the same time, they saw the necessity of granting supplies for the pressing demands of the State. After a short debate, they determined that grievances and supplies should go, hand in hand; and taking a review of the dangers which threatened the State, they considered the most imminent to flow from the toleration and increase of Popery. A remonstrance was drawn up, consisting of eight articles, and presented to the King against the adherents of that religion, to which the King answered distinctly on each article, through the Lord Keeper, and gave the House the fullest satisfaction—assuring them, at the same time, of the security of their

Promising appearances.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. Rights and Liberties. The House immediately voted a liberal supply, and the breach between the King and his Parliament seemed to be healed. The King in the warmest manner, expressed his satisfaction, and accounted it his greatest happiness to be restored to unity with his people.

Petition of Rights.

But the House was not to be flattered out of its duty. It formed itself into a grand committee on the State of the Nation; and, in a few days, drew up the "PETITION OF RIGHTS," which they transmitted to the Upper House. The good Archbishop was at his post, and in a conference between the two Houses, in a mild and conciliating speech proposed some amendments, the same in effect, with the resolutions of the Commons, but clothed in more moderate and becoming language, which, however, were not satisfactory. The King finding the Commons warmed with their subject; and startled at their bold and determined language, proceeded to the House of Lords, and commanding the attendance of the Commons, he ordered their Petition to be read—and gave his solemn assurance and promise, that it should, in every respect, be observed. This extraordinary method silenced, but did not satisfy the House. They proceeded, however, to other business. A declaration was made against Doctor Mainwaring on account of the sermon to which we have already alluded; and the severity of his sentence will at once shew how little a just toleration was understood, either

by the Prince, or the people. The worthy divine, SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. for publishing his political opinions, was imprisoned, and fined to the amount of One thousand pounds; suspended from all ecclesiastical functions, for three years; and it was further ordered, that his books should be publicly burnt, and that he himself should make a public recantation.

In all probability, the solemn assurances which the King had just made, would have caused the "PETITION OF RIGHTS" to sink into oblivion, had not a message from his Majesty, fixing an early day for the termination of the Session, requesting them to expedite their business, and not to cast any aspersions on the Government or Ministry—roused the fears and jealousies of the House. After long deliberation, and frequent messages from the King; it was, at length, agreed that the "PETITION OF RIGHTS" should pass into a Law. Its consideration revived.

The Bill was therefore proceeded with, and after several conferences, it received the royal assent in full Parliament on the fifth of June, when, on the conclusion of the King's speech a mighty shout testified their sense of the importance of a measure which may be justly esteemed next to the "MAGNA CHARTA" itself, in the history of our constitution. It was received by the nation with universal joy, the bells were rung and bonfires lighted throughout London and the Country, as if some solemn and national jubilee had been celebrated. And, had the Parliament been satisfied with this great Passed into a Law.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. triumph, and proceeded with moderation in the reform and conduct of the State, they would have deserved the unbounded gratitude of posterity. On their assembling the next day, the House appeared to think its measures ought to be conciliating; but, unfortunately, one word from Sir John Strangeways, who was afterwards an ardent loyalist and great sufferer in the civil wars, set the House upon finishing the remonstrance which it had prepared. The King was highly incensed when this remonstrance, which concluded with a vehement denunciation against the Duke of Buckingham, was presented to him; and, before another remonstrance on the duties of tonnage and poundage could be presented, he abruptly prorogued the session.

Treachery  
and Death of  
Buckingham.

During this time a formidable fleet and army had been dispatched for the relief of Rochelle under the Earl of Denbigh and returned without striking a single blow. Amidst the conflicting opinions which prevailed at the time, respecting this extraordinary expedition, it is impossible to decide as to the real cause of its return—suffice it to say, that it was through intrigue and treachery. Who the culprit was, it is not easy to determine: the odium fell, and, perhaps, not unjustly, upon the Duke of Buckingham; whose short and licentious career was about to receive a fatal termination. His unpopularity at this moment was extreme.—No person ever seemed to draw down upon himself,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. more completely the indignation of a whole people. But his hour was come. Every person seemed to forbode his impending fate and he himself, it is said, entertained the most painful apprehensions of its approach. The measure of his iniquities was, indeed, full: and, a dreadful retribution was now preparing for him, by the hand of a gloomy assassin.—This was Felton, who had served under the Duke during the siege of the Citadel of Saint Martine in his attempts on the Island of Rhè; and being refused some promotion to which he considered himself entitled, threw up his commission in disgust, and determined upon revenge. His own grievance was inflamed, beyond all reason, by the strong and universal feeling against the Duke; but, most of all, by the open declaration of the House of Commons, “that the Duke was the great grievance of the nation, and the principal cause of all the evils under which it suffered.” This fired his private revenge—and inspired him with the belief, that by accomplishing the destruction of the Duke, he should perform a public benefit, and deserve to be recorded as a benefactor to his country. Accordingly, the day after the Duke arrived at Portsmouth for the purpose of superintending the embarkation of the troops designed for Rochelle, he effected his atrocious purpose. It was nine o’clock in the morning, and sustained with the most deadly resolution, he stationed himself, with many others, in

Felton  
assassinates  
Buckingham  
A. D. 1628.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the anti-chamber of the Duke's dressing room. The Duke attended by a number of gentlemen and officers of the army, and some French protestant noblemen, was leaving his dressing room

The Duke of Buckingham.

for breakfast, which he was never to enjoy. On removing the tapestry which separated the rooms, the Duke appeared in all his greatness, unconscious of danger, and in earnest conversation with the gentlemen around him. In an instant, the assassin, like some furious animal, intent upon his prey, springing behind his victim, struck his dagger over the Duke's shoulder, with fatal precision, into his heart. Whether, or, not, the Duke recognised the hand which directed the fatal blow, he exclaimed "The villain has killed me," and drawing out the weapon with his own hand, instantly expired! Thus fell, the great, and noble, and illustrious Villiers, at once, the pride and disgrace of his country. In personal attractions and dazzling acquirements he was superior to all men, whilst at the same time, he exceeded all, in the impetuosity of his passions, the unbridled licence of his manners and the unbounded lust of his ambition. His murderer, who rejoiced in the crime he had perpetrated, was immediately apprehended. He persisted to the last in maintaining, that no other person had any share in the transaction. After his trial, he behaved himself with great humility, and with every sign of deep remorse, if not repentance. Indeed, so great was his com-

punction that he requested the Judge, that the hand which committed the deed might be struck off before his execution, which the Judge refused, on account of its being illegal. SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

The Court was then at Southwark; and the tidings of the Duke's death was conveyed to the King by Sir Thomas Hipposly, who arrived in town next day. It was Sunday morning, and the King was attending prayers. Sir Thomas entered the chapel with a mournful countenance, and approaching the King, privately announced the tragic event. The King received the tidings without a word, and, with the most settled composure. No change was observable in his looks or actions, till the conclusion of prayers, when he hurried to his private apartment, and in floods of tears, gave vent to the emotions of his heart. He continued some days in retirement, and shewed the sincerity of his attachment to his murdered minister by the affectionate manner in which he treated his relations and friends, and the carefulness with which he discharged his debts. The body of the Duke lay in state at York House, and was, with great solemnity, entombed in Westminster Abbey.

The death of the unfortunate Duke made it necessary that certain changes should take place in the administration of public affairs. Sir Richard Weston was made Lord High Treasurer—a man of active and enterprising disposition, whose first endeavour was to gain Sir Thomas Went-

The King's Conduct.

Changes in the administration.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

worth to the King's interest, in which he entirely succeeded. He was created Viscount Wentworth, and appointed President of the North, became one of the most devoted friends of the Monarchy and was certainly, one of the ablest Ministers the Crown of England ever possessed. Bishop Laud, was translated to the See of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury introduced and reconciled to the King, whose sincere desire of assisting the French Protestants had already determined upon the relief of Rochelle. A fleet was fitted out under the command of the Earl of Lindsay: but, there was one man in France, whose towering genius was more formidable than fleets and armies. The English fleet presented itself before Rochelle; nor, was there a single French ship to oppose them; but the prodigious mole which the Cardinal Richelieu had constructed across the entrance of the harbour, defied all their efforts. Rochelle after unheard-of sufferings was finally reduced—the Protestant cause in France entirely ruined—their liberties oppressed—the Monarchy aggrandised and rendered absolute; which, at length, wrought out its own retribution in the horrid Revolution of 1792.

Opening of  
Parliament.  
A. D. 1629.

The King opened the second Session of the third Parliament, on the twentieth of January, in a most gracious and patriotic speech, in which he exhorted the Commons to put an end to all disputes, by passing the bill for tonnage and pound-

age, as had been customary in all former reigns, declaring he would receive it, "not as a matter of right, but as of his People's favour."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Conduct of  
Parliament.

It was justly expected that the House of Commons would cease its hostility to the Crown, and proceed to the dispatch of business with moderation and candour. But alas! the spirit of discord prevailed against all the claims of justice and honor, and evil Counsellors taking occasion from the spirit of the times, fomented that religious rancour which afterwards proceeded to such monstrous licentiousness, and involved the whole Monarchy in ruin. Instead of proceeding with their proper business, and carrying on such Reforms in the State as were absolutely necessary, their whole attention was bent upon the discovery of grievances, not, always, of importance, and on the dangers to be apprehended from the growth of Arminianism. Certainly their fears on this ground were imaginary. Experience has assured us, that there is no necessary connexion between Arminianism and political delinquency. But the nation, at this juncture, was deeply imbued through the vigorous ministrations of the Clergy, with the Calvinistic notions of dogmatical theology. The Reformers of the Anglican Church were moderate both in their views of doctrine and discipline; but the Clergy who had taken refuge abroad, during the Marian persecution, returned home, deeply impressed in favour of the foreign Churches,

SECTION IV. especially that of Geneva, which was Presbyterian in discipline and Calvinistic in doctrine. The Puritan clergy, although they conformed for the sake of unity, yet adopted the general scheme of theology first revived by Calvin in modern days; and though many of them did not advance further than they were warranted by the articles of religion; yet, others carried out its peculiarities into extravagance. The principle of Arminianism is, not only more accordant with the maxims of our rational Constitution in Church and State; but more consistent perhaps, with the uniform teaching of the Church than those of the Calvinistic theory, which have only been embraced and inculcated by a few eminent Doctors of the ancient Church. The Arminian doctrine teaches "that Christ has not only redeemed all, but that there is a universal grace given to all mankind; that this grace is not an irresistible principle; that man is a free agent, always at liberty to obey all the emotions of the Holy Spirit, or, resist them; that with respect to perseverance a man may, after justification fall into new crimes." Whilst the Calvinistic theology maintains "the absoluteness of God's decrees without any regard to the merit or demerit of man; and that God foreknew a determinate number with whom he intended to manifest his glory; having predestinated them to be holy, he gives them an irresistible grace, and makes it impossible for them to be otherwise." It is easy to perceive,

CHAP. II.

Calvinistic  
and Arminian  
theories.

SECTION IV. that this latter view of Christian doctrine is of a much more sublime and mysterious character; and much more likely to lead men away from the sober discharge of their relative and social duties, not only, into the regions of doubtful and presumptuous disputation, but into those of obstinate and wild fanaticism. But I must not enlarge too far. The sequel of this history will afford, alas! too frequent opportunities of remarking, on the evil of both these systems, when carried to their extremes, and dogmatically insisted upon. The truth, no doubt, is in the union of both; and I apprehend, the doctrinal standard and the instructional Formulæ of the Church of England have embodied their just and scriptural application. No person, endued with reason, will attempt to dispute the absolute sovereignty of the Most High, nor hesitate to subscribe to the Apostolic declaration that "every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from the Father of Lights;" nor, will any Christian man withhold his assent from the proposition, *that man in his present fallen state is as far gone as possible from original righteousness, that he is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that the condition of man is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.\** and, surely, none will dispute that man is an accountable being, and that he is addressed every-

CHAP. II.

\* Articles of Religion, ix. x.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

where in the New Testament, as under an obligation to repent and believe the gospel. Now, it is evident that these simple, undeniable propositions contain the substance of both theories; that they are perfectly agreeable to the nature of things, and fully substantiated by plain declarations of Scripture. It is equally plain, that if I take any one of these propositions and dwell upon it to the exclusion of the others, I must give a distorted view of the Christian revelation, in which, all are inculcated. When, therefore, the Calvinist seizes upon the doctrine of God's sovereignty exclusively, and carries out his system into all its legitimate conclusions—that God has elected a certain determinate number of the human race to be saved—that this number cannot be increased or diminished by any human effort—that the elect are called and sanctified by the Holy Spirit; and, that they cannot effectually resist his agency, but must infallibly be saved, whilst the rest of mankind must infallibly be lost—it is evident that such a statement is repugnant to our ideas of man's free agency, omits the Scripture doctrine of man's responsibility, and is incongruous and inconsistent with the general tenor of the Christian Dispensation. It does not become men to lay down a system which *they* may think most becoming the Divine attributes, but to adopt, with humility, *all* the leading points of Revelation, as alike essential to the truth of His nature; and, we may rest as-

Distorted  
views of Chris-  
tianity injuri-  
ous.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

sured, that, if any one point is excluded in its administration, the results will be injurious to the welfare and happiness of man. It was manifestly seen in the effect of the doctrine which was exhibited by the Clergy, at the period at which we have now arrived. The doctrines of predestination and election, and the final perseverance of the Saints were inculcated with great fervor and powerful eloquence by the Puritan Clergy; and, generally speaking, with the inculcation of holiness as the necessary result of election, which is the redeeming property of the system; but still, it was not the harmonizing system of the gospel; and it produced in its professors an incorrect portraiture of the Christian character. They were zealous and indefatigable in their labours—men of considerable learning, well versed in the Scriptures, and of great piety, but evidently infected with an overweening prejudice in favor of their own peculiar opinions—an undue persuasion of a peculiar divine favor, rigid self-denial and a severity of manners inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel. At the same time, they were bold and uncompromising in their denunciations of Popery; and carried their opposition to such an unreasonable extent, as to demur in their conformity to the ceremonies of their own church however sanctioned by ancient usage, simplicity and propriety. King James himself was educated in this system; and when he ascended the English throne was, nom-

Puritan  
Clergy.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. inally, of this school. His understanding entertained the dry and scholastic speculations of the system, but his affections were never brought under its controul; so that it never produced in him, anything but low and foolish conceits, harmless to himself and others. But the opposition of the Presbyterians in Scotland, and a similar disposition which he discerned in the Puritan Clergy of England, disgusted him with the Calvinistic doctrine; and he adopted and cherished the Arminian theology as a counterpoise to the growing popularity of Puritanism, and promoted its Divines to the highest stations in the Church. Under the Royal patronage it acquired strength, and, at this period of our history, through the unwearied zeal and earnestness of Laud, who was the great patron of this school, it had acquired extensive influence in the Anglican Church.

Arminian  
Clergy.

The Arminian party, became as it were, identified with the Government, and, of necessity, supported the measures of the Executive, and advocated the rights of the Prerogative to an unwarrantable extent—asserting the absolute power of the Monarch, and avowing principles destructive of our constitutional liberties.—Hence their religious tenets became the measure of their political sentiments. It was a grand mistake. There can be no necessary connexion between Arminianism and tyranny—any more than there is between Calvinism and Republicanism. The ten-

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. dency of the one, is to rest in human forms; of the other, to verge into fanaticism. But the doctrines themselves, have no principle in common with any political theory.

The house of Commons, however, whether from factious motives, or, really from fear of the spread of Arminianism, adopted this mistaken notion and inveighed against Arminianism, as the root of all bitterness and the cause of every grievance in the body politic! It is surprising to think how men of such undoubted abilities should so far have committed themselves. On the very first day of the sessions when the house had entered upon the discussion of the grievances respecting religion, Mr. Rouse denounced Arminianism as “an Error that made the grace of God lackey it after the will of man, that made the sheep to keep the Shepherd, and a mortal seed of an immortal God; and that an Arminian was the spawn of a Papist, ready to open the gate to Romish Tyranny and Spanish Monarchy.” And Sir Robert Philips is reported to have said, “two sects are damnably crept in, to undermine King and kingdom; the one, ancient Popery, the other, new Arminianism.” Nor was the furious Sir John Elliot behind-hand in these declamatory proceedings. “As to Popery and Arminianism,” he said, “our faith and religion are in danger—for these like an inundation, break in at once upon us. In this Laud is contracted all the dangers we fear.” And it is

Conduct of  
the House of  
Commons.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. important to observe, that on this same day the report of the *Committee on Religion* was presented to the house, to which the name of OLIVER CROMWELL was attached! In this report, loud complaints were made against the promoting of Montague and Mainwaring to the bench—concluding, “If these be steps to Church preferment, what are we shortly to expect?”

Violent  
Proceedings.

From this time there appeared an incurable breach between the King and his Parliament, incessant debates arose on the most irritating topics—various remonstrances were drawn up on the subject of Popery and Arminianism, so that the public business was at a stand-still, and the King found it necessary to adjourn Parliament in order to allow time for reflection. But in vain. The same litigious spirit prevailed; and, when the King, a second time attempted to adjourn the House, the order was resisted with great tumult: the door of the house was locked—violence was used to restrain the Speaker from leaving the chair. But he was inflexible. Neither persuasion nor threats could shake his fidelity to the King and the Constitution. I say this, because at that time, the power of adjournment was generally acknowledged to reside in the Crown. Notwithstanding, he was held in the chair by force, whilst a protestation concerning Popery and Arminianism was carried by acclamation.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. The King on hearing of these disorders, sent a messenger for the Sergeant and his mace, but the messenger was not admitted. He then dispatched Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, to dissolve the Parliament; but the door was still locked and all entrance denied. Provoked at their rebellion, the King sent for the Captain of the Guards, determined to force an entrance: but fortunately, in the meantime, the House had adjourned.

At this unhappy juncture, it was the advice of the prudent and sagacious Bishop of Lincoln, that the King should invite the two Houses to a conference on the state of public affairs; whilst he himself, undertook to reconcile Sir John Elliot to the Government. But his counsel was rejected, and more strenuous methods adopted—Warrants were issued for apprehending nine of the members who were leaders in the late disorder, amongst whom was Sir John Elliot; who, refusing his liberty on bail, was committed to prison, where he shortly after died; and the Parliament was dissolved, with a determination, on the part of the King, if possible, never to summon it again. His resolve was solemn and determined: but it was vain. The benevolent purposes of the MOST HIGH, had determined that England should advance, in the free exercise of all its energies; and, in the possession of the True Religion, to become an EXEMPLAR STATE amongst the nations of the

Parliament  
dissolved  
March 10,  
A. D. 1629.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. earth. In the mean time a severe retribution was preparing for all those, who were engaged in these transactions; and who, in the measures which they adopted, were seeking their own gratification, rather than the welfare of their Country. Revolving years were destined to create a necessity which was to overpower the King's resolution, and oblige him to summon a Parliament, which was to be the cause of his overthrow and ruin; whilst the Parliament itself, was to be swallowed up in the anarchical gulf which it had created. Nevertheless, in compassion, as it were, to the Sovereign, and as a reward for the sincerity, integrity, and virtue of his character—the space of twelve years is allotted to him, in which he was to enjoy a season of almost uninterrupted repose and prosperity. His court was conducted with the greatest order and regularity, which impressed a real dignity on the splendid formality which prevailed in every department; whilst the calm reserve, and majestic deportment of the King, gave a finishing lustre to the whole. But he did not depart from the policy of his father. During this period the government of England was an Autocracy. The Constitution was suspended; and, it will be our duty to trace, with all impartiality, the circumstances which transpired, and which led, after many years of confusion, misery, and oppression, to the Restoration of the Monarchy, and the final establishment of our civil and ecclesiastical liberties.

Constitution  
suspended.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. The three principal persons who enjoyed the greatest share of favor and influence about the person of the King, were Doctor William Laud, Bishop of London, Lord Viscount Wentworth, President of the North; and James, Marquis of Hamilton. The character of the first is already before the reader.—The second, was endowed with extraordinary natural abilities, which had been carefully cultivated and adorned by education.—He possessed a vigorous judgment—a teeming fancy, and such powers of reasoning, that he was said, “rather to demonstrate than to argue.” His justice and integrity are unimpeachable: but there was a severity in his deportment, and a want of condescension in his manners, for which his surprising qualifications could not atone.

The King's  
Ministers.

The Marquis of Hamilton, was a Scotch Peer of high and noble descent. After the death of the Duke of Buckingham he was made Master of the Horse, Gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and Privy Councillor in both kingdoms. He was of a remarkable aspect, but naturally dark and reserved. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the arts of management, and gained his object, more by stratagem than by open assault; and, although he seemed to carry every thing with great modesty, yet he is supposed to have exercised a great influence over the councils of the Government.

Sir Thomas Coventry was Lord Keeper, a man of great knowledge in his profession, unostenta-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

tious and retiring, and sustained his high dignity with universal reputation to his death. Sir Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, was Lord High Treasurer—a person well descended—admirably suited to his office, and of an aspiring temper; but of an abject disposition—insatiable and discontented, profuse and imperious. The Earl of Manchester was Lord Privy Seal. He was a person of great wisdom and prudence, and indefatigable in his attention to the duties of his office. But he was too solicitous after the accumulation of wealth; yet his experience, gravity, and ability secured for him a considerable share of reputation, which he enjoyed to a great age. The Earl of Arundel was Earl Marshal, a person of noble aspect and appearance. He affected a peculiar style of dress; and was thought the image and representative of the ancient nobility. He lived in great retirement and spent his time in antiquarian researches; and, expended vast sums of money in the collection of paintings and statues. But he had little learning and less patriotism, and deserted his country in the hour of danger. The Earl of Pembroke was Lord Steward, who adorned his high station with every requisition of birth, of fortune, and eloquence. Such, indeed, was the lustre of his character, that it is said “no man had sufficient courage to avow himself his enemy.” But in private life he was licentious and immoral. Sir John Cook and Sir Dudley Carleton were

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Secretaries of State, the former a man of great industry, but of a contracted mind—the other a person of eminent parts, but as entirely ignorant of the constitution of his own country, as his colleague was of foreign politics.

Such were the men who were called at this important period to preside over the destinies of their country. Certainly, never was a King supported by such ministers, or ministers adorned by such a King. The King was a pattern of honour and integrity; Strafford, of wisdom and justice; Laud, of sincerity and piety; and Hamilton, of courage and action. The two first took the charge of the civil government—the next, of ecclesiastical affairs, and the last, of the military department. The rest of the Ministry were not wanting, as we have shewn, in the ability necessary for the discharge of their respective departments; but they were generally intent upon securing their own advantage and that of their dependents; and, without foresight or patriotism, anxious to ward off immediate danger. Expediency was the law of their movements; and they were satisfied, if they could secure peace and happiness during *their* days.

The first transaction of moment, was a treaty of peace with France; and by a happy concurrence, Paul Peter Rubens, the famous Painter of Antwerp, arrived in England, to mediate a peace with the Court of Spain; which was shortly after accomplished.

Policy of the  
Government.

Treaties with  
France and  
Spain.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Conduct of  
Ministers.

Whilst the King was thus set free from all anxiety respecting foreign affairs, and supreme and absolute in his dominions; yet, such was the wisdom and prudence of his counsels, that scarcely an error can be detected in the administration of public affairs. Every mistake arose from the line of policy in which they were involved. Various methods were resorted to for the purpose of raising supplies; but the greatest caution was observed, and every effort made, to confine the levies within the boundaries of Law and Precedent. But arbitrary power is not made for man; and in the best of hands, has a tendency to degenerate. It must protect itself by the exercise of its power: and, even, where its judgments are just, its punishments are oftentimes wanton.

Of Archbishop  
Laud.

Nor was this power permitted to slumber. Considerable irregularity and disorder prevailed in the discipline and worship of the established Church, arising from the obstinate adherence of many of the Puritan Clergy, to the doctrine and discipline of the church of Geneva. In order to avoid an open conformity to the Rites and Liturgy of the Church, they had become afternoon preachers or lecturers, and were maintained and followed by the people. In order to prevent these irregularities, and to introduce a proper conformity in the ministers of the Church, Articles of Instructions were drawn up by Bishop Laud, and issued under the King's authority—"That in all parishes the af-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

ternoon sermons be turned into catechising—That every lecturer read Divine service before lecture, in his surplice and hood.—That no lecturer be admitted, that is not ready and willing to take upon him the cure of souls," &c.

No person of the present day, will consider that these instructions were severe, or more than necessary to meet the evils which they were designed to repress. It is evident that eloquent preachers opposed to the ceremonies of the Church, would take occasion, in their lectures, to speak disrespectfully of those ceremonies; or, if not, their known sentiments had a tendency to produce an injurious effect. If the government of the Church was to be upheld, Laud could not have done otherwise. This, perhaps, will not admit of a question, but the methods which were adopted for maintaining the just authority of the Church, were not only questionable, but eminently barbarous and tyrannical. A great portion of the barbarity must be referred to the age itself, which was little scrupulous as to the private feelings of their fellow men. Another portion must be referred to the obstinacy of the Puritans, whose objections to the Liturgy of the Church were of the most frivolous description. But we have no desire to apologise for the severity of the punishments which were exacted on the unhappy Recusants. We abhor them as the exercise of arbitrary power; and rejoice, that we live in an age when the individual

How far reprehensible.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Arbitrary Measures. happiness of the subject is regarded with proper respect. One clergyman, for reflecting in his prayer, on the religion of the Queen as idolatrous, was cited before the High Commission, suspended, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, and committed to prison. Another, was deprived of his Prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, and fined five hundred pounds, for preaching from the words—"I hate all those who love superstitious vanities, but Thy law do I love." Many others were deprived for their non-compliance; and driven by the severity of the Government, into foreign exile. We lament the circumstances which expatriated so many of our countrymen; but an overruling Providence conducted these evils to a beneficial result. The colony of Massachusetts Bay, was formed at this juncture; and, during the period of Laud's administration, seventy-four Clergymen went into voluntary banishment, as the Pastors of congregations in the wilds of America.

The celebrated Doctor Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, was summoned before the Privy Council, for preaching on the doctrine of Predestination contrary to the King's injunction, and escaped with difficulty. But others were not so fortunate, especially Doctor Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, who under the excitement of an intemperate zeal, published a furious book under the title of "An appeal to the Parliament, or, a Plea against Prelacy." The author was arraigned be-

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. fore the Star Chamber; and he was sentenced to imprisonment during the King's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. This was sufficiently severe—but this was not all. His sentence was not only severe, but wanton. He was to be placed in the pillory, and publicly whipped, his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his face branded! What an ignominy and disgrace for a learned and excellent minister, though an intemperate bigot: yet a free-man, and the father of Archbishop Leighton!

Notwithstanding, it must be allowed, that, neither did the King nor his Ministers attempt to pollute the streams of justice. They were allowed to flow without interruption in their natural course. The Judges were, generally, men of uncorrupt integrity, and gave their judgment, with freedom, and courage, though often contrary to the judgment of the King, who always gave his acquiescence to their decisions.

In the midst of these public cares, on the twentieth of May, was born Charles II. to the great delight of the King, who went in procession to Saint Paul's to return thanks, for such a joyful event. Joyful indeed! could he have foreseen, that, in this son, the tarnished honor of the British Monarchy was to be restored.—But happily, for his present comfort, that event, together with all the calamities which were to precede it, were hidden from his view.

Birth of King  
Charles II.  
A. D. 1630.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Extraordi-  
nary appear-  
ance.

Whilst the Monarch was thus engaged in offering up his devotions, it is said, an unusual star appeared in a clear sky, and was observed by a multitude of spectators:—and, whatever may be our opinion of this appearance, the fact was not the invention of an after-period, but believed at the time. Medals were struck commemorative of his birth, the device and motto of which remarkably corresponded to his destiny—On one side appeared a star, representing as it were, the rise of the monarchy after a partial obscurity; and, on the reverse the motto, “*Hactenus, Anglorum nulli*”—the truth of which can only be found in the extraordinary circumstances of his Restoration.

The irruption  
of Charles of  
Sweden.

Whilst in the birth of this Prince the instrument was presented to the nation, under whose auspices its ancient monarchy and constitutional liberties were, one day, to be restored, Peace was concluded with Spain; and the Marquis of Hamilton was dispatched with six thousand men, to the assistance of the celebrated Charles, King of Sweden, who had made an impetuous irruption into Germany, in favour of the Protestant Princes, against the usurpations of the Emperor Ferdinand. His progress was irresistible. Like an overwhelming torrent he urged his rapid course into the very heart of the German Empire; nor met with a reverse, till his devastating career received a final check at the battle of Lutzen, which ended at once, his conquests and his life. This famous

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

irruption lasted two years; in which with amazing rapidity, he made himself master of two hundred and ninety-six cities, forts and walled towns; and created a greater impression on the minds of men than any preceding conqueror. But this belongs to another History.

Every thing in England was in the most prosperous condition. The trade and commerce of the kingdom increased to an unprecedented degree; and London became, not only the mart, but the Bank of Christendom. Nor was it less a season of improvement in learning and science. On the death of the Earl of Pembroke, Bishop Laud had been elected, by a great majority, to the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford; and, undoubtedly, became the most eminent man in the kingdom. He was the liberal patron of learning and religion—the vigorous promoter of ecclesiastical discipline and government, and the greatest benefactor in all designs of public charity. The generosity and patriotism of his soul may be judged of, from the munificent designs he contemplated and placed in his diary, most of which he lived to accomplish. The King, who was equal to him in a desire for the promotion of Religion, as well as in the strictness of his devotions and the purity of his life, was this year induced by the activity and zeal of the Bishop, to undertake the repairing of Saint Paul's Church, which was done at a vast expense—the King contributing ten thousand pounds, from his

Prosperous  
state of affairs.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. private purse; whilst Sir Paul Pindar, with the generosity of a King, undertook the repair of the great partition at the West end of the choir—adorn- ing the exterior with rich pillars of marble, and with the statues of those Saxon Kings, who had been its founders and benefactors; and it is said, that he expended four thousand pounds in repair- ing the South transept. But all this vast expense and the exquisite skill bestowed upon it, by that celebrated Architect, were unfortunately lost in the Fire of London.

Death of a  
Patriot.  
A D. 1631.

Whilst these things were achieving, the nation lost one of its brightest ornaments in the person of the famous antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, to whom his country is infinitely indebted for his noble collections and writings.

State of Re-  
ligious parties.

Bishop Laud was still in the ascendant. His zeal and activity were undiminished, and his in- fluence with the King unbounded. The promo- tions in the church were entirely confined to the Arminian Clergy. By this means, the Puritan conforming Clergy, who were chiefly Calvinis- tic in their theology, were driven into the ranks of the disaffected; and, the Church was des- poiled of some of her best supporters. This was a fatal mistake; because it placed the two parties in the Church in a hostile position to each other, a circumstance, which had a tendency to propel both into the extremes of their system. Bishop Laud, by an intemperate zeal for the honor of God

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. and his Church, was carried beyond the bounds of a rational moderation; especially in an age, when the people, agitated by peculiar religious im- pressions, were incapable of exercising a correct judgement on his actions. Many of the religious rites and ceremonies which he introduced, were contrary to the established rubric of the English Church; and inconsistent with any of the genuine usages of primitive antiquity. Not only were the churches repaired and ornamented, and fitted up for divine worship; but they were adorned with candlesticks, tapers, and crucifixes; and embroi- dered copes were enjoined to be worn at the ad- ministration of the Sacrament.

Innovations.

These innovations were, perhaps, harmless.— Their char-  
acter, No virtue was thought to consist in these things, they were simply intended to add to the external pomp and ceremony of religion. But the grand mysteries of Redemption—the majestic truths of the Christian Religion, require no adscititious aid. They are encumbered by it. If these additions were supposed to add to the dignity of religion, they were vain—if to its solemnity, they were su- perstitious. As they had been so perverted, and were in abhorrence with the nation, as the *Inven- tions of Popery*, their revival was injudicious.

Nor was this all, Laud was innovating also in his Episcopal ministrations. He particularly dis- played the genius of his religion, in the consecra- tion of churches. Amongst many others, history

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Consecration  
of St. Catha-  
rine Creel's  
Church.

records that of Saint Catharine Creed as most conspicuous. On entering the church he fell down upon his knees, and, in the name of the Trinity, pronounced the place to be holy: advancing to the aisle, he several times threw the dust of the floor into the air. Approaching the East end, he solemnly bowed towards the altar. In the administration of the Sacrament his conduct was still more reprehensible. On approaching the table, he gently lifted up a corner of the napkin, in which the bread was laid; and when he beheld the bread he laid it down again, and retiring, a step or two, from the altar, he bowed three several times towards it. He passed through the same ceremonies, with the wine. All this was superstitious, that is, it was a human addition to the original institution. Who can imagine Saint Paul guilty of such ridiculous practices? Who can find any trace of such observances in the writings of the Apostolic age. We know that such additions, at a very early period, found their way into the Church, even before the usurpations of Popery; but no antiquity, *unless from the beginning*, can give authority for usages which are not justified by Scripture, or warranted by reason and propriety: but what reason or propriety was there in the act of throwing dust into the air? It was evidently an inroad upon the simplicity of Christian worship.

This affectation of ancient usages, which resembled so much, those of the Romish Church, gave

great offence to the nation. He was not only considered as a favourer of Popery, but as preparing the way for its revival. These imputations were devoid of truth; but the odium of them rested upon his devoted head. His book against the Jesuit Fisher, is an incontrovertible proof, if there were no others, that the public clamour against him was unfounded. He had no intention whatever of restoring Popery. He was not only a political Protestant and would have been the last man in England, to have sacrificed the independence of his Country, to the absurd claims of an Italian Bishop; but he held in abhorrence, many of their most prominent corruptions. No: his object was to establish on a solid and immoveable basis, the discipline and authority of the Anglo Catholic Church, which had descended to us from Apostolic times; and which had been supported and fostered by our ancient British and Saxon Kings. At the Reformation it had been rescued from the usurpations of the Popedom, and restored, in a great measure, to its primitive forms and doctrines. Its Reformation had been invaded by the Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian discipline of the church of Geneva, which spread with great rapidity in the English Church. The Puritans were imbued with both, and, indeed, the whole nation; and there is every reason to believe that, had it continued its course, the torrent of opinion would have carried away the landmarks

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Falsely ac-  
cused of Pope-  
ry.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

of the ancient Church, and changed both its government and doctrine. But through the counsels of three as great men as ever lived, it received a powerful check; which, though it could not stop the overwhelming force which laid both the church and Monarchy in ruins, yet the effort recalled a vast portion of the community from the innovating mania, and laid the foundation for the future recovery of both. Laud was the chief instrument in this unequal strife, and, for this purpose, all the instruments of power and authority were placed at his disposal. He was eminently fitted for the task. He was inflexible in his disposition—sincere and devoted to his cause, and elevated in his piety. His zeal was fervent and unwearied—his moral character unblemished; and to crown the whole, he was indued with the simplicity of a child. Few men would have had the courage to have undertaken the task, of turning the religious tide of a whole nation. But he did not measure his duty by the difficulties which opposed him, but resolutely gave himself to the work, and pursued it with incredible labour, and died a martyr to it. But with this high character, Laud inherited his share of the infirmities which belong to human nature. His natural temperament was warm and impetuous. His resolutions sudden and precipitate, and his counsels capricious. His steady purpose was to restrain the advance of Puritanism, and to increase the external grandeur of

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

the Church. He acknowledged no middle line of policy—but pursued these designs with an inflexibility which yielded nothing to rank or learning. TOLERATION was a thing unknown, and in carrying his designs into execution, his punishments degenerated into cruelty. These instances are not numerous, but they demanded a retribution which Laud did not escape. Perhaps one of the most wanton exercises of arbitrary power, was enacted this year against a most excellent Clergyman, who had ventured to preach against the pictures and decorations of the Church. He was fined, whipped, put into irons, imprisoned a whole winter in a miserable dungeon, and fed on bread and water. The Recorder of Sarum for removing from the window of the Parish Church a painting of God the Father, was fined five hundred pounds, removed from his Recordership, and committed a close prisoner to the Fleet. Such cruelty was intolerable, and shews that arbitrary power must not be intrusted to man. Notwithstanding, the great objects of the divine benevolence were advancing. In the distance, we behold the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION which was to terminate the series of events. Popular licentiousness was to be crushed. Intolerance and Fanaticism to be purged out. Absolute Power to be humbled and circumscribed. Toleration to be established, and the Church to be rescued. But at the present juncture every thing appeared secure to the imme-

Arbitrary  
measures.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. diate actors. The Royal Prerogative triumphed—Commerce was extended—Learning advanced—Science was patronized—the Arts flourished; and, generally speaking, the People enjoyed great political happiness.

In the midst of the steady prosperity of the country—a splendid Episode was enacted, which as it may be considered the prelude to the great disasters which are impending, must not be omitted. It was the King's progress into Scotland, and his Coronation in that Kingdom. His progress was attended with surpassing grandeur and magnificence. On the eighteenth of June, the King reached the capital of Scotland, which he entered amidst happy throngs of people, and was received with every demonstration of loyalty and affection. Three days after, the solemnities of the Coronation began. The King, attended with a gorgeous train of official persons and nobility, descended from the Castle amidst the plaudits and acclamations of surrounding multitudes, proceeded to the Abbey Church, where the sermon was preached by Doctor Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin; and the ceremonies of the Coronation were performed by the eminent Doctor Spotswood, Archbishop of Saint Andrew's. Never was a more brilliant spectacle witnessed in the ancient capital of Scotland. Alas! how transient is all sublunary glory! How baseless is the superstructure of our high ambition! Charles seemed to be seated

Coronation  
in Scotland.  
A. D. 1632.

in the affections of his subjects, and his Throne to rest on a rock of adamant. But its stability was illusory; and, in the midst of the most flattering demonstrations of public attachment, was tottering to its fall. So true it is, that no person ought to be accounted fortunate before his death.

Bishop Laud attended the King on this occasion and their grand design was to establish the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, on the same model as that which had obtained in England, and which we have seen, in a reduced form, had been established by James. The authority of the Bishops was, subject to an assembly of Presbyters. Two things were now to be accomplished—the liberation of the Bishops from their dependence on the Presbyters, and the imposition of a Liturgy. The King and his Minister were confident of success, and their confidence was in a great measure, the cause of their failure.

A Parliament was assembled and a bill was introduced to establish the Royal Prerogative, and regulate the apparel of Churchmen; but the latter provision of the bill met with strenuous opposition, lest it should lead to the introduction of the Surplice—the most simple and decent garment that was ever worn. Such are sometimes the violent prejudices of men! According to the custom of Scotland, the King, Lords, and Commons, sat in one House. When the question was put, the King, drawing a paper from his pocket said:

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

Proceedings  
of Parliament.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

"Gentlemen, I have all your names here; and I will know, who will do me service and who will not, this day." The Lords expressed great anxiety to separate the two parts of the bill, and declared their willingness to give their assent to that part of it which related to the Royal Prerogative. But the King would have no distinction, and insisted that the two parts of the bill should stand or fall together. The King with his own hand entered the votes; and when the clerk cast them up, he declared it carried in the affirmative. This result was doubted by some Members of the House; but the King declared that the Clerk's declaration should stand, unless some one, at the peril of his life, should accuse him at the bar of falsifying the Records of Parliament. This attempt of the King to overawe the deliberations of Parliament, was considered arbitrary and unjust; and the tide of popular feeling was turned into the opposite extreme. A libel was immediately published, reflecting, in strong terms, on the King's conduct, representing it as a breach of privilege and an infringement on the Rights of Parliament. This document was written by an obscure person, but being found in the possession of Lord Balmerino, he was arraigned before the Council, and actually condemned to lose his head! It is true he was afterwards pardoned; but he never forgot the injury. Nor was he the only one whom this Royal visit prepared for opposition to

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

the counsels of Government. Other acts were passed in this short Parliament, which were intended to abridge the power of the Nobility, and to enlarge the privileges of the people. The fears and jealousies of the Clergy were roused, when they heard Bishop Laud, in the Royal Chapel and in the presence of the King, enforce the advantages of Conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the Church. These impressions were confirmed, when the King, during his stay, erected and endowed a new Bishoprick in Edinburgh, and promoted several of the Bishops to offices of State; and their indignation was still further increased, when a Committee of Divines was appointed to frame a Liturgy for the Kirk of Scotland. Such was the state of things in Scotland, when the King, after an absence of five weeks, returned home; having travelled post in *four days* from Berwick to Greenwich.

Laud, still ascended, I do not say the height of ambition, but of dignity and honor. The death of the venerable Archbishop, opened a way for his preferment to the Archiepiscopal Throne. The King was too much delighted to have an opportunity of doing him honor, to hesitate a moment as to the appointment; and as soon as the Bishop appeared at Court, the King said to him, with much pleasantness—"My Lord of *Canterbury*, you are welcome." His intimate friend Doctor Juxon succeeded him in the Bishoprick of London.

Promotion  
of Laud.  
A D. 1633

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

## His Policy.

The power of Archbishop Laud was now too great for opposition; and he pursued his design of aggrandizing the Church with unwearied energy and zeal. He was not only supreme in Ecclesiastical matters, but his authority extended to the Council table, the Star Chamber, and the High Commission; nor, did he lose any opportunity of exercising his influence. He foresaw an impending storm; and his object was to strengthen and fortify the Church, against the attack, which he saw would be inevitable. But every step he took increased the evil, and hastened its downfall. He thought the Church was to be saved by the secular arm; and, for this purpose, he promoted the ministers of the Sanctuary to the offices of State. The country Clergy were made Justices of Peace. —The dignified Clergy councillors of State. This promotion of Ecclesiastics to civil offices, gave great umbrage to the Gentry and Nobility; and so identified the Church and State, that their ruin was inseparable. The safety of the Church does not consist so much in the sanction and authority of the Sovereign power, as in the learning, piety, and humility of its ministers—in the purity of their doctrine and the holiness of their lives. But this system had a tendency to withdraw them from their peculiar duties—to detach them from their flocks, and to inspire them with a worldly and time-serving spirit.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

## His impartiality.

In the meantime, the unwearied Archbishop, set himself to rectify the abuses of the Church.—His vigilance allowed nothing to escape him. He determined that the discipline of the Church should not only be known, but felt. He pursued all offenders against morality and propriety, with impartial severity. He spared none. The most noble and distinguished persons of the realm were cited into the High Commission Court, and punished for their vices and follies. Such was the ecclesiastical discipline of the day. But it was a mistaken notion, that private crime was to be avenged by the civil power, through the medium of the Church, which never did, and never can possess any power of coercion. The State has a right, as the representative of the body-politic, to restrain the folly and punish the vices of individuals, by civil penalties, properly defined; and that State has reached a high and noble pre-eminence, which possesses moral courage sufficient to promote the enactment and execution of such laws. But this right must be used *independent* of the Church—the weapons of whose warfare, are not “carnal, but spiritual.”

At the period of which we are writing, the exercise of this civil discipline by the authority of the Church, brought the greatest possible odium upon the Archbishop; whose impartiality, in the discharge of his duty, need only be known to be admired and applauded. But unfortunately, whilst

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

His mistakes.

he incurred the indignation and hatred of the worst members of the Church, who were ready, at the first opportunity, to revenge themselves upon him for their supposed injuries; he repelled from him, by an unreasonable severity, some of its wisest friends and ablest supporters. His determination to uphold, in all their strictness, his own doctrinal opinions, rendered him inexorable. He paid no deference to the opinions of others; but considered all, who did not coincide with him, as enemies to the Church. Amongst these were men, whose very names are an eulogy—Davenant, Prideaux, Brownrig, Oldsworth, Shute, Adall, &c. all of whom were the warm and enlightened defenders of the ancient government and discipline of the Church. It was a cruel mistake when such men as these, whose learning, and piety, and prudence, so eminently fitted them for building up the Church, were excluded from her councils. But he was guilty of a still greater mistake. The Lord Chief Justice Richardson, on some complaints from the Magistrates of Somersetshire, made an order for the suppression of Sunday wakes—an obnoxious remnant to this day, of the superstition and corruption of Papal times. The interference of the civil Magistrate, was considered an infringement of the Episcopal office. The Chief Justice was cited before the High Commission, and commanded to rescind his order. Nor was this all: for, when it was perceived that this con-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Revival of the  
Book of  
Sports,

duct gave great offence, and caused the Puritans to condemn, with still greater severity, all customary diversions on the Lord's day, the King and his adviser with infatuated policy, ran into the opposite extreme, and in defiance of the Divine Law,—revised and re-published the "Book of Sports," which had been promulgated in the reign of his father. It is most difficult to account for such a proceeding, in men of such high character: In all probability, it was intended to act as a check to Puritanism. But it was an expedient no less absurd than dangerous; and gave greater and more just offence than any other act of their administration. Heylin, the Chaplain and biographer of Laud, considers this act as the greatest stain upon his character; and, it is a stain of that nature, which is calculated to cast a doubt upon his orthodoxy. Holiness, is the end and object of Christianity, which does not consist in the austere formal observance of times and seasons—nor in a pharisaic attention to a system of duties; but in the willing devotion of the heart—in the *rational* application of the understanding, and in the fervent exercise of the affections on the subjects which are set before us in the Christian Revelation.—Where this habit of mind prevails, there will be a decent and cheerful attention to the external acts of Religion; but a still stricter regard to the religious operations of the mind, without which attention, acts however excellent, are mere formal

SECTION IV. CHAP. II.   
injuriously to his Character. exhibitions in the sight of God, who seeks those to worship him, "who worship him in spirit and in truth." But, if the will, the understanding, and the affections be engaged in the religious exercises of the Sabbath, it would be impossible for the mind to descend from the sublime contemplations of our holy Religion, to vain and frivolous, much less, to vicious indulgences. It is true, neither the King nor the Archbishop, did condescend to such practices; but they gave their sanction to them, and legalized the desecration of the Sabbath by others. The very fact is injurious to their orthodoxy, because the Author of Christianity has instructed us to judge by an infallible test, of the character of his faithful adherents.—"By their fruits ye shall know them." These fruits are the holiness of our actions.—I do not mean morality. Holiness is more than morality.—Holiness is dictated by Christian principle, and is the result of a Divine influence. Morality is built on rational principles, but it may be exercised without regard to religious, or Christian motives. Holiness includes morality—but morality does not include holiness. In one word; if our orthodoxy be genuine, it will produce the fruits of holiness. In vain shall we plead our Christian Orthodoxy, if our lives be not moral only, but holy.

Clergy  
offended.

The revival of the "Book of Sports," gave general disgust. It was generally opposed by the Clergy, whether Puritan or not. Some read the

King's declaration regarding it as the order of their superiors—others, accompanied it with the fourth Commandment by way of antidote; whilst others refused compliance. The Archbishop did not punish their refusal with his usual strictness, which shews that, he was not actuated by principle in this unfortunate business.

At the same time, another incident occurred, which increased the national dissatisfaction. This was the prosecution of Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn—a man of considerable attainment and capacity; but a violent Partisan of the ultra-Puritan party. He brought some learning from the University of Oxford, which he improved by indefatigable industry: and being urged by a warm, enterprising spirit, he became the mouth-piece of the party, and one of the most voluminous and violent compilers, the nation ever produced. Besides his defending the Calvinian principles, he became the common censor of the times; and at last, published a wild rhapsody against stage plays and other diversions; entitled, "Histrio-mastix." This work, which consisted of a thousand pages, and filled with libellous invectives and dangerous insinuations; was highly condemned by the Court, and the Attorney General was ordered to prosecute the Author, in the "Star Chamber." Mr. Prynne was fined £5000—expelled the University of Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn—degraded and disabled from his profession in the Law—con-

Arbitrary  
measures.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King  
entertained at  
Bolsover.

A. D. 1631.

demned to stand in the pillory in Westminster and Cheapside; and in each place to lose an ear, and to be imprisoned for life! but other steps were already in progress which should terminate the calm and tranquillity, which had so long prevailed, and bring on those disastrous times, which we shall soon have to consider. But still all was secure. No signs had yet appeared sufficiently decisive, to create a suspicion of the coming storm. The King, it seems, entertained no apprehension of danger; for, during the summer, he made a progress into the north, and was royally entertained by the Duke of Newcastle, at Bolsover. Alas! it was the last time they were to meet under such happy auspices.

Origin of the  
Ship Money.

The pretensions of the Dutch to the freedom of the British seas; and the increasing insolence of the Algerine pirates, made it necessary, that active measures should be adopted by the English Government. In order to obtain the necessary supplies, a project for raising money was framed by Mr. Noy, Attorney General—a man of a versatile genius and indefatigable industry. He possessed great knowledge of ancient laws and usages, and discovered wonderful skill in adapting them to his purpose. On this occasion he proposed, that every Sea-port and place of merchandise, should supply a number of ships and men, in proportion to their wealth and the importance of their trade.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

A. D. 1635.

Certainly it was a most ready and effectual method of raising a Fleet, and answered admirably well. But the partiality of the imposition condemned it in the first instance; for every rank in the state perceived, if the Government could, with impunity, command the ships of the merchants for its use, it might, with equal justice, lay its hands on the goods and chattels of every individual. On this ground, the measure met with great opposition, and was universally disliked. The inconvenience which arose from its being a partial tax, was easily remedied; and each County was made to bear a proportionable share. But this, instead of removing, only increased its unpopularity. It was now considered a national grievance. Nor did the general opposition arise from any essential defect or evil in the measure itself.—The tax was moderate, equitable, and efficient. But these considerations only rendered it the more formidable; for it was perceived, if a tax of this kind could be regularly levied and collected, without the consent of Parliament, the Government was independent, and the national liberties in danger. Nor could the honourable disposal of the “Ship money”—the activity of the Government, and the important public advantages which had been secured, reconcile the people to the imposition. A splendid Fleet of forty-one sail had already been fitted out, under the Earl of Lindsay, which had performed most useful service; and a second was

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. now sent out under Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, created Lord High Admiral; which effectually secured the dominion of the English over the narrow seas, the right to which had been argued between the famous Mr. Selden, and, the no less famous Grotius. The work of Selden entitled, "Mare Clausum," was highly esteemed by the King; who required one copy of it to be kept in the Council Chamber, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty: and, if possible, to remove the dissatisfaction of the people, with respect to the tax, he not only desired the opinion of Mr. Selden as to its legality, but, that of the twelve Judges.

Opinion of  
Selden and the  
Judges.  
A. D. 1686.

The former, from historical documents clearly proved, that the Kings of England, from the earliest periods, had been accustomed to levy money from their subjects without consent of Parliament, for providing Ships and necessary stores, for securing the naval pre-eminence of the nation. The Judges delivered the following opinion.—"We are of opinion, that, when the good and safety of the kingdom, in general, is concerned; and the kingdom *in danger*, Your Majesty may by writ, under the great seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships and men victuals and amunition, and, for such time your Majesty may think fit, for the defence and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. and, that, by law, your Majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness: and we also are of opinion, that in such case, your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how, the same is to be prevented and avoided." The Judges who signed this document were men of high character, and generally considered men of learning and integrity. Most of them indeed, had shewn their independence on several occasions, and the Court had as often acquiesced in their opinions. Their opinion has been greatly censured by Clarendon. Whitelock attributes it to the promises and solicitations of the Chief Justice Finch, who certainly, entertained a great sympathy with the politics of the Court. But I see no necessity for imputing corrupt motives to the Judges; nor do I see any thing in the document itself, which it is necessary to condemn with such severity. Was it not the ancient prerogative of the Sovereign? Was not the prerogative of the Crown at that time undefined? nay, to the present day, the Government is invested with such a power in granting letters of marque and reprisal; and in cases of emergency, would not the Government be justified in extending their powers to a degree sufficient, to meet any danger with which the kingdom might be threatened? It is plain, that if the Government neglected at such a crisis, to use all the means at its disposal, it would fall under the displeasure of the people. The Judges founded

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
their judgment on a case of emergency—Notwithstanding, the circumstances of the times were different. A struggle was pending, in which there was a danger, lest the Royal Prerogative should triumph over the liberties of the subject; and, if such a tax as this could have been levied, at *the will of the Monarch*, that triumph, in all probability, would have been secured. But this was not to be.

Resisted by  
Hampden.

The solemn judgement of the highest legal authorities, had, in a great measure, silenced the murmurs of the people, and the tax was generally paid: but the celebrated Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, regardless of the opinion of the Judges, and undeterred by the example of others, resolved to hazard the issue of a trial and brave the indignation of the Court. He refused to pay the obnoxious tax; and an action was brought against him in the Court of Exchequer. Great preparations were made on both sides, and the ablest advocates were employed. The Pleadings lasted twelve days, and the progress of the trial was watched with intense anxiety, by the whole British Public. The Judges gave a decision in accordance with their former opinion, which they discussed with great temper, and founded upon *precedents, necessity*, and the *public benefit*. But the spirit of the nation was awakened, and they plainly saw the danger with which their independence was threatened.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
In the mean time, the Archbishop animated with the most patriotic views, being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury, and perceiving how late Treasurers had risen from the rank of Gentlemen to the estates and condition of Earls, determined if possible, to raise an honest man to that eminence, especially, as it accorded with his general scheme of aggrandizing the Church. He succeeded, and Doctor Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed Lord High Treasurer of England. But his name has a more distinguished honor attached to it—as, probably, the most faultless man recorded in the page of English History. His elevation gave great umbrage to many of the Nobility, who regarded with jealousy, the promotion of a Churchman to that high office; and they ungenerously hoped, that he would soon sink under the burden of his office. But the Archbishop who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, was not mistaken in the person he had recommended. Juxon had early addicted himself to the study of the civil Law, in which he had commenced Doctor—a circumstance which fitted him for the proper discharge of his high secular function. He possessed a solid judgment, which was adorned with an excellent temper, and mild spirit.—Every thing prospered in his hand. He found the treasury not only exhausted, but anticipated. He managed the revenue of the kingdom, with such ability and success, that he not only supported the

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

dignity of the King's household, and the splendor of the Court, beyond all precedent, but relieved the Exchequer of all its engagements; and placed a surplus at the disposal of Government. His proceedings were characterised with calmness and circumspection; and all his contracts concluded with such justice, as to give satisfaction to all parties. His general behaviour was so wise and prudent, and his manners so mild and conciliating, that he escaped the odium, which, at that time particularly, attached itself to men in high offices of trust and dignity. Such was the impression his character produced upon the minds of men, that Lord Falkland, in a speech which he afterwards made against the Bishops in Parliament, could not but give him this testimony—"That in an unexpected place and dignity, he expressed an equal moderation and humility; being not ambitious before, nor proud after the possession, either of the Crossier or the white Staff." Hence it was, that he weathered the most dreadful storm that England had ever experienced, without any shipwreck of his reputation, or principles; and, at length, rode triumphantly into harbour. Surely, observes an accurate historian—"There never was a more fortunate pilot, nor ever a more honest man!"

But neither the exemplary conduct of the King, nor the shining qualities of his Ministers, could prevent the catastrophe that was approaching, which was to overwhelm them in the ruins of an

arbitrary policy, inconsistent with reason and justice. Every thing was done which wisdom could suggest, or power effect, to establish their political and Ecclesiastical views:—but in vain.—Every thing they did, hastened its advance.

The trial and punishment of Prynne, which gave such disgust to the whole nation, was attended by the birth of James II, in whose reign the policy of his grandfather was to arrive at full maturity; and, in whose person, the dynasty of the Stuarts, was, by the unanimous voice of a whole people, to be banished from the throne of their ancestors; and to be attended with events, which discover, in a wonderful manner the interposition of the Most High.

During this distinguished period, Lord Wentworth, who as President of the North had shown great abilities for government in the discharge of its important duties—had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He found the affairs of that country in a state of the wildest confusion; but his vigorous mind soon reduced the disordered elements to order and regularity. Nothing could surpass his vigilance and activity, and his exertions were crowned with great success. He replenished the exhausted Exchequer—called a Parliament, from which he not only obtained supplies for maintaining the army, but a sum of money to discharge a debt of eighty thousand pounds of arrears, which had been advanced by

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

View of the future.

Wentworth's promotion.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the crown. Nor, was his attention confined to civil affairs, but in convocation which sat concurrent with the Parliament, a Canon was passed to establish "the agreement of the Church of England and Ireland, in the profession of the same Christian faith by receiving the Book of Articles of Religion agreed to by the English Convocation held in London, in the year fifteen hundred and sixty." This reception of the thirty nine articles repealed the articles of the Church of Ireland, established in sixteen hundred and twenty five, in which, according to the Lambeth Articles, the Calvinistic Theology was strongly asserted and maintained.

Further prosecutions.  
A. D. 1637.

Whilst the tranquillity of the country was still secure, and even the Ship money was losing its influence on the public mind, the indignation of the people was once more roused, by the violent and arbitrary proceedings of the High Commission. The unfortunate Prynne was once more brought before them for a furious libel, written in his imprisonment; and which displayed more of the madman than the philosopher, designating Laud as the "arch-piety, arch-charity, arch-agent for the devil." A second criminal, was a physician, of little celebrity in his profession, but of an impetuous temper, which urged him, from a sense of supposed injuries, to write an intemperate book against the proceedings of the High Commission Court: a third, was a disappointed Clergyman;

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. and a fourth, was an associate of Prynne, who assisted him in the printing and publication of his writings. The proceedings of these men ought to have passed unnoticed: but arbitrary power is too fond of the exercise of its own authority, to allow any opportunity of gratifying it to escape, and by provoking opposition, prepares materials for its own destruction. In the present instance, the sentence denounced by the Star Chamber against the delinquents, was not only severe, but wanton and cruel. Prynne, as an incorrigible offender, was condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded on the cheek with the letters, *S. L.* as a schismatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned. The physician, and lawyer were to undergo the same punishment, except the branding of the cheek, whilst John Lilburne, was to be whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster Hall. They were all men of heated imagination, and ungovernable temper; but, Prynne lived to repent of his rash conduct, and often, in after times said, he wished that when they cut off his ears, they had cut off his head. Lilburne's fury had a long career. After three years under different governors, he was released from prison, and became a leveller, modeller, and a violent opposer of all who were in power, and was known by the name of *free-born John*; and, what is remarkable, after a variety of fortune, and innumerable escapes and

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Prosecution  
of Bishop  
Williams.

changes, he died a *Quaker*. He appears to have been one of the most obstinate of men; and it was a common saying, that if the world was emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John.

These proceedings gave great offence to the nation, and prepared the way for the approaching crisis; and the general dissatisfaction was still further increased, by the prosecution of Doctor Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, whose character is well known to the reader. He had lived in seclusion from Court, for several years, but with great splendor and hospitality. He had endeavoured to heal the wounds of his country, but in vain; and such was his reputation and ability, that he was thought a dangerous person in opposition. Both the King and the Archbishop entertained insuperable prejudices towards him. Informations were laid against him in the Star Chamber, on the slightest grounds, which involved him, for many years, in vexatious and intricate legal proceedings, attended with immense expense; and, at length, ended in enormous fines at three different times, of eight, ten, and five thousand pounds, with imprisonment in the Tower. These violent and unjust proceedings against an eminent Prelate; and, one, whose character stands deservedly high for patriotism, fidelity and honor, increased the general odium against the policy of the Government, and laid a foundation for future evils.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

These oppressions formed a strong and powerful bond amongst all classes of the community; a new impulse was given to society, which awakened the slumbering passions of men—gave birth to a religious and political enthusiasm—produced an universal agitation, and created a power which was invincible. During the painful struggle that ensued, a new form and position of society was to be effected; and a new political order was to arise out of the general fermentation and confusion that prevailed.

It is consolatory to reflect, that in the midst of such calamitous scenes as we are now about to traverse, we are on a progress towards a more favorable destination. It is more than consolatory to know, that, in the midst of civil strife and animosities, the Divine Benevolence is overruling the mass of licentiousness for the general good. "Ah! exclaims a French writer, "what would be the lot of the generations to follow; what the despair of him who reflects upon them, if in the chaos of human affairs, the laws of an inexhaustible Wisdom did not exhibit themselves—if in the darkest storm by which every thing appears ready to be swallowed up, the lightning of Divine Providence did not afford, through the gloom, a glimpse of a better futurity." In strict accordance with the sentiment expressed in these lines, we cannot help but perceive, throughout this history, a tendency in the affairs of men to the better, and an approxi-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. mation towards an order of things more just and more beneficent; in which, the privileges of every one shall be better guarded, and the rights of all more equally divided.

Affairs of  
Scotland.  
A. D. 1637.

We have before noticed, that the Scotch nation were deeply embued with the doctrine and discipline of the Genevese Church; but, through the persevering policy of King James and his successor, Episcopacy was formally established. It was not, however, pleasing to the people, who yet submitted themselves to the wish of their Sovereign. But the presbyters of the Church were not so docile. They strenuously resisted, what they deemed an usurpation; and after many ineffectual struggles, they yielded for the present, to the force of authority, and had recourse to other means, which, though slower in operation, laid the foundation for a desperate and successful resistance. They instituted private fasts in their congregations, on which occasions, they inveighed against the evils to be apprehended from Episcopacy, and all its dependencies; and, in their prayers, earnestly supplicated deliverance from an imposition, which they considered tyrannical and oppressive.

Origin of the  
Fanaticism.

These religious exercises had an immense influence on the minds of the vulgar, who, at length, together with their presbyters, became possessed with a belief of their own suggestions, and embued with a rigid and fanatical zeal against all in-

novations on the Presbyterian discipline. But there were still more powerful elements at work. SECTION IV.

The Bishops who had been appointed during the present reign, by Court interest, were rash and imprudent; and, influenced by the arbitrary policy which obtained in England, acted in opposition to the advice of the senior Bishops, who had been elected during the preceding reign by their fellow Bishops, for their wisdom and worth. Add to these self-destructive measures, the grasping avarice of the Nobility; whose opposition was roused, when they saw the confiscated revenues of the Clergy, about to be wrested from them; whilst their jealousy was still-further increased by the frequent appointment of the Bishops to the highest civil offices; a policy which it was thought had a tendency to strengthen and consolidate the Ecclesiastical power. Alas! the King and his advisers fondly imagined, they were building a goodly fabric, which should be able to resist the force of any storm which might be directed against it; but, like the wall of "untempered mortar" it was doomed to fall, and, in the tremendous rush, to overwhelm all engaged in its construction. Every step they took, discovered their infatuation.

Whilst Scotland was in this state of mind, a book of canons was published by the King's sole authority; and in which the observance of the Liturgy was commanded, a year before its completion! This imprudent haste gave timely warning. Publication of the Canons.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Violent Opposition.

A universal clamour was raised against the Bishops. They were considered as instruments of the English Archbishop, and it was represented that their intention was, to introduce the "Mass Book" into the Scottish Church. Such was the ignorance upon which the clamour was founded. The spirit of opposition spread like lightning, and it was perceived by all prudent men, that a rupture was inevitable, should the imposition of a Liturgy be attempted. Spotiswood the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the rest of the senior Bishops, represented their apprehensions to the King; and, in all probability, their advice would have been acted upon, had it not been for the treachery of the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer, who insisted that there was no danger, and, that the work should proceed. His treachery was to prevail. The Liturgy was sent, with peremptory orders to carry it through; whilst the younger Bishops, encouraged by the apparently zealous conduct of the Lord Treasurer, omitted all considerations of prudence; and, obtaining an act of Council without any ecclesiastical sanction, hastened to impose it. By this injudicious step, the Clergy, who were the friends of the Episcopal order, were seriously offended: and, to crown the whole, instead of introducing it in the remoter Dioceses, where little or no opposition was expected, they determined to act with boldness, and to introduce it at once, into the principal Church of Edinburgh.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

Things being in this position, consultations were held by the opposing party, how they should commence their opposition, and rouse the people to an effectual resistance. The most active persons, at this period, were two Presbyters of the names of Henderson and Dick, and amongst the laity, Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate. These persons having arranged their measures for the reception of the Liturgy, it was determined to await the result.

The day appointed for the introduction of the prescribed formulary, was Sunday the twenty-third of July. On that morning, the most splendid and numerous auditory that ever adorned the walls of the great Church, were assembled to witness the solemnity. The Dean, arrayed in the surplice, proceeded to the reading of the Liturgy.—This was the signal for tumult and confusion; the lower sort of people, and, especially the women, uttered loud execrations against the innovators: and it is reported that, one *Janet Geddes*, in her religious fury, threw a stool at the head of the Dean, vociferating,—“Dost thou say Mass in my very lug?” The venerable Archbishop endeavoured to restore order; but in vain. The civil Authorities were obliged to interfere, and the violent rabble were ejected from the Church. Still, the greatest tumult prevailed, without. The doors were pelted, and the windows broken with stones, and the heavens were rent with cries of—“a Pope! a

SECTION IV. Pope! Antichrist! pull him down! stone him!"

IV.  
CHAP. II.

—Similar scenes of riot and confusion took place in all the Churches; and the Bishop of Edinburgh, whilst returning home, with great difficulty escaped the fury of the enraged multitude. The profound ignorance on which these proceedings were founded, is abundantly manifest: but, what are we to think of the tone and language of their Presbyters, who from their pulpits declared "*that God, even to a miracle had graciously prospered the work of Reformation, at the very commencement?*"

But the real actors in these transactions soon began to appear. A petition was presented to the Council against the Service Book, by Henderson and Dick; and another to the same import by the Earls of Rothes, Lothian, Egglinton, and the Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, and others. Both petitions were received by the Lord Treasurer with a complacency suited to his treachery, whilst Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, secretly advised and directed their motions.

The King's  
Proclamation.

On the seventeenth of October, the day on which the Council promised an answer, Edinburgh was filled with a conflux of people from all parts; but, instead of such an answer as they expected, a Proclamation was made by order of the King, commanding all men to return to their homes on pain of rebellion, and forbidding all matters respecting religion to be discussed at the Council board. The next day great crowds of women collected,

who pursued the Bishop of Galloway with bitter curses to the door of the Council. The multitude and tumult increased every moment; till, at length the lives of all the obnoxious members of the Council, were in the most imminent danger—the people crying out, with as much sense and good reason as the people of Ephesus, on a similar occasion. "God, defend those that defend God's cause! God, confound the Service Book and all the maintainers of it!"—an imprecation, which it required the whole civil force to prevent being immediately put into execution.

This success at Edinburgh encouraged the dissentients throughout the kingdom, and every hour added to their strength. The King's Proclamation was disregarded, through the connivance of the Lord Treasurer and Sir Thomas Hope, and propositions were made by the heads of the party to the assembled Presbyters, not to be satisfied with the abolition of the Service Book, but to insist on the ejection of the Bishops. They were alarmed at the proposal; but, at length, overcome by threats or won by promises, a petition to that effect was subscribed and presented to the Council. The seventeenth of November was fixed for an answer.

Further Pro-  
ceedings.

On that day still greater multitudes assembled, and, amongst them the Earl of Montrose, whose appearance, from his known abilities and influence, presaged a threatening storm. A Proclamation was made of the most condescending and gracious

The Earl of  
Montrose joins  
the disaffected

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. character, assuring them—"How unwilling he was, that his loyal subjects should be possessed with groundless doubts and fears, touching their religion: that as he abhorred all superstitions of Popery; so he would be most careful, that nothing should be allowed within his dominions, but that which should most tend towards the advancement of the true Religion, as it is now professed within his ancient kingdom of Scotland; and that nothing was or should be done therein against the laudable laws of that, his native kingdom."

A new form  
of Government,

Other Proclamations of the same conciliatory character were issued in quick succession, but to no purpose. Counter protestations were made, and armed men began to make their appearance in the Capital, and amongst others, threatened the life of the excellent Archbishop. Never was a project managed with greater art and subtlety; and such was their activity, that in a few days a new form of Government, of a most formidable character, embodying the principles of a civil and ecclesiastical Oligarchy, was established.

Established in  
Scotland.

A. D. 1638.

This Government consisted of four distinct *tables* or classes at Edinburgh—Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, and Ministers. All matters connected with their enterprise, was considered at each table and was afterwards debated and concluded upon at a *General Table*, which consisted of a select number of Commissioners out of all the rest. In this manner was framed the celebrated SCOTCH

COVENANT, under this ingenious and subtle title. SECTION IV. CHAP. II. "The *Confession of Faith*, of the Kirk of Scotland, subscribed at first by the King's Majesty and his household, in the year 1580, with a GENERAL BAND for maintenance of the *true Religion and the King's person*: and now subscribed in the year, 1638, by us Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons under subscribing, together, with our resolutions and promises."

The "BAND" was adapted to the present occasion, and formed the basis of the "COVENANT," in which they abjured not only the *Liturgy* and *Canons*, but the *Episcopal Government*; and bound themselves to defend each other against all persons whatsoever in its defence.

This was the famous SCOTCH COVENANT, Confirmed by the Covenant. the original of which is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which laid the foundation for civil war, and in the end proved justly fatal, as well to its friends as its enemies. It was publicly read, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people on the first of March; and its observance was ratified by the solemn oath of all the subjects of Scotland. Never did any human contrivance, in so short a time, so effectually change the forms of an established Government, and produce such remarkable effects. It was actually considered by its projectors as a DIVINE INSTRUMENT, and almost adored. *Mr. Cant*, the Presbyterian, whose name well accords with his

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. doings, in his sermon at Glasgow told the people,  
"He was sent to them with a commission from Christ, to bid them subscribe, it being Christ's contract: that he would not depart till he had got the names of all refusers, of whom he would complain to his Master."

The Principle  
by which they  
were actuated.

To us, who are at liberty to consider these transactions with impartiality, this appears little short of blasphemy; and, indeed, it is this false religious colouring, which can alone account for the wild, and furious, and barbarous conduct of its adherents, who, like the Mahommedans, were prepared to extend their faith with their sword in one hand, and their law in the other. The principle which actuated the Scotch Covenanters, was the spirit of *Fanaticism*, caused, by adopting a rule of action founded on religious pretensions, unwarranted by Revelation; and the actions generated by this false principle, were such as might be expected; but, directly at variance with the spirit of Christianity.—Christianity is simple, honest, sincere; and every deviation from it must produce its legitimate effects. Superstition, on the one hand, falls below its requirements, and is sordid and degrading. Fanaticism breaks loose from its commands, and, is wild and rampant. Superstition, to use the words of a living Author, rides an *Ass*—Fanaticism a *Tiger*.

The true spirit of the enterprise soon began to make its appearance. Every indignity and injury

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. were heaped upon those who refused to subscribe the Covenant. Persuasion was followed by compulsion; and the Liberty of the Gospel enforced by blows and imprisonment! The good old Archbishop Spotiswood, fearing the hand of violence, fled. His example was followed by the rest of the Bishops, except four: and of these, three saved themselves by recantation; but Guthrey, Bishop of Murray, with admirable firmness, refused either to fly or recant; but patiently endured excommunication and imprisonment—maintaining his integrity, and justifying the Episcopal form of Government to the day of his death.

The dangerous state of affairs in Scotland could no longer be concealed; and on the ninth of June the Marquis of Hamilton, whose character was "dark and deceitful as the Ocean," arrived at Berwick, commissioned with full powers to treat with the Covenanters. Had he been a faithful servant, in all probability the future calamities, which now impended over the two nations, might have been prevented; but, the unsuspecting confidence of the King was misplaced. The Marquis at the Council-board conducted the King's business with every appearance of zeal and impartiality.—But Bishop Guthrey, who could have no temptation to falsify, states, that after the business of the Council table was concluded, he took the delegates of the Covenanters, the Earls of Rothes and Morton, Lord Loudon, and the three ministers,

Treachery of  
the Marquis of  
Hamilton

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. Henderson, Dick and Cant, into the gallery, and spoke in the following manner:—"My Lords and Gentlemen, I spoke to you before those Lords of the Council, as the King's Commissioner; now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotchman: If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone:—a word is enough to wise men."

The King's Proposals Many fruitless conferences were held, till, at last, the Marquis arrived for the third time at Edinburgh, and proposed, on behalf of the King, the revival of the old Confession of faith and Covenant signed by King James, A. D. 1580. The proposal was accepted and signed by the Council and the Marquis, as the King's Commissioner. A Proclamation was also made, by which, the Canons, the Service Book, and the High Commission were discharged; and a General Assembly appointed to sit on the twenty-first day of November.

Rejected. These were great concessions; and, probably, as much as the Marquis and the majority of the Scotch Nobility intended; and all moderate men hoped that matters would now be composed. But it was otherwise. The evils which prevailed, and the disordered state of the public mind, required a long and tedious purgation. The King's offer was magnanimous; every thing was granted that wis-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. dom and prudence could demand, or that the most patriotic King could be expected to give. But the furious Covenanters instigated by their leaders, rose in a tumultuous manner, proceeded to the market cross; and, with drawn swords in their hands, published a vehement protestation against the acts of the Council; and urged by a *fanatical impulse*, attributed a sort of infallibility to their own Covenant and Band; affirming: "*It was approved from Heaven with rare and undeniable instances*;" whilst on the Sunday, violent declamations were made against the King's declaration, branding it with infamy, as "*the depth and policy of Satan*."

It is remarkable, and worthy of serious reflection, how the extremes of error meet. The infallibility of the adherents of Rome, was now claimed by the disciples of Geneva! So dangerous is it, for men to swerve from the established principles of reason and common sense, and, so nearly are Superstition and Fanaticism allied! Strange Coincidence.

Dismay now took possession of the hearts of all loyal and peaceable subjects, inasmuch as they saw, that the designs of the popular leaders were desperate;—and this impression was more fully confirmed by the conduct of the Lord Lorn, the influence of whose House extended over five counties. This nobleman, who soon after succeeded his father as the Earl of Argyle, and professed, like many others, to stand with the King, The Lord Lorn.

SECTION but secretly corresponded with his enemies.—

IV. The most shameful and treacherous arts were made use of to secure the election of the most furious and enthusiastic Covenanters, as Commissioners in the approaching assembly. The pulpits resounded with the most furious discourses, and all who subscribed the King's declaration were denounced, as "perjured villains" and enemies to their country. In short, nothing was left untried: another Joan of Arc, in the person of a female, named Michelson, was brought before the people; and her ravings were imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant as the dictates of inspiration. She was accompanied by Rolloch a Presbyter of the Church, who declared, "*That God spoke through her;*" whilst she, constantly, affirmed, "*that it was revealed to her from God, that their Covenant was approved from Heaven!*"

Conduct of  
the Assembly.

At the meeting of the Assembly, every thing was carried in the most tumultuous manner. Henderson was appointed moderator; and such was the insolent demeanor of the Members, that the Marquis of Hamilton, who acted as the King's Commissioner, was obliged to dissolve the Assembly. But to no purpose—They still continued their sitting; and entered a solemn protestation, against the conduct of the Commissioner, in which they asserted, "*that for the King to countermand their sitting, was to prejudice the Prerogative of Jesus Christ, and the liberties of the Kirk!*"—a

SECTION doctrine, surely, only suited to the meridian of Rome. When the self-continued Assembly rose, with all imaginable composure, they dispatched a letter to the King, which he laid before his Scotch council, who unanimously declared it was "*a very humble and discreet document,*" which induced the King to receive it, and declare his intention of going to York, to take into consideration the affairs of Scotland. In the mean time, every species of falsehood was resorted to, to inflame the minds of the people; and to induce them to believe, that the King was "*laying traps*" for them: and that he was making "*preparations for war.*" These false rumours prevailed; a conventional meeting was called.—War was determined upon, and General Lesley was appointed Commander in Chief—a man of great experience in war, which he had gained in Germany.

The false and fanatical fury of the people, now led them into every extravagance. Every moral evil was perpetrated under the mask of Religion. The Presbyters of the Church, given up to the delusion of their own errors, raged like the false Oracles of ancient times; and in their addresses from the pulpit, put forth the most indefensible and unchristian statements. Those who refused to subscribe to the Covenant, were forbidden the Sacrament and stigmatized, even as "*Atheists:*" whilst the people were taught "*the necessity of bearing Arms against the King, on pain of perjury and dam-*"

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

*nation."* One exhorted the people "*never to be quiet till they had the King in their power;*" and, another declared, "*that the Judgments of God would never leave the land till all the Bishops were hanged up before the Lord, like the seven sons of Saul.*"

In all reason, the declaration of war, and their whole conduct was little short of madness; and, must have brought upon them swift destruction, had it not been for the craft of their policy, and the treachery and dissimulation of the Scotchmen who surrounded the person of the King, and acted the part of spies. Never was a King so betrayed; and, never, were insincerity, cunning, and stratagem, so powerfully contrasted with honor, integrity, and good faith.

War, of course, was now inevitable. But, Charles was not only a beneficent man; but a merciful King: and in his preparations for war, had nothing more in view, than by a display of his strength, to reduce the Scots to obedience.

Power of  
England,  
A. D. 1639.

Such, indeed, was the wealth and power of England, that, in a very short time, he raised the finest army that ever attended a King of England into Scotland. Most of the Nobility, and the flower of the Country waited upon the King, at their own expense: whilst at sea, he was attended by a powerful Fleet. The Earl of Arundel, a staunch royalist, but of no experience in war, was appointed General, and the Earl of Essex, a person of high reputation, and the most popular Noble-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

man of the day, was made Lieutenant General; but any thing that might have been achieved by the fidelity and prowess of these two individuals, was counterbalanced, by the unhappy appointment of the Earl of Holland, General of the Horse; and of the Marquis of Hamilton, Admiral of the fleet.

This powerful array was sufficient at that juncture, to have trampled Scotland under-foot, from one end to the other; and to have made a complete conquest of the whole kingdom. But the Scots never intended any such display of English valour. They had provided other weapons of warfare, more powerful than swords and bucklers—Disimulation, treachery, deceit and falsehood.

Subtle Policy  
of the Scots.

When the King arrived at York, his Court was immediately thronged with Scotchmen, who exercised every art that subtlety could suggest, to avert the impending storm, without yielding one jot or tittle of the success, which had hitherto attended their enterprise. They represented the *good intentions* of their countrymen, and their sincere loyalty to their King: and insinuated to the English nobility, that the destruction of the Scotch army, would enable the King to command more than they would like to obey. The Earls of Roxburgh and Traquair, were said to be deeply concerned in fomenting discord and jealousy amongst the English leaders. Their arts prevailed; for when the Council intimated their suspicions to the

The King  
at York.

SECTION IV. King, he would not believe that he could be betrayed by men, of whose honour and integrity he always entertained the strongest opinion.

CHAP. II.

Oath of fidelity imposed.

But the Council was not so scrupulous; and, observing a manifest disaffection in many of the English nobility, it was determined, before leaving York, that a short declaration should be made on oath, in which all were made to profess their loyalty and obedience; and to disclaim having any intelligence or holding any correspondence with the enemy. The Scots, without hesitation, took the oath: but, the Lords Say, and Brooke, two popular English Noblemen, refused; and were committed to the custody of the Sheriffs of York; but afterwards, through the extreme lenity of the King, dismissed to their own houses.

False rumours.

A preliminary step was now taken; and the Earl of Essex was despatched with a body of horse and foot, to take possession of the town of Berwick. This movement had the appearance of energy, and the Earl was beset by the Scotch nobility, who endeavoured to perplex and delay him, by pretended rumours, and false intelligence; but like a true soldier, he refused to listen to the report of difficulty and danger, and nobly disdained to attend to any thing but the execution of his duty. He entered the town of Berwick, without the appearance or intention of resistance.

The Earl immediately acquainted the King with the false representations, which had been made to

him by persons of eminence about him; but unabashed by such an exposure, they covered their falsehood by further dissimulation; and pretended that they could scarcely believe the despatches of the Lieutenant General. The King considered their conduct as the result of timidity—a reproach they were willing to incur, so that they might prevent all suspicion, from rising in the King's breast.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

As the Armies were now approaching, the Scots who were directed in their motions by those about the King, sent the most humble and submissive messages to the King; professing "*the loyalty of their hearts and affections, and desiring nothing so much as to lay their grievances at his Royal feet, and leave the determination of them to his own wisdom and pleasure.*"

False professions.

On the thirtieth of May, the Earl of Holland, with a sufficient force, was ordered to dislodge General Lesley from the town of Dunce, of which he had possessed himself with a body of six thousand men. But the Earl returned without striking a blow—a mode of warfare which he adopted afterwards on two several occasions, which leads to the conclusion that he was playing a part, and renders it necessary to brand him either as a coward or traitor. His future conduct will shew.

Conduct of the Earl of Holland.

The same unheard of treachery was acted by the Marquis of Hamilton, at sea. He arrived at Leith with twenty ships of the line; and, instead

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. of active operations he spent his time in fruitless correspondence with the Earl of Rothes, the Lords Lindsay and Loudon, and other leading Covenanters: and whilst lying in the Frith, he received a visit from his mother, a rigid Covenanter, which led the people on shore to remark; "They knew the Son of so gude a Mother, could never hurt them." They were modest in their conclusions. He did more: he possessed the King with the danger to be apprehended from the further prosecution of the war; and betrayed his master by inducing him to listen to overtures, which were as remarkable for their meanness as their insincerity.

New insolencies of the Scots

Such indeed, was their insolence at this juncture, and so secure were they of acting with impunity, that they sent letters to the English Nobility at Court, and even to the three Generals Arundel, Holland, and Essex. The latter nobleman as in duty bound, sent his letter to the King. This was perhaps what they expected. The contents of the letter were couched in the most submissive terms. They alledged *they had no intention of waging war against England—but of defending their just rights and privileges, that their main grievance was the interest of the Marquis of Hamilton, (a deep disguise!) and that they desired by his means to be admitted to his Majesty's presence.*

During these proceedings, the King discovered all the generosity, honor, and clemency of his character; and his determination, if possible, to

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. avoid the shedding of blood. But all these shining virtues, whilst they gain by the contrast, were exercised in vain. His forbearing policy, whilst it laid him open to the treacherous designs of the Scots, threw a damp over the ardor of his own forces. The soldiers and seamen became weary of acting a farce in which they plainly saw, that neither reward nor honor was to be gained. The Generals grew indifferent; and all men began to vacillate. We will not dare to say, that the virtues of the Monarch were his misfortune. No doubt, his conduct was approved and registered in Heaven; and, we shall find in the end, that those, who by their wicked arts, imposed upon their high-minded and gracious Sovereign, brought upon themselves an ample retribution.

At length, Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to treat of a Pacification; and after five or six days debate, they agreed upon nearly the same conditions, as those before granted by the King—that all ecclesiastical matters should be managed by the Kirk; and all civil matters, by Parliament: and that within forty-eight hours the Scots should disband their army, and restore to the King all the castles and forts of the kingdom.—Terms highly dishonorable to the King, who, by giving up all the management of civil affairs to the Parliament, virtually disannulled the Monarchy; and laid the foundation for all his future difficulties. Charles was not wanting in courage,

Pacification concluded upon

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. nor energy of character, nor in a just discrimination of right and wrong; nor, can we account for a step, in which he sacrificed his own just prerogative, except on the ground of EXPEDIENCY; hoping that a future opportunity would be offered for rectifying the error—a most fallacious ground, which should never be taken, under any necessity, by a wise Statesman—a rule which Charles himself lived to learn, and died to establish.

The King's  
imprudence.

Regardless of the manifest advantage which had been gained by the Scots, the King, overjoyed by the termination of the war, hastened to disband his army, which he did with such precipitancy as greatly to disoblige his friends. Even the Earl of Essex, whose fidelity was unblemished, was dismissed in the crowd. The Gentry, who had served the King at great cost and expence to themselves, were unalterably offended. Feuds and factions prevailed at Court; and the King discovered, that he had in this expedition, lost both reputation and authority; whilst the perfidious Scots, who had now engaged in a religious Crusade, as soon as they found the King's army disbanded, openly disclaimed the Pacification—published the most scandalous and malicious libels, and dismissed only a fragment of their army, retaining all their officers in pay, and ready at a moment's warning.

The King was now sensible of his error; but the mischief was done, and was irretrievable. He was so indignant at their breach of treaty, that he

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. resolved not to appear, as he intended, at the General Assembly, which was indicted for the month of August, and appointed the Earl of Traquair, the most versatile man in Scotland, as his Commissioner. Mr. Dick was elected moderator. Every thing was carried their own way; and in five days, they concluded their business by confirming what had been agreed upon in the Assembly of Glasgow—the extirpation of Episcopacy—the abolition of the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, and the Ratification of the Covenant.

General As-  
sembly meets,

The Parliament which succeeded, not only confirmed the decision of the Assembly, but proceeded to make fresh demands upon the patience of their insulted Sovereign. They required that the coin should be regulated by the advice of Parliament; that no Foreigner should command any of their Castles, and that no honor should be granted to a stranger who possessed not a competent estate in Scotland. The King hearing of their exorbitant demands, sent immediate orders to his Commissioner to prorogue the sitting. This was answered by a protestation on the part of Parliament—a remonstrance was immediately framed, and the Earl of Dunfermline, and Lord Loudon, were deputed to present it to the King.

and  
Parliament.

The scene now changes to England, and opens with the arrival of the Scotch Commissioners to assure the King of the "integrity and fidelity" of

Commission-  
ers arrive in  
London.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

their countrymen! At their particular request, the King condescended to be present at the Committee which had been appointed to meet them.—After the Lord Loudon, a man of bold language, had justified, in strong terms, the proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament—the King drew from his pocket a letter which had been intercepted, directed to the King of France. This letter, which contained a petition to the French King for aid, was in the hand-writing of Loudon. With all imaginable effrontery he confessed and justified it, on the ground that it was written before the articles of the Pacification were signed. The treason was so manifest that the King's Council were obliged to commit him and Colvil to the Tower; and, had they been brought to a speedy trial, the circumstance would have brought great discredit on the Scots, and proved a powerful check on their proceedings. But, unhappily, the King's clemency and the law of *expediency* again prevailed.

Mr. Colvil,  
bearer of a letter to the  
French King.

Conduct of France.

The tragedy now rapidly develops, and events occurred which began to portend a fatal termination to the contest. The Cardinal Richelieu, whose fertile mind was teeming with fresh projects had formed a design against the maritime towns of Flanders; and sent over the Count D'Estrades to secure the neutrality of Charles, which was peremptorily refused—a circumstance which determined the conduct of the French Court, in the pending struggle; and shut out from the King all

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
A. D. 1635.

effectual aid from France. Nor was this all.—The wary Scots secured the countenance of the Cardinal—appointed one of his secretaries a residence in Scotland—received his Chaplain as a counselor and associate, from whom they had assurance of arms and ammunition, and assistance proportionable to their enterprise. The Scots also entered into a correspondence with Holland, for supplies of arms; and were busily engaged in promoting their interest and raising forces in Germany.

The King was not unacquainted with their preparations, and roused himself to manly exertions. He saw that his clemency had been misplaced.—The Earl of Strafford, who was a host in himself, was summoned from Ireland, to attend his Councils at this important juncture. But his hour was past. He had exercised arbitrary power with too much confidence; and, in his turn was about to experience all the cruelty of popular licentiousness. On his first arrival, as if to counterpoise any advantage which might have been derived from his superior abilities, Sir H. Vane, through the influence of the Queen and Hamilton, was appointed Secretary of State; a man of no abilities, but a busy, subtle Courtier, always consulting his own interest, and changing at every turn of fortune. The appointment was highly disagreeable to the Earl of Strafford, whose arrival, filled with apprehension, the minds of all who were plotting against the peace of their country.

Earl of Strafford arrives from Ireland.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

A Parliament  
determined  
upon

A. D. 1640.

A Parliament was summoned to meet on the thirteenth of April, which had been preceded by one in Ireland, under the management of the Lord Lieutenant, and considerable supplies had been granted with the greatest readiness, accompanied with a loyal address, in which they took occasion to thank the King *for placing over them so just, wise, vigilant and profitable a Governor.*

Such was the posture of affairs at the meeting of the fourth Parliament in this reign, after an intermission of almost twelve years. They certainly entered upon their business with greater temper and moderation than any of their predecessors; whilst their spirit and independence were admirable. Whilst they failed not to impress upon the King, the necessity of redressing grievances, they manifested the sincerest affection for his person, and loyalty to the throne; and were proceeding to the immediate granting of supplies, which was of extreme importance, when the hopes of the King and the nation were blasted by the treachery of an individual in the King's Council—Sir H. Vane. Let his name descend with execration to posterity.

The King's  
Message for a  
supply of about  
£800,000.

The King had proposed, by his Secretary, that on granting him twelve subsidies, he would not only forego the levying of Ship-money, but agree to its entire abolition; and that he would not only attend at present, to the redress of grievances, but appoint a Session, the following Michaelmas, for that purpose. A long debate ensued when Hamp-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

den who watched his opportunity, put the question in a manner in which he knew it could not be passed, because it would justify the levying of Ship money—"Whether the House would consent to the proposition as contained in the King's message." Serjeant Lenthall, the Speaker, a man of unquestionable abilities and patriotism, in a speech distinguished by eloquence and good sense, moved the house *to comply with his Majesty's desire for the good of the nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever.* His manly oratory had a powerful effect on the House; and Mr. Hyde proposed that the Question should be merely for a supply; and, that afterwards, they should proceed to the consideration of the amount. A great clamour was raised by Hampden's party, but the Question was put and carried on Mr. Hyde's proposition; when Sir H. Vane stood up and declared; "He had authority to tell them, that if they passed a vote for a supply, and not in the proportion and manner proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; therefore, he desired, that the question might be laid aside."

Treachery of  
Sir H. Vane,

This one step was pregnant with inconceivable evils. The malice which dictated it, is unfathomable. The King, afterwards, denied that he had given him any such authority, and stated, that he had given him orders to descend to six subsidies, rather than make a breach; and Strafford had given as his advice, rather to relinquish all, than to

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

and Mr. Herbert the King's Solicitor.

Convocation.

bring on a crisis at that conjuncture. To complete the mischief which he had begun, he went to the King that night, falsely represented the feeling of the Commons; and persuaded him to believe, that it was in vain to expect any money from them against the Scots. He was seconded in these misrepresentations by the King's Solicitor; and these two persons, and, these only, for reasons yet unknown to the world, induced the King to dissolve the Parliament, which was done next day, with great haste and precipitation. The King soon found that he had committed a mistake, expressed his resentment against Sir H. Vane, and even enquired whether the Members might not be recalled by Proclamation. But it was impossible; and the course of events hastened to the goal.

The Convocation still continued to sit, and besides voting supplies to the King, concluded upon several new Canons and an oath for upholding the Government of the Church of England. These proceedings of Convocation gave great offence to the factious and discontented. London was filled with scandalous libels, chiefly by the old offenders Prynne and Lilburne. The house of the Archbishop was surrounded at midnight by an infuriated rabble, and his life was only preserved by a strong military guard which had been provided.

An army of twenty thousand men was now raised and the King resolved upon a second ex-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

pedition into Scotland. The great difficulty was to support such an army. His treasury was not only exhausted but anticipated. But to shew the strength of the Monarchy, and, how easy it would have been, at that time, to have rectified the disorders of the State, it will only be necessary to observe, that in the space of three weeks, the sum of £300,000 was supplied to the King by the willing contributions of the nobility and gentry.

Another error was committed. In the choice of a general, the Earl of Essex who had faithfully served the King in the last expedition, was passed by, and the chief command entrusted to the Earl of Northumberland, whose pride was only equalled by his stupidity. The Earl of Strafford was appointed Lieutenant General, and Lord Conway, General of the Horse, a man without conduct or courage.

Meanwhile the Scots, with the most unconquerable duplicity, declared the "intentions of the army"—assuring the good people of England, that they had no design either to waste their goods or spoil their country, but to become petitioners to the King his Majesty; whereas, at the moment, their leaders believed themselves under a written engagement to assist the English Nobility, in effecting a change of Government in England. The document, indeed, was forged, but this circumstance was unknown to the Scots, at that time.—The Scotch army had already begun their march

Earl of Essex disobliged.

Declaration of the Scotch Army.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

under General Lesley and the Earl Moreton; and, were suffered to enter Newcastle, by Lord Conway who had sufficient force, if he had had courage, to have prevented it. There, having obtained such comfortable quarters, they shewed their tender regard for the goods of the people of England, by demanding a contribution of £800, a day, out of Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham and the town of Newcastle!

The King in great difficulty,

The King's head quarters were at York, where he had to contend with every possible difficulty. The uncertainty and distraction created by the contending opinions of different parties—disaffection in the army—remonstrances from England, and the knowledge of an empty Treasury.

Calls a Convention of Peers.

In this emergency he determined upon a grand Convention of the Peers—the resort of the Monarch in cases of sudden exigency. The result of their deliberations was to call a Parliament, and send Commissioners to the Scotch army, to treat of a Pacification; and, in order to suit the temper of their political invaders, it was determined that eighteen of the most popular Noblemen should be deputed, for the purpose of managing this important mission, a business for which they were eminently unfitted.

It was observed that the Scotch Commissioners paid the most marked attention to the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Holland and the Lord Mandeville, which these Noblemen received with an indiffer-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

ence which greatly perplexed them. Renewed efforts were made to gain from them some explanation of their conduct; but to no purpose, till, at length, the Scots upbraided them with not standing to their engagement. This led to an *eclaircissement*. It was discovered that Saville, The Lord Saville's forgery. for the purpose of strengthening the Scotch in their resolution, had presented them with a forged instrument, to which he had attached the names of those Lords. The Scots laboured under such difficulties, by the failure of those supplies which they expected from their supposed confederates, that they once designed to retreat within their own borders, and cast themselves upon his Majesty's grace and mercy. But though not so formally invited as they believed, yet they found sufficient encouragement amongst the English Commissioners, whom they wrought upon by their specious pretences, still to remain. Upon what a trembling balance, at this moment, hung all the mighty consequences that followed this irruption of the Scots, which had actually been undertaken on the faith of a forged instrument!

The English Noblemen, thoroughly imposed upon by the plausible reasoning of the Scotch Commissioners; and led astray from their duty, by promising to themselves some advantage from the alterations which might happen, returned to their Sovereign magnifying the loyalty of the Scots. The King was not imposed upon, but

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
overruled by circumstances. The same Noblemen were again dispatched, to conclude upon a cessation of arms; and, in a few days, as they had predetermined, came to an agreement, in which, by a just retribution, they sealed their own destruction in that of their country. The terms were, that the Scots should retire beyond the Tees; that the sum of £850, a day should be granted them, and the Treaty adjourned to London; by which, every thing was gained to their cause. It was at this time, that the Earl of Montrose, disgusted at their conduct, deserted the cause of the Covenanters, and wrote a letter to the King expressive of his loyalty and affection.

Great evils  
ensue.

The Scotch Commissioners, in London, were made the rallying point of all the disaffected in England. They became the missionaries of the Covenanters. Multitudes of people, of all ranks, resorted to them; to whom, with great expressions of loyalty, they freely dispensed their counsel and advice. Such was the influence they obtained in a short time, that it is said, the common people almost idolized them; considering them the repositories of divine Truth. So easily are the minds of men imposed upon by a bold inculcation of the most extravagant and dangerous opinions. The Brownists or Independents, of whom we have already spoken, the only remnant of dissenters in the kingdom, now flocked from all parts, and filled the city with uproar and confusion.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
The ancient Episcopacy was clamoured against as tyrannical and oppressive; and the rites of the Church denounced as burdensome and superstitious; whilst a book was published against bowing at the name of Jesus—entitled “Jesus-worship refuted!” Astonishing blindness! which shewed to what lengths of folly the unbridled passions of men were urging them at that period; and by what a fearful reaction, the Divine author of Christianity was about to punish the Governors of the Church and State, for their mal-administration! The adherents of the Popedom, also, increased the general distraction, both by their forward loyalty and their secret plots. Whilst the treacherous Scots were vilifying the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, in their manifestos accusing him of Popery, and condemning him as the chief author of all their grievances; the Papists were seeking his ruin and that of the King, for the obstinacy with which they maintained the Church of England, against their pretensions.

The King, wearied with perpetual disappointments, harrassed by the conflicting opinions of his own Counsellors, prevented from action by the want of supplies, and influenced by the integrity and sincerity of his motives, summoned his fifth Parliament. Charles, at this juncture, did not apprehend the least danger to his royal authority. Seated in the hearts of his people, as he firmly believed, and confident in the divine right of the

Fifth Parliament  
5th Nov.  
A. D. 1640.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

A formidable  
Conspiracy.

royal Prerogative, he fearlessly cast himself upon the affections of his subjects. Nor was he deceived. Never was a Monarch more justly beloved by his people; but circumstances conspired to render their affection inoperative and abortive.

A confederacy, consisting of the most active spirits of the age, had for some time been formed—not to injure their King—but to change the form of Government; and it will now be necessary to bring those persons before the reader. The leaders of the party were Lord Say, Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Stroude, and Mr. Knightley. Their operations were very extensive. Mr. Hampden was in the habit of paying an annual visit to the friends of their cause in Scotland, and Mr. Pym performed the same office, through the counties of England. They held frequent consultations, both in London and the country.—Broughton Hall, the seat of Lord Say, was the chief place of rendezvous, where they had a secret apartment, approached by a private passage, into which the servants of the establishment were never permitted to enter. Long before the calling of this Parliament, their schemes were finally arranged; nor must the general feature of their plan be omitted, as it was undoubtedly, amongst the ruling causes of the catastrophe of this reign.

Plan of the  
Conspirators.

Their favorite maxim, upon which the whole theory of their government rested, was: "That all empire was founded in Property," from which,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

however solid the axiom may be, they very erroneously, in our opinion, proceeded to reason—that as the Kings of England, by the alienation of the Crown Revenues, had lost a great portion of their *natural* power, they concluded that on that account they ought to be deprived of a considerable portion of their *REGAL* authority. They proposed to accomplish this, by cutting off four great branches of the Royal Prerogative, which they termed the *magnalia* of Government. *The absolute power of making War and Peace—The sole disposal and ordering of the Militia.—The nomination of all offices of trust and emolument.—The right of disposing of the common Revenues of the Crown.* To manage these important trusts, four distinct Councils were to be appointed, all of which, as well as the creation of the Nobility, were to be fixed and directed by Parliament, which was to meet annually, for the dispatch of business.

This was the plan by which these eminent and patriotic men, proposed to themselves, not only to redress the existing evils of the State, but to provide a remedy against their recurrence. In carrying their scheme into execution, and making use of the means which circumstances provided, they not only failed of their enterprise, but involved themselves, their King and their Country, in one common and tremendous ruin. Results, surely, which they never contemplated; but of which, they were the unhappy instruments; and they

The source  
of great calam-  
ities.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. stand forth as an awful warning to all projectors, of the futility of attempting sudden changes in government; and, makes it manifest, that as the great institutions of a State, can only be formed by time and experience, so they must be re-modelled and adjusted in the same gradual manner as the wants of the society require.

Temper of Parliament. From the first meeting of Parliament, neither temper nor moderation was observed. The leading members were now determined, at all risks, to pursue their measures. Committees were formed for the consideration of grievances, and many violent speeches were made, which sufficiently declared the temper of the House. Their first act was unprecedented in the custom of Parliament. They proceeded to expel from the House, all those members who received emolument from monopolies which were held under the King's Patent; and, to shew that they were in earnest, they followed up their first step, by the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford—a blow little anticipated by the confiding Monarch.

Strafford impeached. Mr. Pym, his implacable enemy, who was appointed to carry up the impeachment to the Lords, entered the House, a few minutes after the Earl had taken his place, and, in the name of the Commons of England, impeached him of high treason; and he was immediately given into the custody of the Usher of the black rod. Having now got the noble criminal into their power, they determined

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. upon his destruction; but his great abilities, his matchless integrity, and unshaken fidelity were almost insurmountable obstacles in their way; but they were prepared to use every means, however dishonourable, to effect their purpose: and they were so elated with the success of their first movement, that they voted a gratuity of £50,000, to the Scotch army, in addition to the grant of £850 a day.

Conduct of Bishop Williams, and The next project of the House was, to remove the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Councils of the King; and, as a preparatory step, the King was desired to release Bishop Williams from confinement. This eminent Prelate, on appearing in the House of Peers, was astonished to find such heats and animosities among the differing parties; nor did his conduct give less astonishment to the House, who expected that he would immediately have joined himself to the discontented party; but so firm and patriotic were his principles, that he sacrificed the good opinion of the popular party to the love of his Country.

of others. At the same time, those notorious culprits, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were released, and brought to London in triumph, amidst the shouts of the multitude, who mingled their acclamations of joy with loud execrations of the Bishops who had *persecuted such godly men!* and, to increase the effect, they were conducted to Westminster, and allowed to present their petitions against their prosecutors, at the Bar of the House.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Scotch  
Commissioners  
attack the  
Church.

These inflammatory proceedings produced a great influence upon the public mind. The Commons declared the utter illegality of the Ship-money, and proceeded to mark out the Lord Keeper, Falkland, and the Secretary Windebank for destruction; who, to escape the threatened storm, fled. The Scotch Commissioners were lodged in the heart of the City, in a house adjoining St. Antholin's Church, the gallery of which communicated with their lodgings. This place they used as a rostrum for publishing their sentiments on all subjects; especially, for inveighing against the Bishops and the ceremonies of the Church. The harangues of their Chaplains, were daily attended by great multitudes of people; and on a Sunday, from morning to night. Such, indeed, was the state of things, that the Scotch Commissioners seem to have given law to England; and, at length, published a manifesto, desiring Parliament to inflict condign punishment on the Earl of Strafford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as "the great criminals of the Nation."

Followed by  
Alderman  
Pennington.

The passions of men under such stimulants became ungovernable, and, by a strange fatality, through the specious representations of foreign emissaries, their hands were turned against their best friends, and, eventually, against themselves. Alderman Pennington, with a great multitude of the rabble, presented a petition signed by fifteen thousand persons, requiring the extirpation

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and the whole hierarchy of the Church—a wholesale extirpation, which even astounded a Parliament, many of whose members were prepared for extreme measures. The petition, however, was not rejected lest it should dishearten their friends, and its ultra-violence prepared the way for whatever the enemies of the Church desired. The canons which were made in the late Convocation, were vehemently attacked; and, it was declared unlawful, for the Clergy to make canons, or ecclesiastical constitutions without the consent of Parliament.

This was the prelude to the persecution of the Archbishop, who, on the eighteenth of December, was impeached by Denzil Hollis, in the name of the Commons of England, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

The Arch-  
bishop seized.

But the King was still on the throne; and the innovating leaders in the two Houses saw, that the moment had arrived when a grand movement should be made, to secure for themselves the seats of power, from which others had been displaced by their influence. Intimations, therefore, were sent to the King at York, through the Marquis of Hamilton, who had secured his interest with both parties, that as the King had expressed his desire for a Reformation, he would shew his sincerity by taking to his Councils those men, who were known to be friendly to it. This suggestion was cheerfully acceded to; and, on one day, the Earls of

The Conspi-  
rators advanc-  
ed to Power.

SECTION IV. Hertford, Bedford, Essex, and Bristol, and the Lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton, were sworn privy Counsellors. Provision was also made for the satisfaction of Pym, Hampden, and the other conspirators, but which was never effected, except in the case of Mr. Oliver St. John, one of the most inveterate of the party, who was appointed Attorney General. The consequences of these appointments soon made their appearance.

Conduct of  
Parliament  
displeasing,

Whilst the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford was pending, the House of Commons with great propriety, proceeded to secure the kingdom from the disuse of Parliaments, by bringing in the Triennial Bill, which was certainly a great measure, and absolutely necessary to give stability to the institutions of the Country; but instead of voting supplies for the King, they took care of their confederates: and voted "*A friendly assistance and relief towards the supplies of the losses and necessities of the Scots!*"

to the King

Such a proceeding was necessarily, displeasing to the King, who summoned the two Houses to meet him in the banquetting hall; on which occasion he made concessions sufficient to have reconciled all reasonable men, and which would have entirely satisfied the former Parliament. But the leading members were now too sensible of their vast influence, and determined to secure every advantage they could, from the King's necessities. Their league with the Scotch Commissioners, be-

came every day more manifest, who now presented to the House what they were pleased to call their "modest demands."

Modest demand.

The chief of these demands were, that the King should not employ any person in offices of trust, or grant them access to his person without the consent of Parliament—that, full indemnity should be made to the Scots for all their expenses and losses during the confusion; which last item, when the Commissioners desired to see it in writing, amounted to £954,128 9s. in addition to their £850, a day—a "*modest demand*," upon which Sir Jarvis Hollis, a member of considerable weight in the house freely observed—"Our younger brother of Scotland, like Jacob, seems to supplant us and take away our birthright. No man had a more charitable construction of their intentions than I had, while they made their addresses in humble distance, as becoming subjects to their Sovereign; But now, Sir, when I see them swell in their demands beyond all proportion: When I hear them enlarge upon their first proposition, and require things unfit for the King to grant, and dishonourable for this nation to suffer, I cannot but fix a mark of danger upon them. I fear we have nourished in our bosom, those, who will sting us to death!"

But, for this speech—eminently prophetic of the future—the honourable Member was expelled the House! It was now evident which way the cur-

Tyranny of  
the Parli-  
ment.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. rent was tending. Debates ensued on the subject of Episcopacy, and the Pennington Petition; on which occasion, it was finely observed by Mr. Grimstone: "That Bishops exist, *Jure Divino*, is a question: that Archbishops are not *Jure Divino* is out of question. Now, that Bishops which are questioned whether they are *Jure Divino*, and Archbishops which out of question, are not *Jure Divino*, should suspend Presbyters that are *Jure Divino*, I leave to your consideration." Upon which, it was still more finely retorted by the learned and ingenious Mr. Selden:—"That the Convocation is *Jure Divino*, is a question, that Parliaments are not *Jure Divino* is out of question; that Religion is *Jure Divino*, there is no question; Now, that the Convocation which is questionable whether *Jure Divino*, and Parliaments which out of question are not *Jure Divino*, should meddle with Religion which, questionless, is *Jure Divino*, I leave to your consideration." To which, Mr. Grimstone replied, "But, Mr. Speaker, Archbishops are not Bishops." To which Mr. Selden, briefly answered—That, Mr. Speaker, is no otherwise true, than that Judges are not Lawyers, and Aldermen no Citizens."

Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

After impeaching Judge Berkley, one of the Judges who gave his opinion in favour of Ship money, the Commons agreed to a money Bill, which received the Royal assent, together with the Bill for TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS—an important

event in the annals of our Constitution, and which SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. the King in the immortal work, entitled "Eikon Basilike," declares he did WILLINGLY.\* The passing of this measure was received with universal satisfaction, attended with lighting of bonfires, ringing of bells, and every other demonstration of popular joy. The two Houses were so sensible of the boon which they had obtained, that they returned thanks to the King, by the Lord Keeper—"for having now *sufficiently* provided for the security of the Commonwealth; and, that there remained nothing to be done, but such a return of duty and gratitude, as might testify their duty to his Majesty, and that their *only end* was, to make him a GLORIOUS KING."

There was now a pause in the National Drama—as if the Supreme Being in his abounding compassion, allowed a moment for reflection, that if possible, the minds of men might have been subdued to reason and moderation. But there was no intention of this kind in the popular leaders; and the fatal Balance, which by the disposition of its descending scales, was to give permission or not, for the exercise of their violent and disordered passions, was placed in the hands of the King. Had

\* "That the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes, at first, to contribute what I could in justice, reason, honour, and conscience, to the happy success of this Parliament, I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; which as gentle and seasonable medicine, might, if well applied, prevent any distemper from getting any plea or prevailing."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
he dissolved or even prorogued the Parliament, it is impossible to say what might have followed; but to all human appearance, the lives of Strafford and Laud would have been saved, and all the future disorders of the State, avoided: but, on reviewing the circumstances of his condition, and weighing contending evils, he determined to continue the session of Parliament, and the course of events forthwith rushed to their accomplishment.

Impeachment  
of the Earl of  
Strafford,  
22 Mar, 1641.

The Commons were now intent upon the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford; but, such were the difficulties they had to contend with, that the necessary preparations cost them four months of incessant labour and debate. At length, on Thursday the twentieth of March, the proceedings of this important trial were opened in Westminster Hall. At seven o'clock in the morning the Earl landed at the stairs, attended by a very strong guard. Never was "the pomp and circumstance" of Justice on a more magnificent scale. On each side, were arranged the Members of the lower House, and above them, a gallery was erected for the Scotch Commissioners and the Lords of Scotland; and in the centre, were the Peers of England. In front of the Peers, was a platform erected for the Earl himself, and, towards the end of the Hall was a chair of state for the King, with a covered gallery for the Queen and Ladies of rank. Whilst for the occasion, the Earl of Arundel was created Lord High Steward; and the Earl of Lindsay,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Lord High Constable. The Earl of Strafford, on his entrance, walked to his place with a firm and manly step. His person was tall, and his appearance majestic. He was habited in black, with his "George," suspended by a gold chain. His elocution was clear—his manner polished, and his arguments ready and convincing. The managers of his impeachment were the most able Lawyers, and eloquent Members of the Commons—Pym, Whitelock, Oliver St. John, Digby and Hampden.

The charge against the Earl was opened at great length, by Mr. Pym. His harangue was a kind of exaggerated history of his actions whilst President of the North, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a detail, which in the hands of a favouring advocate, would have redounded to his honor, by exhibiting the acts of a vigorous administration, conducted with admirable ability. In the execution of such high and difficult trusts, it was impossible that acts should not take place, oppressive indeed to individual interests, but necessary for the public good. These were magnified by his accusers, as flagrant instances of tyranny and oppression.

The Earl was called upon to give distinct answers to every particular allegation; and, because no one charge amounted to an act of treason—a new term was invented. All the charges were added together, and the whole was termed "Accumulative Treason"—the absurdity of which, is

Accused of

Accumulative  
Treason.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

he dissolved or even prorogued the Parliament, it is impossible to say what might have followed; but to all human appearance, the lives of Strafford and Laud would have been saved, and all the future disorders of the State, avoided: but, on reviewing the circumstances of his condition, and weighing contending evils, he determined to continue the session of Parliament, and the course of events forthwith rushed to their accomplishment.

Impeachment  
of the Earl of  
Strafford,  
22 Mar, 1641.

The Commons were now intent upon the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford; but, such were the difficulties they had to contend with, that the necessary preparations cost them four months of incessant labour and debate. At length, on Thursday the twentieth of March, the proceedings of this important trial were opened in Westminster Hall. At seven o'clock in the morning the Earl landed at the stairs, attended by a very strong guard. Never was "the pomp and circumstance" of Justice on a more magnificent scale. On each side, were arranged the Members of the lower House, and above them, a gallery was erected for the Scotch Commissioners and the Lords of Scotland; and in the centre, were the Peers of England. In front of the Peers, was a platform erected for the Earl himself, and, towards the end of the Hall was a chair of state for the King, with a covered gallery for the Queen and Ladies of rank. Whilst for the occasion, the Earl of Arundel was created Lord High Steward; and the Earl of Lindsay,

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Lord High Constable. The Earl of Strafford, on his entrance, walked to his place with a firm and manly step. His person was tall, and his appearance majestic. He was habited in black, with his "George," suspended by a gold chain. His elocution was clear—his manner polished, and his arguments ready and convincing. The managers of his impeachment were the most able Lawyers, and eloquent Members of the Commons—Pym, Whitelock, Oliver St. John, Digby and Hampden.

The charge against the Earl was opened at great length, by Mr. Pym. His harangue was a kind of exaggerated history of his actions whilst President of the North, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a detail, which in the hands of a favouring advocate, would have redounded to his honor, by exhibiting the acts of a vigorous administration, conducted with admirable ability. In the execution of such high and difficult trusts, it was impossible that acts should not take place, oppressive indeed to individual interests, but necessary for the public good. These were magnified by his accusers, as flagrant instances of tyranny and oppression.

The Earl was called upon to give distinct answers to every particular allegation; and, because no one charge amounted to an act of treason—a new term was invented. All the charges were added together, and the whole was termed "Accumulative Treason"—the absurdity of which, is

SECTION IV. manifest, as the noble Earl himself observed :  
CHAP. II. “ *Accumulation* is a word taken from the Latin  
*Cumulus*, a heap of corn, so called because some,  
 at least, of the individual parts are such ; but how  
 could that be called a heap of corn, in which there  
 was not one single grain.”

A new charge preferred, After the Earl of Strafford had effectually answered all the articles brought against him, the Commons put in a claim to offer additional evidence on the last article “ that he had advised the King to land the Irish forces in England.” At this part of the trial Sir H. Vane and his Son acted a conspicuous and despicable part. It was pretended that the latter, in the absence of his father, being entrusted with his keys, had found the fragment of a paper containing notes, which as Secretary, his father had taken at the Council table, amongst which, a remark to that effect, appeared to have been made by the Earl of Strafford.

without Effect. The Earl shewed the improbability of such a charge, from the circumstance, that there never existed any necessity for landing the Irish troops in England. Whilst the King, who had condescended to give his attendance throughout the trial, affirmed, that he never had any intention of bringing in the Irish army : and that he was *never advised* so to do.

Indeed the whole trial, which lasted eighteen days, was conducted on the part of his accusers,

with every species of injustice which the malice and ingenuity of the mind of man could invent.— SECTION IV.  
 But at length, the Earl having answered their additional evidence, and being interrogated by the Earl Marshal, he spoke to the following effect,— CHAP. II.  
 “ My Lords, I here stand charged with Accumulative, or constructive Treason, a word unknown to the common law, statute law, or Practice ; and which was never heard of from the beginning of this Government till this time ; so that I am questioned for my life and honour, upon a law that cannot be shewn. Jesu ! Where has this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my posterity ? It is extremely hard that punishment should precede promulgation of a law ; what man then can be safe ? especially, when there is no token set, by which he should know his offence, no admonition by which he should avoid it. If a man upon the Thames split his boat upon an anchor, and it has a buoy floating to discover it, he is to charge his own non-observance ; but if it has none, the owner of the anchor is to pay the damage. My Lords be pleased to shew that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such constructive interpretations of Laws ; if there must be a trial of invention, let the subject be of something less than the lives and honours of the Nobility : therefore cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes

Strafford's defence.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. of *constructive treason*, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letters of our laws; without being ambitious of being more learned in the art of killing, than our forefathers. It is now two hundred and forty years, since any man was touched for this alleged crime, let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our own destruction, by raising up a few musty records, that have lain so many ages neglected and forgotten. Do not through me, wound the interest of the Commonwealth, nor put such insuperable difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of wisdom, honour and fortune, cannot safely be employed by the public: if you weigh and examine them by grains and scruples, the affairs of the kingdom will lie waste, no man will concern himself, who has any thing to lose. My Lords, I would not have troubled you so long, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me." At this, his breath stopped, and he melted into tears for a short space; then recovering himself, he proceeded,—“What I forfeit as to my own ruinous cottage, is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, wounds me to the very soul: you will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but my voice and spirits fail me—only I have learned that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. and so My Lords, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment; and, whether that judgment be of life or death, ‘te Deum laudamus;’ then, lifting up his hands and eyes, prayed—‘In te Domine, confido; ne confundar in æternum.’”

Thus ended the trial of this great man, from which the Commons retired with shame and defeat, inasmuch as it was well understood, that the Lords would not, on such grounds, give judgment against him. But with a malice and resolution, which nothing could defeat, they determined to proceed by way of attainder, in the preparation of which, they would have none but themselves to consult. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of April, the Bill of Attainder was read a third time. During the discussion, the doors of the House were locked, when the Lord Digby, whose high honor and rectitude shewed him to be the worthy son of such a father as the Earl of Bristol, made use of the following remarkable words—“In prosecution we are accountable only for our industry or remissness; but, in *Judging* we are responsible to God for our rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God’s steward of the party’s blood, and must give a strict account for every drop.”

From this time, Lord Digby who had stood so high, sunk in the estimation of the Commons, and became the object of their jealousy and hatred

The Commons change their ground of attack.

Lord Digby disgraced.

SECTION IV. —a circumstance which shews the *unchristian* spirit with which they were actuated.

CHAP. II.

Conduct of  
the Earl of  
Essex.

This was thought a fitting opportunity for the suppression of the Presidency of the North, when every act of mal-administration, was brought forward and exaggerated, to the prejudice of the Earl of Strafford. Great efforts, however, were made by some of the leading men on both sides, from a deep conviction of his innocence, to save the unfortunate Earl. But in vain. The Earl of Essex had now taken a decided part in the politics of the day, and had thrown his great abilities into the popular scale, which gave it a fearful preponderance. He was decidedly the leading man in the House of Lords; and, in the case of the Earl of Strafford, he was inexorable. To some private representations of Mr. Hyde, who suggested that the Earl of Strafford might be proscribed from ever hereafter taking any part in public affairs, he sternly and proverbially replied: "*stone dead has no fellow*:" and, afterwards, when the same Gentleman was commissioned by the Earl of Bedford, the most powerful and moderate Nobleman of the party, to intercede with him, and to point out the impropriety of urging the King to warrant the execution of a man, against the solemn dictates of his conscience, he ventured upon a declaration at once base and unconstitutional: "*The King in conscience, was obliged to conform himself and his opinions, to the advice and conscience of his Parliament.*"

Notwithstanding, the Bill of Attainder did not make its way through the House of Lords. There was still too great a sense of honor and justice in that dignified assembly; and, to remove their legal scruples, a conference was held, in which the King's Solicitor General, Mr. St. John, in the presence of the King, Lords, and Commons, argued the legality of the Bill. Never was there a more determined and implacable persecutor: and, for some of the positions which he advanced, ought if justice had been done, to have been made to change places with the prisoner. At one time he averred, "*That in the way of Bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, if no evidence, at all, had been given.*" And at another he said: "*We do, indeed, give law to hares and deer, because they are beasts of chase; but it was never counted cruelty or foul play, to knock wolves or foxes on the head, as they could be found, because they are beasts of prey.*"

The King, perceiving that in all probability he would be called upon to give his assent to this Bill, ventured upon a bold step; and, in a conference with the two Houses declared, that if the Bill of attainder should pass, he could not in conscience, give his assent to it, as he had been present from the first to the last, and felt assured that no proof of treason existed against him. He said he had no desire to screen him from any punishment, which might be due to him, for conducting

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The King's  
conduct.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

A pretence  
for Agitation.

himself with pride or impetuosity: and hoped they would be satisfied with *his Promise, that he never should serve him in any office whatever.*

This was a most unfortunate step, and every thing which the enemies of the Earl could wish; and, it is supposed that the King was urged to it by the Lord Say, who was now an aspirant for the highest offices of the state, and well knew the effect it would produce. Accordingly, as soon as the King had left the House, the greatest clamour prevailed, and the House of Commons with great vehemence declared, that the King's conduct was a most unparalleled breach of privilege. This afforded then a ground for agitation; and being resolved upon the death of Strafford they determined to gain by clamour, what they now perceived they could not obtain at the tribunal of justice.

Conduct of  
the Presbyteri-  
ans.

Every effort was made to rouse the multitude. The ultra-Puritan clergy who hailed the Scotch Reformation, in their pulpit addresses, vehemently insisted upon the necessity of Justice on certain delinquents. This was the signal for new outrages. The common people assembled in vast crowds, demanding "*Execution.*" The great ring-leader of these rioters was Cornelius Burgess, a Presbyterian of the Church, and a Doctor of Divinity, who to his infamy was accustomed to boast—"*These are my Band-Dogs, I can set them on, and call them off again as I please.*"

The Members of Parliament debased them- SECTION  
selves by mingling at night with the lowest of IV.  
the people in their club houses, and exasperating CHAP. II.  
them by their harangues. They went so far, as Disgraceful  
even to post up in all the public places of the city, methods to se-  
the names of those in both houses who opposed cure  
the Bill of Attainder under the Title of "STRAFFORDIANS and ENEMIES TO THEIR COUNTRY."

During these proceedings the Earl of Bedford, having been promised the office of Lord High Treasurer, had undertaken to use his utmost endeavours to save the Earl of Strafford. But his own days were numbered, and he died of the small pox before the fate of Strafford was decided.

In order to promote their designs the Commons the passing of  
pretended, that new designs were on foot for their the Bill  
destruction, and a ridiculous accident effectually served their purpose. Whilst Mr. Middleton and Mr. Wray two very corpulent men were standing up in the gallery to hear the debate—a board in the floor giving way with a great crash, a member cried out, that he smelt gunpowder, and the whole house was thrown into confusion: the people in the lobby, without waiting for further evidence, rushed into the street; and spread the report, that the house was blown up with gunpowder. The alarm spread from one end of the city to the other: the drums beat—the train bands were marched down to the House; and all men seemed concerned in the fate of their representatives.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

of Attainder.

From this circumstance, simple as it may appear, the House perceived the influence it possessed, and determined to use it. The friends of the Earl of Strafford were alarmed, and deterred from attending in both Houses—the Bill of Attainder was passed, being carried by seven votes in a House of forty-five Members.

The difficulty, now, was to obtain the King's consent. For this purpose an address was presented to him by the two Houses, whilst crowds of people were tumultuously assembled in the front of the Palace, vociferating Justice! Justice!

The uncertainty of the King's mind,

All this was a cruel mockery, and a profanation of all that is sacred amongst men; and was sure to bring down a signal vengeance upon the heads of all concerned in it. The King called his council: they referred him to the Bishops to satisfy his conscience: the Bishops referred him to the Judges to satisfy him as to its legality. All were overawed; and no person had courage to give an unbiassed opinion. Bishop Juxon alone, remained invincible in his integrity; and nobly told the King—“*that he ought to do nothing with an unsatisfied conscience upon any consideration in the world.*”

resolved by the Earl himself.

At this juncture, when the struggle in the King's breast was most violent, the Earl of Strafford, understanding how the King was harassed and perplexed by the importunities of honor and conscience on one side; and on the other, with the

fear of such a public rupture, as seemed to threaten destruction to himself and his family—wrote a letter to his Majesty, which stands unrivalled amongst the records of antiquity for its sublime heroism and patriotism. The following are the concluding words:

“Sir, my consent, herein, shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done. And by God's grace I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you I can give the life of this world with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours.”

That night, at a late hour, overcome with fatigue and anxiety, and alarmed with incessant rumours of tumult and insurrection, the King signed the fatal Bill which delivered the Earl to the will of his enemies; and it is a remarkable fact—so as to mark the avenging hand of Heaven—that at the same time he passed another bill, overlooked in the hurry and anxiety of the moment, as of no consequence; but which, was destined to bring ruin upon all concerned in the shedding of innocent blood. This was a bill for perpetuating the sitting of the existing Parliament.

The King's mind now gave way to relenting and melancholy reflections; and he wrote a most pathetic letter to the Lords—craving, if possible,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Bill is passed, with a remarkable accompaniment.

The King endeavours to save the Earl

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the life of Strafford, even at the price of perpetual imprisonment. This letter was written with his own hand, and delivered to the House by the young Prince, as the first favor he asked of Parliament. The letter was received with a solemn respect, but the Lords refused their intercession and influence.

who prepares for Execution, Nothing now remained to be done, and the Earl prepared himself for death, in which he was assisted by the advice and counsel of Archbishop Usher. But he was not to die undisturbed by the solicitations of his enemies. A message was conveyed to him by his brother-in-law, Mr. Daniel Hollis a leading member of the House of Commons—that “if he would employ his power and credit with the King, for taking EPISCOPACY out of the Church, he should yet have his life;” to which, without hesitation he replied—“that he would not buy his life at so dear a rate.”

which takes place on the 12th of May, A. D. 1641. On the morning of his execution, attended by his friends and several noblemen and persons of quality, he proceeded with a firm step towards the place of execution. On approaching the windows of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to the Lieutenant of the Tower: “Although I do not see the Archbishop as I have hoped, *pray give me leave to pay my last observance towards his Rooms;*” but the Archbishop, being advised of his approach, immediately presented himself, upon which the Earl making a profound bow said; “my

Lord, your prayers and your blessing!” The Archbishop lifted up his hands to heaven, and with great feeling and devotion bestowed both; but unable to support the sudden effort, he sank down on the floor of his apartment.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. The Earl proceeded, and with a serene and steady countenance ascended the scaffold. Ob- serving his brother, Sir George Wentworth in tears, he said: “Brother what do you see in me to deserve these tears? does my servile fear betray my guilt, or, my assuming boldness any atheism. Never did I throw off my clothes with more freedom and content, than in this preparation for my grave. That stock must be my pillow; here, shall I rest from all my labours; no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, jealousy of foes, cares for the King, the state or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. Therefore, Brother, pity my enemies, who, contrary to their intentions, have made me blessed; rejoice in my innocence; rejoice in my happiness!” Then, kneeling down on the scaffold, and addressing those around him, he concluded with a solemn protestation of his innocence: “Gentlemen,” he said, “I hope you believe that neither the fear of loss or love of fame, will suffer me to belie God and my own conscience at this time:—I am now in the very door going out, and my next step must be from time to eternity, either of peace or pain. To clear myself before you all—I do here solemnly call God to witness,

Conduct of  
Strafford on  
the scaffold.

SECTION IV. *I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor ever had the least inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the King, the state, the laws, or the religion of this kingdom, but with my best endeavours to serve all, and support all, SO MAY GOD BE MERCIFUL TO MY SOUL!"*

CHAP. II.

Then rising up, with a kind of prophetic spirit, he addressed himself to the people in the following striking manner: "I am come here by the will and pleasure of God, to pay the last debt I owe to sin, which is death, and to submit to that judgment which has been passed upon me, which I do with a quiet and contented mind. I thank God, I freely forgive all the world: and I thank God, I can truly say, that in all the employments I have had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in my intentions, but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of King and people; though it has been my ill fortune to be misunderstood. There is one thing in which I desire to clear myself: I did always think the Parliaments of England the happiest constitution that any kingdom lived under, and next under God, the best means to make the King and his people happy; so far have I been, from being against Parliaments. For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it; though in the intentions of my heart I am not guilty of what I die

for. I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world: I ever did it living, and now dying it is my prayer. Yet I earnestly desire every one that hears me to consider seriously, whether the reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood: Let me never be so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you: I acquit you all, but fear you are in a dangerous road. My Lord Primate, I here profess, and with that I shall conclude, that I die a true and obedient son to the Church of England in which I was born and educated; Peace and prosperity be ever with it! I desire heartily the forgiveness of every one, for any rash and unadvised act, or for any thing done amiss, and so my Lords and Gentlemen farewell! Farewell all things of this world!"

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

Having concluded his address, he continued in prayer and supplication for a considerable time, when rising from his knees and turning to his brother, he said: "Carry my blessing to my eldest son and charge him from me, that he fear God, continue an obedient son of the Church of England and a faithful subject of the King—that he entertain no private revenge against any on my account, and charge him to beware not to meddle with Church livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his estate." He continued:—"One stroke will make my disconsolate wife, husbandless; my dear children, fatherless; and my

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. poor servants, masterless; and separate me from my dear brother and all my friends, but let God be to you and them, 'ALL IN ALL.'"

These were his last words: for, after he had several times recommended his soul to the mercies of God, with Christian magnanimity he submitted his neck to the stroke of the executioner, who at one blow, severed his head from his body.

The Earl of  
Strafford a vic-  
tim

Thus fell, through the despotic power of popular violence, like some tall cedar of the forest, the first subject of the land in power, wealth and wisdom; of whom Archbishop Usher declared—"that in all his life he never knew any layman, that so fully understood matters of Divinity; and, that his resolution was no less firm than good." And Cardinal Richelieu was so sensible of his abilities, that he said: "*The English people were so foolish, that they could not let their wisest head stand upon its own shoulders.*"

of lawless power  
and popular  
aggression,

But what law or reason can ever exist in the arbitrary dictates of the popular will? Calumny and falsehood are its vital food: Folly and insolence are the expounders of its laws. It knows no shame; and fearless of punishment, it spurns at the claims of dignity and authority, and rather than not attain its purpose, it will wade through the blood of its friends as well as its foes. "It operates alike to debase and corrupt, till there are neither men left with the spirit to desire liberty, nor morals with the power to sustain it."\* This

\* Fisher Ames, an American writer.

irresponsible power having broken through the barriers of *lawful restraint* was now in the ascendant, and, hastening to run its course of anarchy, vice, madness, and unavailing remorse.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. The Bill which rendered the sitting of Parliament perpetual, was gained under the most specious pretences. It was alleged, that as great sums of money had been advanced for the public necessity, on the credit of the House of Commons, the creditors of the State began to express their fears lest the Parliament should be dissolved, and thus, to refuse further advances of money. When the Bill was brought up to the House of Lords, that assembly, very prudently, wished to fix its continuance for a limited period, two, three, or five years, on which Mr. St. John, the manager for the House of Commons, very pathetically exclaimed: "God forbid, that we should be forced to sit one year. But if the Bill pass for an indefinite time, we shall have credit to disband the armies, and satisfy all debts; and when the Act is passed, we shall *quickly* dispatch both." To this premeditated design of subverting the Constitution, the House of Lords fatally acceded; and the King, as we have seen, in the hour of his agony, gave his assent to it.

The mischiefs which followed this extraordinary concession were beyond repair, and distinctly marks that infatuation which precedes national destruction or punishment. The House of Com-

Obtained by  
artifice,

and exercised  
with tyranny,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. mons instantly became the dominant power, and the form of the English Government was essentially changed. Within a few days after the fall of Strafford, many of the first officers of State resigned. Cottington was succeeded in the Mastership of the Wards by the Lord Say—Bishop Juxon as Lord Treasurer, by five Commissioners—the Earl of Northumberland as governor of the Prince by the Marquis of Hertford. The Earl of Leicester was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Earl of Essex, Lord High Chamberlain.

to the destruc-  
tion of Church  
and State.

Things now rapidly took their *necessary* course. The Commons armed with irresponsible power, now approached the sacred citadel of the Church; and, at this juncture, by a striking coincidence, Oliver Cromwell, who was destined to become the GENIUS of the MOVEMENT, again appears on the stage. During the debate for depriving the Bishops of their votes in the upper House, when great doubts prevailed as to the course they should pursue, this remarkable person said to Sir Thomas Checkley and Mr. Warwick: "*I can tell you Sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell you what I would.*" This Bill had been rejected by the Lords with great decision before the death of Strafford; but the Commons, re-inforced by their newly acquired power, proceeded in order to gratify their Presbyterian allies, with a Bill for the abolition of the Bishops: but, for the present, they were obliged to content themselves with

fixing the brand of impeachment on thirteen of their order, who, in consequence, were committed to the Tower.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. In quick succession, Bills were passed for abolishing tonnage and poundage—the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, which had been the main instruments of oppressing the liberties of the subject, and exercising the late arbitrary acts of the executive power.

Various Re-  
forms.

It is supposed, that, at this time, a design was formed by some of the officers of the English army to stand by the remaining prerogatives of the Crown; and to humble the arrogance of the Commons. Colonel Goring, a man of great courage, but practised in every art of falsehood, was the chief instigator of the Plot; and, after engaging many distinguished officers into the scheme, he suddenly communicated the whole subject to the House. The most exaggerated reports were immediately circulated respecting the project; and the Lord Digby, for attempting to invalidate the testimony of Goring, was publicly expelled the House.

Goring's  
Conspiracy.

Such was still the confidence of the King, and his perfect reliance upon the good will of the people, that on the resignation of the Earl of Northumberland, he appointed the Earl of Holland general of the Army; determining to visit Scotland in person, and to be present in their ensuing Parliament. It was a most patriotic resolve; and

The King's  
patriotic con-  
duct,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

perhaps, never did a King, inspired with the true spirit of heroism, place himself in circumstances of greater difficulty and danger. Bishop Williams who was now in favour, and whose advice was like that of Achitophel, but whose responses like those of Cassandra were doomed to be rejected, earnestly advised the King not to venture upon such a perilous step. He shewed the King the impossibility of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, by any sudden movement, and that under his present circumstances they would construe his personal appearance among them, as the result, not of courtesy, but fear—concluding in these striking words: “Therefore, keep near to the Parliament, *all the work is within those walls*; do what you can to win them man by man: for some of the Commons are preparing a declaration to make your Government odious: Stir not till you have mollified the grand contrivers with preferments.”

The King's  
absence,

But such circumspect and stratagetic counsel was not in accordance with the open and confiding disposition of the Prince, and he determined upon his journey. But, before his departure, a bill was hastened through Parliament for the pacification of the two kingdoms, at a cost to England, of eleven hundred thousand pounds.

affords licence

Soon after the King's departure, the majority of the two Houses left London for their country seats, to recruit their spirits after such laborious attention to business: but the innovating leaders remained,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

and commenced their attacks upon the Church and the Liturgy; which, however, for the present were discomfited by the firmness of the few remaining Lords. Religion was, now, called in to their aid, and its solemn rites degraded into an abettor of Rebellion. A day of thanksgiving was appointed, and the celebrated Doctor Burgess, already introduced to the reader, preached before the honorable House. The pulpits of the turbulent Presbyters everywhere rung with the praises of Parliament; and the Scots, whilst the Clergy, whose judgment and conscience would not permit them to join in this species of adulation, were termed **MALIGNANTS**.

In the mean time, the King determined, in order to remove every pretext for opposition, to yield to whatever might be demanded of him in the Scotch Parliament. All the exorbitant acts of the late “Assembly,” which had abolished Episcopacy, and assumed to itself the power of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, even upon the King—were declared legal—the absolute government of the nation given to the Lords of the secret Council, who during the recess of Parliament were created Conservators of the peace of the two kingdoms.—All the great officers of State were to be chosen by Parliament, without any regard to the opinion of the Sovereign. His own friends were to receive the benefit of the general amnesty, on condition of not being admitted to his presence; whilst his enemies were

The King  
acts upon the  
Law of Expe-  
diency,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

contrary to the  
advice of Bishop  
Williams.

perhaps, never did a King, inspired with the true spirit of heroism, place himself in circumstances of greater difficulty and danger. Bishop Williams who was now in favour, and whose advice was like that of Achitophel, but whose responses like those of Cassandra were doomed to be rejected, earnestly advised the King not to venture upon such a perilous step. He shewed the King the impossibility of restoring tranquillity to Scotland, by any sudden movement, and that under his present circumstances they would construe his personal appearance among them, as the result, not of courtesy, but fear—concluding in these striking words: “Therefore, keep near to the Parliament, *all the work is within those walls*; do what you can to win them man by man: for some of the Commons are preparing a declaration to make your Government odious: Stir not till you have mollified the grand contrivers with preferments.”

The King's  
absence,

But such circumspect and stratagetic counsel was not in accordance with the open and confiding disposition of the Prince, and he determined upon his journey. But, before his departure, a bill was hastened through Parliament for the pacification of the two kingdoms, at a cost to England, of eleven hundred thousand pounds.

affords licence

Soon after the King's departure, the majority of the two Houses left London for their country seats, to recruit their spirits after such laborious attention to business: but the innovating leaders remained,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

to the Com-  
mons.

and commenced their attacks upon the Church and the Liturgy; which, however, for the present were discomfited by the firmness of the few remaining Lords. Religion was, now, called in to their aid, and its solemn rites degraded into an abettor of Rebellion. A day of thanksgiving was appointed, and the celebrated Doctor Burgess, already introduced to the reader, preached before the honorable House. The pulpits of the turbulent Presbyters everywhere rung with the praises of Parliament; and the Scots, whilst the Clergy, whose judgment and conscience would not permit them to join in this species of adulation, were termed MALIGNANTS.

In the mean time, the King determined, in order to remove every pretext for opposition, to yield to whatever might be demanded of him in the Scotch Parliament. All the exorbitant acts of the late “Assembly,” which had abolished Episcopacy, and assumed to itself the power of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, even upon the King—were declared legal—the absolute government of the nation given to the Lords of the secret Council, who during the recess of Parliament were created Conservators of the peace of the two kingdoms.—All the great officers of State were to be chosen by Parliament, without any regard to the opinion of the Sovereign. His own friends were to receive the benefit of the general amnesty, on condition of not being admitted to his presence; whilst his enemies were

The King  
acts upon the  
Law of Expediency,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. rewarded with titles of honor, and the transfer of the Church lands—A bounty, which was even extended to the refractory Presbyters, the ring-leader of whom, Mr. Henderson, was gifted with the revenues of the Royal Chapel, which were equal to a Bishoprick!

which gives  
general satis-  
faction.

All Scotland rang with the praises of the Monarch; and the loudest professions of loyalty and submission were made by all ranks of people; even General Lesley, now Earl of Lieven, in a generous fit of admiration, declared that he never would take arms into his hands against "so gude a King."

but is not last-  
ing.

But it was a short-lived popularity. These concessions were too exorbitant to be lasting. They were granted by the King for the purpose of avoiding a hostile collision, and in the hope, that when the conflict of passion had subsided, the course of the Government might easily be turned into its legitimate and constitutional channel. But the King's indulgence was misplaced. The Scots considered their cause—as all Revolutionists do—of such vast importance to the world, as to justify the violation of all their promises of loyalty and fidelity; and the Earl of Lauderdale, who had received from the King, the gift of a Lordship with £20,000 a year, in a fury of Presbyterian zeal, exclaimed: "*That he would live to see THE CAUSE not only go through England, but also carried to the walls of Rome.*"

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Empty boast! which discovers how entirely enthusiasm sometimes overcomes our discretion; and, how completely our contracted views of things are opposed to the grand economy of the divine government. At the very moment when this potent Earl was collecting, from what he saw around him, the universal establishment of the Scotch Covenant—the Presbyterian discipline of the Scotch Kirk—and the civil government of the Scotch Council, the Supreme Ruler was preparing out of their own presumption, a series of national punishments, which were about to fall upon the heads of all engaged in these extreme and selfish counsels.

These concessions which silenced if they did not satisfy the discontents of Scotland were no sooner granted, than other distractions were at hand.—A formidable rebellion in Ireland preceded by a fearful massacre of the Irish Protestants. This horrid deed was perpetrated by the Papists and old natives, on the twenty third of October, and stands unparalleled in the annals of mankind for savageness and brutality. It was kept in such profound secrecy, that no tidings of it escaped; and it burst upon the astonished heads of the Protestants like the sudden tempest of night, sweeping all before it. Dublin alone escaped by a miraculous discovery of the Plot on the preceding evening. Fifty thousand Protestants without regard of sex, age, or quality, perished in cold

The Irish  
Massacre,  
A. D. 1641.

SECTION IV. blood; and in such a merciless and barbarous manner, that the mind recoils from the narration.

CHAP. II.

Followed by  
a Popish Cove-  
nant.

The tidings of this new calamity flew like lightning through England, and filled the minds of all men with horror and indignation, whilst the Irish, following the example of the *loyal* people of Scotland, published a "POPISH COVENANT;" and insisted upon a redress of grievances. The King was still at York; and the Earl of Leicester who had been appointed Lieutenant of London, during his absence, summoned the Lords of the Council, and, next day laid the disastrous affair before the two houses, who had not the least idea what course to pursue. Letters, however, were received from the King, who stated the serious and formidable character of the Rebellion, recommended a "sharp war;" and with a fatal confidence, which like an "*Ignis fatuus*" betrayed him to his ruin—entrusted the management of it to his faithful Commons. Never were subjects so honored and trusted by a Prince—never was a Prince so deceived and betrayed by his subjects.

The Com-  
mons inflame  
the public  
mind.

Taking advantage of this disastrous state of affairs in Ireland, the Leaders of the Commons inflamed the minds of the people with the most scandalous falsehoods, insinuating that the rebellion of Ireland had been fomented by the Queen for the purpose of restoring Popery; and to demonstrate the malevolence of their intentions, they proceeded to frame a grand Remonstrance,

SECTION IV. which should enumerate all the Grievances which the nation had endured since the death of James I. It was an extraordinary and unjustifiable document, compounded of truth and falsehood, enumerating every error, every misfortune, every arbitrary act of Government; and, may be denominated, a magnificent libel against the King, Queen, and Royal Family. It was drawn up by the ringleaders of a vicious and unreasonable party, daily advancing to power; carried only by nine votes, and, at an unusual time of night, when the friends of the King and the miserable Constitution had retired. On this occasion, Oliver Cromwell declared to Lord Falkland, "*that if the Remonstrance had not passed he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never would have seen England more, and he knew many other honest men of the same Resolution.\**"

CHAP. II.

Their "grand  
Remons-  
trance."

The very next day the King returned to London, and was received with every mark of respect by the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gourney—a man of patriotism, wisdom, and courage, who, attended with the Citizens, met the King at his entrance to Moorfields, with every demonstration of loyalty and affection. But these fair appearances which might have been improved to the advantage and prosperity of the Kingdom, were blasted by the machinations of the prevailing party, who lost no opportunity of using falsehood to corrupt the under-

The King's  
return.

\* This Remonstrance may be seen in *Rushworth*.

SECTION standing of the weak—bold scandal to encourage  
IV. the seditious—boundless promises to inspire the  
CHAP. II. ambitious, and abject flattery to gain the vulgar.

The King's  
administration.

Shortly after his return, the King appointed a new Council, which, considering the difficulties of his situation, was arranged with great judgment. The celebrated Lord Falkland was appointed Secretary of State—a man of great natural parts, which he improved and polished to the utmost by daily cultivation. His learning and attainments were extensive; and, his memory so retentive that he never forgot anything he had once read. He was superior to all those passious which sway inferior minds, and was guilty of no other ambition, than that of acquiring knowledge. Integrity and sincerity were the guide of his actions; and all his excellencies were crowned with great modesty and humility.

Sir. J. Colepepper, a person of unblemished reputation and of known abilities, but more of a soldier by education than a statesman, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. His quick conception and lively fancy gave him great power of debate, in which he is said to have excelled.

Mr. Edward Hyde was also taken into the King's Council, a man of sound capacity—of competent learning, great industry, an eloquent speaker, and an elegant writer.

To these were added George, Lord Digby, eldest Son of the Earl of Bristol, equally gifted

with his colleagues by nature, and, as accomplished a scholar as any of his age. He was of a fine and prepossessing appearance, and displayed great elegance and gracefulness of manner. He was possessed of an heroic courage equal to the most daring enterprises; but unfitted to carry them into execution by the impatience of his genius, and an overweening confidence in his own powers.

Several Preferments were also made in the Church, of the choicest men in the kingdom.—Doctor Williams was promoted to the Archiepiscopate of York: Doctor King to the See of Chichester: Doctor Hall to Norwich: Doctor Skinner to Oxford, and Doctor Prideaux to Worcester.

But these promotions, however wisely and judiciously made, gave dissatisfaction to the Commons. They sought for new grounds of complaint, and took umbrage at the King, for dismissing their guard which he had appointed during his absence. They circulated their "Remonstrance" with all its calumny and slander upon its head, through the length and breadth of the land.

They purposely delayed raising the supplies for the army to be sent into Ireland—rejected an offer made by the King, to raise ten thousand Volunteers, if the House would grant supplies for their pay, and still aiming at the increase of their power they carried a Bill for the impressment of soldiers, by which they transferred that prerogative of the Crown to themselves; and the King, under the

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

The Commons dissatisfied,

Increase their power,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. pressure of circumstances, passed it, together with another for suppressing the votes of the Bishops in the upper House.

by very unlawful means,

Determined, as they had long been, on the most desperate measures, these invasions of the Royal prerogative gave the clearest indication of their design to effect a fundamental change in the Government. They now advanced another step, and in order to assert their authority in disposing of all great offices of trust, they pretended to take great offence at the King for appointing Colonel Lundiford, to be Lieutenant of the Tower, in the place of Sir W. Balfour; and recommended Sir J. Conyers. The Lords resented this interference as a gross encroachment on the power of the executive. This obstacle only served to increase their violence. Agitation of all kinds was set at work. The apprentices and common people were excited to insurrection. Vast crowds assembled. Petitions were presented, especially against Prelacy, as the great grievance of the nation. Disorderly mobs insulted the members of Parliament, crying out "No Bishops!" Westminster Abbey was forcibly entered and despoiled, and by the advice of the Judges, constables and a strong watch were appointed by the Lords, to prevent a repetition of such outrages; but they were actually sent for by the Commons, and discharged; and one of the Judges who had issued the Writs was committed to the Tower.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. Thus the barriers of Law were thrown down, by one branch of the Legislature usurping to itself all the powers of the state; and rendered the more formidable, because it refused not to secure its authority by pandering to the ignorance, credulity, and licentiousness of the people. The insolence of the mob increased to such an extent, that no person could attend his place in Parliament, without endangering his life, unless he was a known partisan of the popular leaders.

These proceedings of the Commons were highly displeasing to the respectable part of the community; and, the King, who during his residence in Scotland, had obtained positive evidence of the guilty and treasonable practices of the principal innovators, was urged by Lord Digby, at this moment of their unpopularity, to impeach six of their leading members, of treason. Most of their names have long been familiar to the Reader.—They were Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, and Mr. Strode.

The King discovers their Treason.

It was a bold and striking measure, and had it been executed with wisdom and caution, might have put an effectual stop to the evils which afflicted the state. But it was otherwise; and, its failure only hastened the crisis of the national malady. When the House, instead of delivering up the accused members, sent a message to the King, that *they should be forthcoming when the charges*

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. *against them were exhibited*—he was urged, contrary to his own opinion, which was generally correct, to proceed to the House, and, in his own person demand the traitors. With his usual guard and some Gentlemen, who joined him on his way to the House, he entered the lobby, where he commanded his attendants to wait and “*to give offence to no man.*”—Unattended, the King entered the House, and seated himself in the Speaker’s chair, which had been vacated on his appearance. The King asked him, *whether the accused members were present*, to which the Speaker with great prudence and intrepidity answered—*that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak any thing but what he was commanded by the House.* The King perceived they were gone; and briefly stating his views to them on the subject; he concluded by assuring them: “*Upon the word of a King, that he never intended any force, but would prosecute them in a legal way; but if they were not sent to him, he must take his own course to find them.*”

Enables the Commons

This appearance of the King, set the House in a flame, and immediately after his departure, loud cries of “Breach of Privilege!” resounded from all sides till the whole city was filled with the clamour. The House was adjourned,—the impeached Members took refuge in the city—a committee was selected to sit during the adjournment at the Guildhall. All night the city was kept in constant alarm. Men were employed on purpose

to run from one gate to another, crying out “the Cavaliers are coming.” SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

The imprudence of the transaction was now manifest; and to remove these unfounded impressions, the King entered the city, next morning, to acquaint the Lord Mayor with the true grounds of his proceedings. But the ferment of the common people was not to be allayed. The excitement was designed to be kept up by the Committee at the Guildhall, who were busily employed the whole day in taking depositions, respecting the King’s visit to the House. The most exaggerated statements were received; and at last, they published and distributed a Narrative of the transaction, composed of the most audacious falsehoods, in which they declared—“*That the King came to the House attended with a multitude of armed men, in a hostile manner, to the great terror of all the sitting members—that upon full examination it appeared, several soldiers, Papists and others, about five hundred in number came with him, &c.*” This declaration, so contrary to the known facts of the case, was perhaps, of all documents ever drawn up by mortal man, except “the grand Remonstrance,” the most wicked and scandalous.

False as it was, its circulation was most detrimental to the peace of the community. Hurry and tumult prevailed in all parts of the city. Multitudes of people ran to and fro, with terror depicted in their countenances. The shops were

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

closed, and men began to prepare for any enterprise. The accused members were conducted in triumph to their places in Parliament. The Militia were called upon to attend them—the Seamen on the Thames united in the procession; and, to alarm the Court, a considerable body of Troops with several field pieces, attended with immense clamour of people and beating of drums, were paraded on both sides of Whitehall by land and water.

Force the  
King to retire

The King highly indignant at these proceedings, determined to retire from Whitehall to Hampton Court, where he might be secure from these popular insults. Every person saw it was likely to be a dangerous step. But his honor as a Sovereign was wounded, and his resolution could not be shaken. But his residence at Hampton Court could not protect him from daily disquietude, or his family from terrifying apprehensions, and he retired to Windsor.

and seize the  
command of  
the Militia.

The Commons now determined to secure themselves of the entire Sovereignty. They appointed Captain Skippon, who had risen from the ranks, and was quite illiterate, but a man of great experience in military affairs and of good conduct, Major General of the City Militia. They accused Lord Digby of treason, who fled; and appointed Sir J. Hothan, Governor of Hull, in order to secure the Magazine of arms and ammunition in that fortress; and, to keep alive the spirit of agitation

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

in the City, they adjourned the Houses, ordering a Committee armed with full powers, to sit in the "Grocers Hall." To assist their deliberations, the most preposterous alarms were raised, one of which was, that mines of gunpowder were prepared to *blow up the Thames!* and to drown the Citizens in their beds!

In the mean time, the King, removed from the scene of agitation, was enabled to review with composure, the troubled state of Public Affairs, and, after promising a general pardon for all that was past, sent one of the noblest declarations to both Houses of Parliament that any records of any age or Nation can produce. It was sent by a messenger, on the twentieth of January, and couched in the following terms: "That for the preventing those manifold distractions in the Kingdom, they would speedily take into consideration *whatever they held necessary* as well for the support of the regal authority and settlement of the revenue, as the present and future establishment of their *privileges, estates, and liberties*, the safety of the true religion now professed in the Church of England, and the ordinary ceremonies in such a manner as might leave room for *no just offence*: which when they had formed into one entire body, so that he and they might be better able to judge of them, he would then make it appear, what small grounds some persons had for the jealousies they seemed to apprehend; and how ready

The King's  
magnanimous  
conduct,  
A. D. 1642.  
N. S.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

he would be, not only to equal, but to exceed the most indulgent Princes in their acts of grace and favour to their people: so that if these present distractions did not by the blessing of God, end in a happy accommodation, he would then be ready to call *Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witness, that HE HAD NOT FAILED IN HIS PART.*"

The two Houses at variance.

The Lords received the message with every demonstration of joy, and desired the Commons to unite with them in thanks to his Majesty for his gracious offers. But this did not suit with the temper and designs of the Commons, who were now lost to every patriotic and constitutional sentiment. They determined to widen the breach. A division took place between the two Houses. The people were roused to send petitions from all parts of the country—stating the danger and distraction of the country; and praying that the Tower and other places of strength and defence might be placed in the hands of the Commons.

A Conference.

On the strength of these petitions, Mr. Pym undertook to manage a conference with the House of Lords, and in an inflammatory speech, which was afterwards printed and sent on a peregrination of mischief through the country, he had the audaciousness to tell them, "it would be matter of deep regret if the House of Lords would not unite with them in the *good work*, and that it should be recorded in history, that the House of

Commons *alone* was left to effect the *Salvation* of the Kingdom!"

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Commons grasp at Supreme power

The King now plainly perceiving that the popular Leaders would accept of no reasonable compromise, and that they were gradually securing to themselves the Sovereign power, he resolved to retire still further from London, and positively to refuse his assent to the passing of any further act, till he fully understood the extent of their demands, and knew what returns they were prepared to make for all his concessions. Whilst the King was agitating these things in his mind, he received a petition from the united Houses, "for his delivering up the Tower, with all the forts and militia of England into their hands."

Fully determined not to accede to this proposition, he sent a perspicuous but evasive answer, which they chose to interpret as giving his assent, and proceeded to act accordingly. Sir J. Conyers was appointed Governor of the Tower, and Sir John Byron, who had been appointed by the King, one of the bravest and most generous officers in christendom, was summoned by the Commons, and brought to his knees before the bar of the House, as a *delinquent*.

These transactions could not be mistaken; and the Queen, terrified with daily apprehensions for the safety of her family, was already on her way to Holland; and the King discovered that spirit and resolution which only required an occasion,

The Queen flies,  
A. D. 1642.  
N. S.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. in which the safety of others was not compromised, to call forth. The Queen embarked on the third of February, with the Princess Mary who who was then about twelve years of age. It was a sorrowful parting; and if the veil of futurity could have been removed, would have been still more so. The young Princess never saw her father again, and the Queen herself, had but one transient view of him afterwards. The King returned to Greenwich, from whence he forwarded his answer to the ordinance of the Commons requesting the command of the militia. His answer was most conciliatory. He expressed "*his readiness to grant such commissions as they should recommend to him; but that he could not consent to divest himself of that trust which God and the Laws had put into his hand, for the defence of his people.*"

The Commons nobly resisted. Transported almost to fury, the Commons despatched a select Committee to the King who had removed to Theobald's, to assure him that his unexpected denial had created still greater apprehensions in their minds respecting the public safety; and that if he persisted in his denial "*they should act in defiance of him, and dispose of the militia in the manner which had been determined in their ordinance, &c.*"

The King's address, At the conclusion of the address, the King, roused to indignation at the presumption of the request—a request which demanded the abdica-

tion of the Royal authority—and which he could not grant in justice to his Country, or, without dereliction of the most solemn obligations, answered: "He was so amazed he knew not what to answer: they spoke of jealousies and fears, but let them lay their hands to their hearts, and ask themselves, whether he might not be as well disturbed by fears and jealousies, and if so, their message had nothing lessened them. As to the militia he had thought so much of it before he sent his answer, and knew it was so agreeable to what they could *justly ask* and he *honourably grant*, that he should not alter it in any point. As to his residence near them, of which they spoke, he wished it might be so safe and honourable, that he had no cause to absent himself from Whitehall. They might ask themselves whether he had not? As to his son, he would take that care of him, which should justify him to God, as a father; and to his dominions, as a King. To conclude, upon his honour he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people; which he would, by all fair means, seek to preserve and maintain, *relying on the goodness of God for the preservation of himself and his rights.*"

The warm and energetic manner in which this reply was made, in some measure damped the expectations of the Commons; but they determined to use every means to shake the King's resolution. They had immediate recourse to their usual me-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

which baffles them.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Recourse to  
other measures.

thod of remonstrance; and during the short period of its debate, committed more numerous acts of arbitrary power, than had been done by the King and Council during the twelve years of their sole administration. Sir Ralph Hopton was committed to the Tower, for objecting to some expression in it, inconsistent with the reverence which was due to the King. Mr. Trelawny, an eminent merchant, was expelled the House and cast into prison, for saying to a friend—*that the House could not appoint a guard without the King's consent, under pain of Treason.* Nor did they spare the commonalty: for, one Sanderson, a tailor, being convicted at the Bar of the House, for wishing *King Pym and Sir John Hotham both hanged*, was fined, condemned to stand in the pillory one day in Cheapside, and from thence to be whipped to the Fleet; on another day, to stand in the pillory at Westminster, and from thence whipped to Bridewell, where he was to be kept to hard labour during his life:—affording another example, that popular licentiousness is the worst tyranny—that it places no boundary to its will—possesses no directory for its actions—but combines in its character all the cruelty, despotism and fanaticism of our common nature; and, in the development of its character, personifies the

A Remon-  
strance

POWER OF EVIL.  
The Remonstrance was presented to the King by the Earls of Holland and Pembroke. Several

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

presented to  
the King.

times during the reading of it, the Monarch roused to indignation, by its scandalous statements, exclaimed, “It is false.” He said, “He could not have believed that the Parliament would have sent him such a declaration, had it not been brought to him by men of such undoubted honour:” and concluded with a pathetic expostulation, which shewed how deeply he was wounded—“What would you have? Have I violated your Laws? Have I denied to pass one Bill for the ease and security of my people. God so deal with me and mine! *as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of the land; and I hope God will bless and assist these laws for my preservation.*” It was on this occasion, that the Earl of Pembroke having urged on him the subject, whether the command of the Militia might not be given up for a limited period, he sharply replied: “No: not for an hour! You ask that of me in this, which never was asked of any King, and with which I will not trust my children.”

The Commons, though damped by the firmness and intrepidity of the King, still hoped to prevail by importunity, and agitation. The canonical Clergy were silenced, and the most vehement preachers were stationed in most populous places.

The crisis was now fast approaching. The King had retired to York, where he was attended

Violent  
Preachers em-  
ployed.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. by many of the Nobility, whilst a great number of persons of the first quality, were daily flocking to him. His messages on the points at issue, became still more decisive. The Parliament was confounded; and all well-wishers to their country now saw that the time was come, to heal the breaches of the State, and to consolidate the Government of the kingdom in its constitutional course. Even the Earl of Essex was staggered; and wished, that *the Parliament would proceed more moderately, and that the King who had given so much, might receive some satisfaction.* But strange! at this very moment when the Earl was hesitating, as to his future conduct, the King suddenly deprived him of his office as Lord High Chamberlain: and this is the more remarkable, as it would have been impossible for the Parliament to have raised an army, if this powerful nobleman had not consented to become its General. This step decided his course!

The Commons secure the Fleet

The leading members of Parliament whose design was evidently to subvert the Constitution in Church and State, thus reinforced, determined if possible, to secure the command of the Navy. In order to accomplish this important object, they sent for Sir John Pennington, who had been appointed by the King, to take the command under the Earl of Northumberland, and during his attendance, dispatched the Earl of Warwick to usurp his place. Their next step was, to put their or-

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. *dinance* respecting the Militia, into execution; which they did on the 10th of May, when their own officer, General Skippon, appeared in Finsbury Fields, at the head of ten thousand men.—Orders were also sent to all the adjacent Counties, and the Militia, to execute the same ordinance, and to provide arms and ammunition. And hearing that the King, alarmed by their proceedings, had actually appointed himself a guard—with unparalleled hypocrisy, they passed the following vote; that, “It appears, that the King seduced by wicked counsel, intends to make war against the Parliament”—when they knew, that he had neither ship, harbour, arms nor money; and, to complete their treason, they sent forth a third Remonstrance, in which they declared: “That they had an absolute right of declaring Law, as being the supreme court of the kingdom; and, whatsoever they declared to be so, ought not to be questioned by the King or any subject, &c.”

The mask was now taken off. The respectable part of the community were dispirited; and despaired of an accommodation. They saw the Monarchical power overthrown, and their just rights, and liberties, prostrate at the feet of a faction.—Many thought it unsafe, any longer to be present at the consultations of the House, and retired from Parliament; so that in debates of the highset importance, not one fifth of the Members were pre-

SECTION sent; and, very often, in the house of Peers, not  
IV. more than twelve or thirteen were present.

CHAP. II.  
Commons  
preparations.

But the remaining Junto still retained the ascendant; and after publishing their NINETEEN PROPOSITIONS, which contained an entire subversion of our constitutional Monarchy, they proceeded to secure to themselves the means of supporting an army. Proposals were published for supplying horses, men, and ammunition; and all honest citizens were exhorted to bring in money, plate, &c. for the *maintenance of the public peace*, and the security of the *laws and liberties*. The pulpits were again profaned; and the disorderly preachers who flocked to London from all parts of the country, exhorted the people to promote "*this glorious cause and work of God*," and stigmatised those who refused, as "*accursed of God*." The result was extraordinary: and we are told, that in London, Middlesex, and Essex, the money, plate, rings &c. which were supplied, amounted to more than eleven millions Sterling.

Condition of  
the King.

In the mean time, the King who was attended at York with a splendid train of Nobility and Gentry, had made no preparations, except sending to Holland for a supply of arms. The whole Court were extremely averse to a war. Indeed, on both sides, there were many noble minded and patriotic men, who used their utmost influence to prevent so direful a calamity. But every effort was frustrated, and in such a manner as distinctly

marked the interposition of the MOST HIGH; and SECTION  
shewed that the nation was now doomed to suffer IV.  
the punishment of its perverseness and folly. Ev- CHAP. II.  
erything was overruled. The King, who discovered great military talents, had laid a scheme for the recovery of the fleet; which, if accomplished, might have prevented the war; but it was defeated by the delay of a few hours, in Sir John Pennington, who had received a Commission from the King, to supersede the Earl of Northumberland as High Admiral. This delay which was caused by a trifling mistake, enabled the Parliament to issue an ordinance, empowering the Earl of Warwick to take the command of the fleet, which he executed with great dexterity and resolution.

The voice of warning, almost of prophecy, was proclaimed to the House of Commons, and the whole Nation, by two of its most distinguished members, whose breasts seemed to have been imbued with the truest sentiments of honor and love of their Country. Their names must be recorded—Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and I wish I could find room for their declarations, one example must suffice:—"We must," said the former, "surrender up our laws, liberties, properties, and lives, into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have; and reason, and justice, and honour will leave our land. The ignoble will rule the noble: baseness shall be pre-

The voice of  
reason rejected.

SECTION IV. Of a potent people, we shall make ourselves weak, and, become the instruments of our own ruin.—

CHAP. II.

We shall burn our own houses, waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins and eat our own bowels. You will hear other sounds than those of drums and trumpets—the clattering of armour,—the roaring of guns—the groans of wounded and dying men—the shrieks of women, the lamentations of widows and the cries of orphans. I wish the Duke of Bohun's observation may prove a caution, not a prophecy: '*England is a great creature which cannot be destroyed but by its own hands,*' "

The Commons encouraged by false surmises.

But in vain. The popular and innovating leaders believed the King could not make any effectual resistance. Sir Benjamin Rudyard, on his death bed, declared, that Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, both told him, that they thought the King so ill beloved by his people, that he never could be able to raise an army to oppose them—a fatal mistake, which encouraged them to confirm all their past actions, by a final resolution on the twelfth of July, to raise an army; and by this resolve, to hasten the destruction of themselves, their King, and their Country.

The King in perplexity.

Whilst the Parliament was thus determined and prepared for immediate action, the King was uncertain what course to pursue. Without a garri-son, with only one ship, which had arrived from

Holland, without soldiers, without money, he made use of his abilities; and endeavoured by policy or stratagem, to gain possession of Hull, which contained a valuable Magazine of Arms; but after wasting much time in the attempt, he was entirely baffled and obliged to relinquish it. What course he could next have adopted, it is impossible to say; but it was decided for him by the governor of Portsmouth, Colonel Goring, who declared in his favour.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

Every thing on both sides was now in motion. The Parliamentary army under Sir William Waller immediately besieged Portsmouth. The King despatched the Marquis of Hertford into the West, with many others of the Nobility and Gentry of those parts, to raise an army and relieve Portsmouth, whilst he proceeded to raise the ROYAL STANDARD at Nottingham, a ceremony which was to take place on the twenty-second of August—that day, so important to the Royal cause, was discouraging and inauspicious. No concourse of people appeared in obedience to the royal Proclamation. No military array attended the King on his arrival. The train-bands of the town were his only guard.—The sky was dark and the wind tempestuous. The ceremony took place, about six o'clock in the evening, when the King in person, with a slender train proceeded, on horseback, to the Castle Hill. The Standard was borne by Sir Richard Verney, the Knight Marshal, who fixed

The scene of war opens.

## SECTION IV.

## CHAP. II.

it in its appointed place, attended with the beating of drums and the flourish of trumpets. All this was sufficiently discouraging: but what followed was still more so; for, in the night, the Standard was blown down by the violence of the tempest, which raged for several days with unabating fury, and effectually baffled every attempt to replace it; as if heaven intended to presage by such a demonstration, the storm of vengeance, of blood and fury which was about to desolate the kingdom, as well as to foretel the disastrous result in the overthrow of the Royal Authority.

The King's resolution.

Such was the hopeless condition of the King's affairs at this period, that after sending a conciliatory message to both Houses, which was received with insolence, he was *unanimously* advised by his Counsellors, to hasten to London and throw himself upon the good-will of Parliament. The King was left alone in his resolution, not to adopt a course, which would have been fatal to the British Constitution. But the King, in order to remove from himself all imputation of blame, or, as he expresses it, "*so amply to perform his duty, that God would absolve him from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt,*" he despatched the admirable Lord Falkland to Parliament, with an earnest entreaty, to consider the miserable condition of their country, and to proceed to an amicable adjustment of their differences.

## SECTION IV.

## CHAP. II.

But the Parliament were too confident in the strength of their resources to listen to any overtures that fell short of an absolute surrender; and, after publishing a formal declaration of war, they proceeded to exercise their usurpation of the sovereign authority, in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner. The Nobility and Gentry were committed to prison with every circumstance of cruelty and inhumanity; many of the Clergy and Laity, who would not rebel against their Bishop, nor abandon their King, were imprisoned on board the ships in the Thames, and confined like galley slaves under the decks; whilst disorderly and ignorant preachers filled the pulpits, inflaming the minds of the people, and preaching sedition and rebellion. The Lord Montague of Boughton a venerable Nobleman of unblemished reputation, and eighty years of age, for expressing himself dissatisfied at their proceedings, was seized and committed to prison; where he remained to the day of his death: whilst the common people, imitating the example of their leaders, plundered the houses of the loyal and well-affected; and treated the inmates with every indignity.

The Commons tyranny

But these violent proceedings were of great advantage to the Royal cause. Every person of respectability, not contaminated with sectarian, republican or selfish principles, saw, that there was no safety for their lives and fortunes, but in the support of the Regal Power: and accordingly,

serves the Royal cause.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. every man hastened to his post. The King's levies advanced in an extraordinary manner, and at the end of fifteen days, he found himself at the head of a brave and determined army.

Northampton the rendezvous of the Parliament. In the mean time, the Parliament having all the arms and ammunition of the kingdom at their disposal, had equipped an army of fifteen thousand effective men; and on the ninth day of September, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, they left London under the command of the Earl of Essex. At Barnet, they met the venerable Lord Montague, on his way to London as a prisoner; and the Earl of Essex courteously stopped his coach with a design to salute him: but the old Lord immediately ordered his coachman to drive on, saying: "This is not a time for compliments," a rebuke, which it is said, gave a sensible check to the towering confidence of the General; who proceeded towards Northampton, the rendezvous of the Parliamentary forces.

Princes Rupert and Maurice. Whilst the King was at Nottingham, he was joined by his nephews the two sons of the Count Palatine of the Rhine. Prince Rupert, was about twenty three years of age, and was appointed General of the Horse. He had been trained to arms from his childhood, and was of a high and enterprising spirit. He had every qualification of a good soldier—he was brave, vigilant and temperate. But his manners were rough, and his temper impetuous. The former, rendered him less

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. agreeable to his companions in arms; and the latter, less successful in securing the advantages of many a well fought field. His brother, Prince Maurice, was equally eminent for his undaunted bravery and greatness of mind; and more beloved for the gentleness of his mind, and the courteousness of his manners; and never, perhaps, were two Princes born to see a greater variety of fortune, or to perform more heroic achievements.

The King having made the best arrangements in his power, proceeded on his way to Shrewsbury: and, in order to impress upon all men the justice of his cause, and the sincerity of his intentions, he made the following Protestation at the head of his army, from the statements of which, he never swerved during the whole of this arduous contest: "I do promise in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the land, to my utmost power; and particularly, to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me, this Parliament. When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid nor relief from any man nor protection from Heaven. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing."

The King was received on his march through Derby and Stafford, with every demonstration of loyalty and affection; and entered Shrewsbury on the twentieth of September. Hearing that the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

Earl of Essex was marching upon Worcester, he sent Prince Rupert with part of the Horse towards that place; who, advancing as far as Powick Bridge, fell in with a body of the Parliamentary horse, under the command of Colonel Sandys.—The Prince though wearied with a long march, hesitated not to engage, and made a desperate assault upon the enemy as they debouched from a narrow lane; and after a sharp encounter, entirely defeated them. This was the first engagement of any moment, and proved of great advantage to the King.

The first engagement.

The fugitives everywhere proclaimed the valour of Prince Rupert, and the courage of his troops; and though the number of slain was considerable, yet very few of that select body, ever returned to the war. But the Parliament, to prevent the injurious consequences of such a decisive affair, had recourse to the most odious falsehoods—published it as a victory on their side; and even proceeded to the impiety of proclaiming a solemn thanksgiving, for such an auspicious beginning of the war.\*

The King's popularity.

The King's forces daily increased, and wherever he appeared his presence inspired universal admiration and esteem. His followers were animated with an admirable devotion to the cause in which they were engaged. The university of Oxford with a most munificent promptness, laid all

\* Sir William Dugdale.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

their treasures of plate and money, at his feet; an example which was followed by the private individuals of his party. But after all their efforts, their army was insufficiently equipped; even the officers were badly accoutred; and some of the common soldiers were even armed with cudgels. But it was a gallant band, and was destined, by its courage and energy, to maintain the Constitutional Monarchy, and liberties of England. The King's troop of Guards was composed of gentlemen of quality; and it is said, that the estates of that single Corps, were equal to the revenues of all those who then passed for the Lords and Commons of England in Parliament.

With this army, consisting of ten thousand men, the King determined to march towards London, and had advanced into Oxfordshire as far as Banbury, which he summoned to surrender. Whilst he was preparing to enforce his summons, he was informed that the Earl of Essex had reached Keinton, within ten miles of him, and immediately gave orders to march in that direction. When his army arrived at Edge Hill, which affords an extensive prospect of the adjoining country, he beheld the enemy drawn out in the valley, making preparations for battle. Being asked what he intended to do, he answered with great spirit, "I am resolved to fight: God, and all good men, assist my righteous cause!"

Battle of Edge Hill, A. D. 1642.

## SECTION

IV.  
CHAP. II.In favor of  
the King.

The Earl of Lindsey, as Commander in chief, was with the main body on foot. Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and General Wilmot, the left; whilst the King, attended by the Prince of Wales, every where animated the troops with his presence. The battle commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon. The attack of the King's Cavalry was irresistible; and both wings of the Parliamentary army were entirely routed: and, had not the pursuit been imprudently extended, the victory would have been decisive. But the Earl of Essex, who, on that day omitted nothing that could be expected from a wise and cautious General, perceiving the mistake, led on the main body, and made a vigorous attack upon the King's Foot. The contest was maintained with great courage and obstinacy on both sides. Sir Richard Verney, Knight Marshal was slain, and the Royal standard taken: but the King, sword in hand, heading his troops, led on the assault, and the Standard was recaptured. But the Royal cause suffered a great loss, in the death of the Earl of Lindsey, who was mortally wounded in the heat of the battle. Both armies maintained their positions and remained in the field all night. In the morning, the Earl of Essex drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick; whilst the King returned to Banbury, which immediately yielded to his summons; and from thence he marched to Oxford, which he entered without opposition. Amongst

## SECTION

IV.  
CHAP. II.Falschood of  
the Commons.

the slain of the Parliamentary army were found the bodies of several Romish Priests; and Sir William Dugdale relates, that Oliver Cromwell who had the command of a troop of horse in this engagement was so terrified at the onset of Prince Rupert's horse, that he fled from the field. The Parliament as on the former occasion, published a false representation of the conflict; and ordered a day of thanksgiving for their glorious victory! So nearly allied are cowardice and falschood to mean ambition and unrighteous designs!

Their hypocrisy was soon manifest; for, whilst they were returning thanks for their victory, they were in reality, greatly embarrassed by the King's success; and determined to negotiate with the Scots for their aid and assistance. The Privy Council of that nation by the desire of the General Assembly had already sent a form of their Kirk Government to the Parliament at Westminster, which they declared to be "*jure Divino*," and "perpetual," with a recommendation "that England would now bestir themselves, and extirpate the Prelatical Hierarchy."

But whilst the Commons were intent upon this business their alarm was greatly increased, when the King, quitting Oxford, advanced to Reading, which submitted on his approach. Commissioners were immediately sent with a petition from both Houses to enter into a treaty—a proposition which the King graciously and promptly

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

received; but whatever adjustment might have followed, it was frustrated by the impetuous valour of Prince Rupert, who advanced with the horse and dragoons, without the King's orders, as far as Hounslow, where he was in danger of being surrounded by the Parliamentary forces. The King was, therefore, obliged to bring up the main body of his army, to Brentford: an engagement ensued in which the Royal arms prevailed and took five hundred prisoners, fifteen cannon, and a great store of arms and ammunition. But the Commons turned their defeat into victory, by exclaiming against the perfidy of the King for attacking their forces during a cessation of arms; and pretended that no treaty could be negotiated whilst his army was in the precincts of the City. The King who was sincerely anxious for an honorable peace drew off his forces and retired to Reading, from whence he addressed the Parliament. But to no purpose, their object was gained by the withdrawal of the King's army, and they applied themselves to the raising of money for future operations. The King having disposed his garrisons with great military skill, retired to Oxford into winter quarters.

The King's  
conduct.

His next care was to address the Council of Scotland, in which he gives an ample account of his affairs, reminding them of their obligations, and warning them against listening to the misrepresentations of Parliament. At the same time,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

he addressed a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton, in which he stands forth as the sublime personification of the cause which he sustained; and which shews how justly entitled he is to the veneration of all British subjects to the latest posterity. After some general expressions of kindness which he entertained for this dark and treacherous man, he proceeds: "I have set up my rest upon the JUSTICE of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will be either a GLORIOUS KING or a PATIENT MARTYR. One thing more, (which but for the messenger were too much to trust to paper) the failing to one friend, the Earl of Strafford, hath indeed gone very near to me; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like; upon this ground I am certain, that God hath either so totally forgiven me, that he will still bless this good cause in my hands; or all my punishment shall be in this world, which, without performing what I have resolved, I cannot flatter myself will end here."

The year was now drawing towards its close; and in the month of December, the Earl of Newcastle, who had been making great exertions in the Royal cause, passed the River Tees, and formed a junction with the Earl of Cumberland. This nobleman was of a brave and romantic spirit, but too much devoted to soft and elegant pleasures. He affected great style and magnificence in his

Earl of New-  
castle enters  
the contest.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

camp; and, though punctual in the discharge of the ordinary duties of a soldier, he would not allow the self-denying duties of a General to interfere with his refined gratifications. Even in the camp, the soldier was sacrificed to the gentleman, and the solemn exercise of arms was made subservient to the indulgence of pleasure. After several skirmishes with the enemy he advanced with an army of ten thousand men.

Sir Ralph  
Hopton.

Landing of  
the Queen.

In the mean time Sir Ralph Hopton, a most valiant and laborious General had secured the whole of Cornwall to the King's interest, and defeated the Parliamentary forces with great slaughter, at Bradock Down, near Leskeard, whilst Prince Rupert took Cirencester by storm.

At this juncture the Queen landed at Burlington Bay, and was met by the Marquis of Montrose, who informed her upon the most certain intelligence, that the Scots were secretly preparing an army, for the invasion of England. But this seasonable information was lost to the King by the interference of the arch-traitor the Marquis of Hamilton, who rode after the Queen to York; and made such representations as induced her to disbelieve the statements of Montrose, and he such protestations of his fidelity and attachment to the Royal cause, that he was shortly after raised to the honor of a Dukedom by his grateful and too confiding master.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

The Earl of Argyle and his adherents in Scotland, were left to pursue their designs without opposition and the unconscious Queen pursued her journey to join her betrayed husband, who, at that time was engaged in a correspondence with the Parliament, which afterwards ended in a cessation of arms and a treaty at Oxford. But whilst a treaty was negotiating, the fruits of Hamilton's treachery appeared: Commissioners from Scotland arrived at Oxford, from the Privy Council and the General Assembly. These were Lord Loudon and Mr. Henderson. The petition expressed, as usual, their loyalty and respect, but strongly and pathetically urged the King to a unity in Religion and conformity in Church Government; and insisted that there never could be any solid ground for peace and security until the "*Mountain of Prelacy*" should be removed. Lord Loudon used every argument to induce the King to yield to the wishes of his brethren; but when he found the King could not be moved to violate his conscience, from motives of convenience and advantage, he desired his Majesty *to send out precepts to summon a Parliament, in Scotland*, which the King refused, on the ground, that he saw no reason to break through a particular Act of Parliament which had fixed the meeting of that Assembly in June, 1644.

The treaty of Oxford now proceeded. But to no purpose, as the Parliamentary Commissioners

Treaty of  
Oxford, March  
A. D. 1643.

SECTION IV. insisted upon the same fundamental changes in Church and State which they had done from the beginning. Nothing could exceed the attention of the King to the subjects under debate; and, to use the words of one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, "in this treaty the King discovered his great parts and abilities, strength of reasoning and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing all objections; and would himself sum up the arguments and give a most clear judgment upon them."\*

Death of  
Lord Brooke.

The treaty broke up on the fifteenth day of April; and on that very day several other military transactions took place in different parts of the country, one of which must be mentioned because it put an end, in rather a remarkable manner to the career of Lord Brooke one of the most determined of the innovating leaders. It is the more necessary to notice the circumstances attending his death, because it will discover that in some of the leaders there was a strong tincture of fanaticism, which will account for the mixed character of the attack which was soon made on the Constitution in Church and State. I do not mean to infer that all Lord Brooke's religion consisted in fanaticism. But whatever were his views of Christianity they were carried beyond the boundaries of a wholesome moderation, altogether inconsistent with the holy, humble, and rational

\* Whitelock.

statements of Revelation, and, on that account productive of danger to the individual, and to the society of which he was a member.

This nobleman was on his march to attack the "Close" in Lichfield; a place which included the Cathedral, and a fortification of great strength. Before leaving Coventry, he ordered his Chaplain to preach from the words of Esther, "If I perish, I perish;" and, when within a short distance of Lichfield he commanded a halt; and in a long extempore prayer entreated: "*That God would by some special token manifest his approbation of their design, that if the cause was not right and just, he might presently be cut off.*" He advanced immediately to the attack, and having placed his cannon opposite the south east gate of the "Close," he stationed himself at the window of an adjoining cottage to give directions to the gunners. On a sudden shout raised by the soldiery, he ran to the door, just at that moment, when a ball which had been shot by a deaf and dumb boy, glancing on a piece of timber entered his eye, and piercing his brain, he sunk dead on the spot! A circumstance the more remarkable, as he was completely armed in mail, and received the fatal bullet in the only vulnerable part. The place which soon after surrendered, was re-taken by Prince Rupert, who on his march had a sharp encounter with the people of Birmingham, whom he defeated; but in the action fell the brave and loyal Earl of Denbigh,

Death of the  
Earl of Denbigh

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. and left his Earldom to his son Lord Feilding who served in the Parliamentary army, and was destined to act a prominent part in many of the scenes which followed. It was also during the siege of Lichfield, that the King addressed a letter to the Prince, and which deserves to be written in gold; and to be set forth as a splendid example of Royal clemency to all the Kings and Governors of the earth. He endeavours to restrain the natural impetuosity of the Prince, and tells him "to have a care of shedding innocent blood, to shew mercy, and endeavour, rather to take his subjects' affections, than their towns; that all his hostile actions might appear to be necessitated and not at all desired." He advised him "to imitate himself, in carrying his affections and intentions to his subjects, as to friends that might be reconciled; since it shewed a Prince more near to heaven, to preserve than to destroy," declaring, "he desired nothing but the happiness and peaceable government of his kingdom, and not the effusion of the blood of his subjects. Mercy being the highest attribute of a King."

Death of  
Hampden.

We must notice in this place, the skirmish at Chalgrave-field near Thane, in Oxfordshire, because it was there, the famous Hampden one of the original and principal conspirators against the Constitution, paid the forfeit of his life.

It was on a Saturday evening in the month of June, that Prince Rupert with a select body of

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. horse, left Oxford, with a design of surprising the enemy's quarters in the neighbourhood of Thane, where the Earl of Essex was encamped with all his army. Having rapidly passed beyond all the enemy's quarters as far as Wickham, he wheeled round and entirely cut off a regiment of foot and horse quartered in that place, and advancing further, within two miles of the General's camp where his men lodged in the same security, he met with the same success. The sun was now rising; and the Prince, having performed what he had projected, and being laden with prisoners and booty, gave orders to return with all convenient speed. But the alarm was now spread, and the Earl of Essex immediately dispatched some of his troops to amuse the Prince with skirmishes, till he could bring up his remaining forces. Meanwhile, Prince Rupert had nearly passed Chalgrave-field, and was upon the point of entering a narrow lane, when he descried a body of the enemy's horse in full pursuit. The Prince drew up and awaited the charge, which was made with great intrepidity; but the Prince prevailed and pursued the enemy to the main body of the General. In this fight Hampden fell—not covered with honorable wounds, but by the bursting of his own pistol, which shattered his arm in such a dreadful manner, that, after lingering a few days in great torture, he expired. It is worthy of observation, that on the morning of his death, he discovered

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

greater impatience than usual, to repel the attack of the enemy. Such, indeed, was his anxiety, to chastise the insolence of the Prince, that he would not wait for the slower movement of his own men, who were foot soldiers, but mounting his horse, placed himself as a volunteer amongst the Cavalry; and it is still more remarkable, that he fell on that very plot of ground, where he had put in execution the unconstitutional ordinance of Parliament respecting the militia. He was an extraordinary person; of great industry, and untiring vigilance, eminent abilities and undaunted courage; and, would have been the boast of his country, had he not been an innovator on its institutions; or, had he been satisfied when such a reformation had been obtained, as secured the free working of the constitution. But he had no relentings; and was determined to accomplish the revolution, which, in conjunction with other bold spirits, he had projected, and perished in the attempt, with the merited reprobation of all, who esteem the British Constitution the glory and excellency of their country.

The King's affairs still prospered; and it would require a history to do justice to the gallant exploits performed by Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Earl of Carnarvon, who, after triumphing in many a field, obtained a most decisive victory over the Parliamentary forces, under Sir W. Waller at Roundaway Down about thirty miles from Oxford.

Earl of Carnarvon.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

At this juncture, it pleased God to afford one short hour of consolation and repose to the pious Monarch, before he should be delivered to the lust and cruelty of the basest and most ignoble of mankind. The Queen, who as we have seen, had landed at Burlington, had now proceeded as far as Burton-on-Trent, at the head of four thousand men, commanded by Colonel Cavendish; and, on the very day of the victory at Roundaway, was met by the King, who conducted her to Oxford.

Bristol soon after surrendered to the Royal arms under Prince Maurice, which gave the full tide of prosperity to the King's affairs, and placed him almost in a situation of dictating terms of peace. But he was the same unruffled, indulgent Prince, and published a declaration couched in the most honourable and conciliating terms. It was read and admired by all men and applauded "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his Majesty's clemency and justice;" and peace had now inevitably taken place, had it not been for those designing and flagitious agitators, many of whom had sprung up with the times, and, who saw that such an event would frustrate all their hopes of confusion and plunder. Every effort was, therefore, made to prevent the vote of the two Houses for peace, being carried into effect. The seditious Preachers next day, filled all the pulpits with alarms of ruin and destruction to the city, if peace were now offered to the King—they

Crisis of the King's prosperity.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. even invented the falsehood that *twenty thousand Irish Rebels had just landed*; and printed papers were placarded, stating that the *malignant* party had outvoted the GODLY; and, if not prevented, a peace would take place injurious to their liberties, religion, and laws. But why should I enlarge? Their arts prevailed. Many of the more honourable Members of Parliament retired, and the propositions of peace were rejected. This was evidently the crisis of the Civil War; and the only time when a reconciliation was practicable; because, it was the only time that the Parliament was sincere in its proposals for peace. From this time, a new era begins—the nation is given up to follow vicious counsels, until, after a long period of suffering, arising from the inroads of fanatical violence and military despotism, it should desire the re-establishment of its monarchical government on its ancient foundations.

Suddenly  
changes.

The aspect of affairs now rapidly changed. A council of war was held at Bristol, the result of which was, that Prince Maurice and the Earl of Carnarvon marched into the West, and the King towards Gloucester, which he besieged; a circumstance which afforded Parliament sufficient time to recover from its fears—compose their differences and recruit their army: and it is remarkable as discovering an overruling hand inflicting a just chastisement on a rebellious nation, that the siege was undertaken contrary to the judgment of the

King and all his Officers, being brought on by the insolent answer sent by the Governor to his Majesty's summons: nor would the siege have proved such a fatal error, had it not been protracted by the secret ambition of the Earl of Newcastle, who, from his hitherto unchecked prosperity, began to think himself the destined deliverer of his country, so that, when the King sent him a command to leave the siege of Hull, and form a junction with his own forces, he pretended that his principal Officers were unwilling to march till they had effected the reduction of that place.

Whilst the King was thus wasting his strength before Gloucester, the most active exertions were made by Parliament; and in the month of August, the Earl of Essex marched to the relief of that place. The King retired on his approach, and drew off his forces to Evesham, intending to cut off the General's retreat: but the Earl of Essex under cover of a dark night, passed the King's army, and was twenty-four hour's march in advance, before his movements were discovered.—Prince Rupert was immediately dispatched, with five thousand horse, to overtake and divert the enemy, till the main army could be brought up. He marched day and night over the hills; and accomplished his orders with incredible celerity: for, before the van of the Parliamentary Army had cleared Auburn chase, intending to reach Newbury that night, the Prince's cavalry unexpectedly

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. Military  
movements in  
September,  
A. D. 1643.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. appeared, and attacked their rear with such impetuosity, that although they fought like brave men, they were thrown into disorder, and a great number of their bravest men were slain. By this sudden encounter, the enemy was delayed till the King arrived, with his army and cannon. Such also, had been his expedition, that when the Earl of Essex had advanced from Hungerford with the hope of gaining Newbury, he found the King's infantry had been in possession of it some hours.

Battle of  
Newbury.

The next morning the Earl of Essex, drew up his forces in excellent order. The battle raged from six o'clock in the morning, till the shades and darkness of night intervened, and was maintained with equal bravery on both sides. The King and Queen were both spectators of this well fought field, which though not decisive, was still in the King's favour: for, he remained in possession of the field, pursued the enemy next day, with great execution, and relieved the garrison of Reading. On the other hand, the whole enterprise, from his leaving London to the relief of Gloucester, and his return with the remnant of his army, was conducted by the Earl of Essex with admirable conduct and courage. On the King's side, fell the Earl of Sunderland, a young nobleman of the greatest promise; and his Majesty experienced a still greater loss in the death of the Earl of Carnarvon, one of the best educated and most accomplished noblemen of his day. But his

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. great endowments were sullied and corrupted by the too eager pursuit of pleasure. His energies, however, were roused at the approach of war.— He disengaged himself from the ignominious bondage of licentious pleasures, and stood forth, in all the manliness and freedom of virtue. He devoted himself to the duties of his profession. He was active, brave, laborious, and severe. He was endowed also with great presence of mind, which enabled him to make the best of every advantage in the hour of danger.

But the greatest loss of all, on the King's side, was that of the incomparable Lord Falkland. The Death of Lord Falkland. He was a patriot indeed! In the commencement A. D. 1643. of the struggle between the King and Parliament, no man laboured more strenuously to secure the liberty of the subject and the privilege of Parliament. But such was his integrity, that when the leaders ceased to be honest, he never failed to express his abhorrence of their perfidy. After the war broke out, he never left the side of his royal master, and, whenever any overture of an accommodation was made, after a short silence, as if lost in thought, he would heave a deep sigh, and in melancholy accents, he would ingeminate the word PEACE, PEACE! and would often say, *that the agony of the war, and the calamities of his Country, robbed him of his sleep, and would shortly break his heart.* Yet no person was more bold in danger, or of keener courage in the day of battle.

SECTION V.  
CHAP. II. On the morning of his death, his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from engaging in the fight, as he was not a military Officer; but, he declared: *He was weary of the times, and foresaw the greatest misery to his Country; and firmly believed he should escape from it, before night.* He was in his thirty-fourth year; and, to use the words of a contemporary writer: "had so well dispatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency."

Invasion of the Scots, and The Parliament, with all the supplies of the kingdom at its command, must now have yielded to the superior courage, and constitutional loyalty of the country, had they not called to their assistance, the Scots whom they had already propitiated by calling an assembly of Divines at Westminster, for the settlement of Ecclesiastical affairs. But there were great difficulties in the way. The Scots had been well paid for their past services: they had been gratified in every request they had made, and they had nothing left to wish, except a vehement desire for the universal establishment of Presbyterianism.

Their famous Covenant. The Parliament was aware of their "ruling passion." Sir H. Vane the most subtle and contemptible of the leaders, undertook the embassy with other Commissioners; and the Scots, although bound by the most solemn engagements to the maintenance of Peace, called a convention of the

Estates, and entered into a treaty with Parliament, which they entitled: "A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT for the reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the King, and the safety of the three Kingdoms." SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

The league and covenant, on its arrival in London, was dispatched to their "assembly of Divines" at Westminster, who had long been purged by persecutions and desertions, of all its loyal, constitutional and episcopal members: and the whole assembly was entirely at the devotion of Parliament. After a short debate, they concluded upon the "lawfulness and piety" of the Covenant, and the twenty-fifth of September, was appointed for its formal ratification. On that day, the two houses and the members of the assembly met in St. Margaret's Church. The covenant was eulogized "as the most extraordinary instrument that was ever executed:" intended, "to advance the kingdom of Christ here on earth, and make Jerusalem, once more, the praise of the whole earth." Future events have shewn how little of these extravagant expectations were to be accomplished. In fact, it was a solemn farce; and the principal actors did not believe a word of these statements. We are acquainted with the private sentiments of many of them, and Sir H. Vane, the chief promoter of the Covenant, is known to have entertained an entire abhorrence of the Presbyterians and their Covenant! Nor will the stubborn facts of history

Approved by  
the Assembly,  
and ratified by  
Parliament.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

permit us to think more favorably of it. Through the power and influence of their Scotch friends, the Presbyterian Divines were now in the ascendant; and, we must judge of men from their actions. Men may entertain correct notions of christian doctrine and be sincere in maintaining them; but if they act under the impressions of a mistaken or disordered judgment, their character and conduct will, in like proportion, be depraved. Making, therefore, the most charitable allowances for the Presbyterian ministers, and giving them credit for sincerity, we must conclude that they acted under the impression of a perverted judgment. But whether this was the moving cause of their actions, or, whether they were actuated by more selfish and wicked motives, all their prophetic hallucinations were *brought to nought*, by Him who abhorred their rebellion; and who intended to rebuke "their madness" by results so monstrous, and so entirely at variance with their anticipations, that the extravagance of their folly might be fully manifest, and stand forth as an example to all generations.

Persecution  
of the Clergy.

Havoc was now made of the unoffending clergy. the Covenant was ordered to be read in all the churches and became the test of orthodoxy. The rights of conscience were thrown to the winds; and thousands of the clergy were ejected from their homes without provision, and thrown upon the world, for adhering to the Church and King.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

Never, surely, was there a more barbarous and cruel persecution; and it would require a History to do justice to their privations and sufferings. Nor is it possible, at the same time, to overlook the character of their punishment. It was evidently the chastisement of a DIVINE HAND inflicting upon them a just retribution for the sins of their prosperity—for their pride and intolerance—their formalism and lukewarmness.

But the obstinate and fanatical spirit which inspired their persecutors, was not to be satiated with confiscations and imprisonments, but demanded a more horrible sacrifice—the life of the innocent and venerable Archbishop whose exemplary patience and meekness during four years of close imprisonment, might have disarmed the hostility of the most savage and untutored heathens. Perhaps never was there a more wanton thirsting for blood. His power and influence were gone. Even the very order of Episcopacy was abolished, and he was a prisoner in their own custody. But no matter. The unrelenting spirit of Presbyterianism must be appeased; and he was brought forth from his dungeon to ratify the sanctity of the Covenant, with the spectacle of his Trial and Execution. The former was a mockery—the latter was a glorious exhibition of every quality which can adorn the Christian and the Martyr.

Trial of the  
Archbishop.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The House of Lords in vain endeavoured to find out the crime of High Treason of which he was accused. They referred his case to the Judges, who unanimously pronounced him "not guilty." But in the eyes of his accusers he was guilty of one unpardonable crime—of having been an *Archbishop*.

His Martyr  
dom.

When he reached the scaffold, he appeared as if he came to celebrate a triumph. He spoke for some time with great clearness and composure, prefacing his discourse with the words of the Apostle: "Let us run with patience the race set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." Then calmly approaching the block, he said: "God's will be done." At this moment, the venerable sufferer, was rudely accosted by Sir John Clotworthy, who put some impertinent question to him, which he answered with all christian meekness, and turning to the executioner, he gave him money, saying: "honest friend, God forgive thee, I do: and do thou thy office upon me with mercy." Then laying his head upon the block, and praying silently to himself, he cried aloud, "Lord receive my soul;" and at one blow his head was severed from his body.

Thus perished Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the hands of lawless violence and religious intolerance, as the instruments of Him who hath said: "*Vengeance is mine I will*

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

*repay.*" By a mistaken zeal for uniformity he had exercised harsh and unsparing judgments; and had attempted to establish his power by maintaining arbitrary and tyrannical principles; than which, nothing can be more repugnant to the maxims of christianity, or, more odious to the just and indulgent Father of the Universe. But whilst it pleased God in this public manner to punish him for the rash exercise of a public trust which had been committed to him, he did not forsake his servant in the hour of trial; but encouraged and supported him by his presence. His zeal became more tempered with charity. His piety more adorned with humility; and, his ardour more chastised with patience. So that, whatever may have been the faults of his administration, he came forth from the trial like gold which had been purified in the fire; and we are compelled to exclaim on reviewing his character: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright for the end of that man is peace!"

The trial of the Archbishop was ushered in by the death of another of the principal leaders of the Commons. In the beginning of the contest he was, what every man should be, a strenuous assertor of the public liberty; but he degenerated with the times, and became the most determined and implacable opponent of all accommodation between the King and Parliament. He had a principal share in all the measures of his party;

The death of  
Mr. Pym.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. and was particularly solicitous, at this period, for the arrival of the Scots. But he was not permitted to welcome this dishonor upon his country. He was suddenly taken off to answer for his actions to Him who made him. Unfortunately, the circumstances of his death have not been clearly ascertained. Clarendon and others assert, that he was struck with the disease called "*Morbus Pediculosus*"—that he became a most loathsome spectacle, and died in great torment. *Rushworth* denies it. But be it as it may, his memory, as his actions, is execrable.

Rise of the  
Independents.

The Presbyterian, or, extreme Puritan party, through calling in the alliance of the Scots, was, as we have observed in the ascendant; but another faction was at work—virulent, republican, desperate. These were the "Independents" whose origin we have noticed in the reign of Elizabeth under the name of "Brownists." There were extremely few of these separatists, at that time, in London. Some of their Preachers sat in the Assembly of Divines, under the name of "the dissenting brethren," but uniting to themselves every wild enthusiast in politics and religion to which the times gave birth, the Hydra of the revolutionary mania embodied itself in this sect, and was destined, under its extraordinary leader to tread under its feet the towering fabric of Presbyterian intolerance.

Oliver Cromwell, of whom the reader has had a glance on one or two occasions, must now be brought more fully under review, as the person in whom the evil genius of the movement was to enshrine itself, and render itself visible to all posterity. He was the younger son of a gentleman of Huntingdon; and, after finishing his education, which, through his disgraceful idleness, left him almost as ignorant as it found him, he returned home, became notoriously profligate in his habits, and the ringleader of all that was base and disorderly in the neighbourhood of his father's residence.

In this state of mind, prepared for every extravagance, he came in contact with some ultra Puritans; and became a convert, not to the pure and simple dictates of christianity, but to all the peculiarities which those rigid enthusiasts had engrafted upon it. He became a religious votary—associated with the fanatical party—pretended to dreams, impulses, transports, and all the other concomitants of a fervid and distempered imagination. He was of a resolute and brutal temper, rough in conversation, restless and deceitful; but his distinguishing characteristic was a radical hypocrisy which served him on every emergency, and enabled him to triumph over all opposition.

In the commencement of the war, he was appointed Captain of a troop of horse: soon after,

Cromwell  
becomes a fanatic,

and a Soldier.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. he was made Colonel, and raised a body of 1000 horse, with which he scoured the county, harrassed the King's friends and obstructed his levies. Emboldened by his success, he advanced into Lincolnshire, and approaching Gainsborough, he countered a party of the King's forces under the brave and accomplished Colonel Cavendish, who fell in the action—the first illustrious victim to the fanatical zeal of Cromwell.

The Scots, who had received £100,000 as a foretaste of the liberality of Parliament, were now in motion, and General Lesley now Earl of Leven, who had solemnly sworn never to bear arms against the King, consented to take the command of their army. As a preparatory step, they published a long declaration insisting upon the "justness," "lawfulness," and "piety" of their invasion, although at variance with every principle of honor, and a direct violation of the late *act of pacification*.

Sir Thomas  
Fairfax and  
Colonel Monk.

Whilst the Scots, who had passed the Tweed on the fifteenth of January, were advancing, the fight of Nantwich, in Cheshire, took place, a relation of which must not be omitted, because it brings upon the stage two individuals, each destined to act a prominent part in subsequent events. The first was Sir Thomas Fairfax, who undertook to relieve Nantwich, besieged by Lord Byron for the King—a service which he performed with uncommon skill and bravery. Lord Byron

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. was obliged to retire to Chester, whilst all his cannon and stores, with fifteen hundred prisoners fell to the hands of the victors. Amongst the prisoners, was Colonel George Monk, who was sent to London, and confined for many years in the Tower. The first, soon after, became supreme General under the Parliament; and the other, at a later period, became the honored instrument of the Restoration!

Whilst the country was thus bleeding at every vein, the King and his adherents had recourse to another expedient for remedying these dreadful evils. A Proclamation, was issued by the King, for summoning to Oxford those members who had deserted the Parliament at Westminster. The summons was obeyed by all who had not the command of Regiments; and, when assembled, far out-numbered the miserable Junto who remained at St. Stephens. A letter was drawn up by them of the most conciliating and patriotic character, and despatched to the Earl of Essex, who, in return enclosed a copy of the "League and Covenant" with a declaration, made in conjunction with the Scots, of the most fanatical and profane description—affording another fatal example, that when men have once prevailed upon themselves to break through the plain and settled maxims of Christianity, and violated the plainest obligations of duty; whilst appealing to religion for support, they are deluded by the suggestions of a diseased

Parliament.  
at Oxford.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

~~~~~

imagination; and become exposed to all the evils of a presumptuous enthusiasm. As for the Earl of Essex himself, after the rejection of the Oxford Proposition, nothing but disappointment attended him to the day of his death.

The War proceeded with redoubled fury. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with all the vigor and activity of a successful General, had no sooner raised the siege of Nantwich than he hastened to form a junction with his father, Lord Fairfax, and the Scots under the Earl of Leven, who had undertaken the siege of York just after it had been reinforced by the Earl, now Marquis of Newcastle with a body of fifteen thousand men. The United Scots and Parliamentarians amounted to twenty-four thousand men. The siege had now lasted nine weeks, and the besieged were reduced to the last extremity. At such a juncture, Prince Rupert was the only person who could be relied upon; and the Marquis, who had formerly expressed an aversion to serve under him, wrote a letter to the King in which he said "he hoped his Majesty did believe that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of King James." But this was more a flourish of the pen, than a true expression of his mind. He still possessed that "haughty spirit" which can brook no rival, and which generally proves its own destruction. The open-hearted Prince no sooner received his Majesty's commands than,

Siege of York.  
A. D. 1644.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

~~~~~

Battle of  
Marston Moor.

leaving a brilliant series of martial exploits, the last of which was the capture of Liverpool, he hastened with his usual intrepidity to York, from which the confederates retired at his approach. But it did not suit the genius of a Prince who never asked when in pursuit of his enemies "how many" there were, but "where" they were, to rest satisfied with an empty appearance of triumph; and he resolved to pursue the enemy and give them battle. The Marquis of Newcastle was strongly opposed to this counsel: but the Prince being in command, prevailed. The two armies nearly equal in strength, were drawn up in battalia on Marston Moor, about three o'clock in the afternoon, on the second day of July. Never was a field of battle more bravely contested. The two Fairfaxes, and the Earl of Leven, with his Scotch mercenaries, were beaten out of the field by Prince Rupert, who commanded the left wing, and by Goring who led on the main battle; but to the ruin of the day they pursued their enemies too far. For the right wing which was led by the Marquis of Newcastle, being routed by the Earl of Manchester, who led the left of the enemy and not pursuing his advantage too far, he was enabled to prevent the Prince and Goring who had now returned, from rallying their forces, which, about ten o'clock at night, put an end to the conflict. Most writers assert that the honor of the day was due to the resolution and

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. management of Cromwell, Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester. But Hollis positively denies it; and gives that honor to Major General Crawford.

Extraordi-  
nary conduct  
of the Marquis.

But whilst the confederate army had the best of the day, the King's Generals were yet in a condition to have harrassed the enemy and driven them out of the country; and there can be no doubt but the firm union of these two great men would have turned the scale of victory on the King's side. But to the astonishment of all the world, the Marquis of Newcastle overcome with vexation of spirit broke up his camp; and, retiring with a few friends to Scarborough, took ship and ingloriously deserted his country. At the same instant, the Prince drew off his forces and retired to Chester.

After such a fatal disaster the termination of the war seemed inevitable. But the vigour and resources of the constitutional party, were yet far from being subdued, and they continued to maintain the struggle with incredible perseverance.

Military talent  
of the King.

The Parliament now determined to strike a decisive blow, and despatched the Earl of Essex and Sir W. Waller with two armies, each equal to that which attended the King at Oxford. The Parliamentary forces marched with great rapidity, and advanced as far as Woodstock and Newbridge, and effectually enclosed the King, so that his condition was desperate, and to all human appear-

ance, his Children and Counsellors and Army SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. were now in their possession. The King was even advised to capitulate, but he rejected the proposal with indignation, and said, that possibly he might be found in the hands of Essex, but not as a voluntary prisoner. Armed with this resolution, having ordered all things for the safety of the City, like a wise Counsellor and experienced commander, on the third of June, about nine in the evening, he marched out of the "North Port," with his horse and part of the foot, passed between the two armies without observation, and before day-break had reached Harborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. He pursued his march over the Cotswold, and, about midnight, found himself at Barton-upon-Water in Gloucestershire. The two Parliamentary armies were by this time in the pursuit. But the King reached Worcester in safety.

Essex finding it was impossible to overtake the King, was obliged to change his counsels; and Waller was ordered to attend his motions whilst he himself went to the relief of Lyme in Dorsetshire, besieged by Prince Maurice. The King had now accomplished his design, and divided the armies; and his great object was now to place himself in a condition to fight with Waller, who pursued him with his usual vigour and resolution. In order to accomplish this, he drew off his forces to Bewdley, keeping the Severn between himself and Waller's

Splendid  
martial ex-  
ploits.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

army, and made a feint as if he intended to march to Shrewsbury. Waller was deceived by this movement, and marched with all his forces in that direction. The King, immediately fell back upon Worcester and Evesham, where he arrived before Waller had any intelligence of his movements. From thence he advanced with his little army to Broadway, and early next morning mounted the hills at Cambden, where they found time to breathe, and to look, with satisfaction, over the difficult country through which they had passed. At Burford the King was met by all his infantry and cannon with transports of joy; and on Thursday, the twentieth of June, after having performed one of the most brilliant exploits recorded in military annals, he entered Oxford in triumph.

The King, in his turn, now went in pursuit of Sir W. Waller; the two armies came in sight of each other near Banbury, where Waller had possessed himself of an advantageous piece of ground. On perceiving this, the King by some dexterous movements, caused him to leave his position; and drew him into an action at Cropedy Bridge, where he was entirely disabled from further action, and with his shattered forces, he was compelled to retire to London for recruits.

Conduct of  
Essex.

In the mean time, the Earl of Essex having raised the siege of Lyme, was on his way to Exeter, where the Queen was confined to her room, having given birth on the sixteenth of June

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

to the Princess Henrietta, afterwards married to the Duke of Orleans. On hearing of the approach of Essex, her Majesty sent a messenger to him, to desire a safe conduct to Bath or Bristol, for the recovery of her health, which he sullenly refused; but offered her a convoy to London. This she could not accept, and removing from Exeter, on the fourteenth of July, she took shipping at Falmouth, and arrived safely at Brest.

But the unchivalrous conduct of Essex was to receive its just chastisement. The King alarmed at the danger of his Royal Consort, and having no enemy to contend with, resolved to pursue him, which he did with such rapidity and perseverance that he reached Exeter a few days after the Queen had left it, WHOM HE NEVER SAW AGAIN. He lost no time, but followed the Earl into Cornwall, where, enclosing him on every side, he was reduced to the utmost extremity, and the General himself, with his principal officers, having made their escape by sea, his army was obliged to surrender at discretion.

The army of  
the Earl of Es-  
sex destroyed.

The King on his return, was every where successful, and entertained the design of approaching London; but, having despatched the Earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse to the relief of Banbury, he was surprised by the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Manchester and Sir W. Waller, and obliged to give them battle under great disadvantages. The battle was

Second battle  
of Newbury.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

fought with great bravery on both sides; and continued from break of day till night, when the King, who had suffered much less than the enemy, continued his march upon Oxford, where, having strengthened his army, he returned to the field of the late conflict and offered battle, which was not accepted; and retiring with drums beating and colours flying, he ended the campaign by returning to Oxford.

Death of Sir  
Alexander Carew.

The clamour for peace was now so urgent, that the Parliament were obliged, for the sake of appearances, to consent to negotiate with the King, but not with the least intention of concluding a peace. But before the Commissioners could meet, the retributory judgment of the Most High fell upon several of the leaders and promoters of these calamities. The first, was Sir Alexander Carew who, from the beginning, had concurred with the Parliament in their most violent proceedings; and was deeply involved in the political murder of the Earl of Strafford. Such was his fury against that Nobleman, that he declared; *if he was sure to suffer next upon the same scaffold, and with the same axe, he would pass the bill against him.* He was now brought to trial for holding a correspondence with the King, with the intention of delivering up the citadel of Portsmouth. He was condemned to die, and on the twenty-third of December was brought to the scaffold on Tower hill, where with great remorse, he confessed his

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

"Pride and stout-heartedness," and suffering under the hand of the executioner, he remarkably fulfilled the terms of his imprecation, by dying the very next man on the same scaffold, and by the same axe, as the Earl of Strafford.

Next to him, suffered the two Hothams, Sir John and his Son, who might have prevented the whole war, had they opened the gates of Hull, at the summons of the King. Their refusal was the first act of treason, and a dreadful responsibility rested upon their heads. They were now condemned on slight grounds; one, for harbouring the Lord Digby in Hull, and the other, for a letter which he wrote to the Marquis of Newcastle, and being brought to the scaffold, they perished miserably in great abjectness of spirit, under circumstances of great hardship and cruelty.

Death of the  
two Hothams.

Nor did the Scotch escape the punishment which was due to their treachery and rebellion. The flame of civil war broke out, and raged with great fury throughout that Kingdom. The Marquis of Montrose, roused by the injustice of his countrymen, with a handful of men and even without arms, undertook the King's cause; and in a few months with almost miraculous success, won three remarkable battles, one at Perth, another at Aberdeen, and a third at Iverlogh. In short, he undertook such formidable enterprizes, prevailed in such desperate attempts, that his performances

The Earl of  
Montrose.

SECTION IV. partake of the fabulous ; and would require a distinct history to do them justice.

CHAP. II.

The treaty of  
Uxbridge.  
A. D. 1645.

In the mean time, Commissioners of the King and Parliament met at Uxbridge, on the thirtieth day of January, and after debating point by point for eighteen days, separated without coming to an agreement on any one proposition. Indeed, throughout the whole treaty, it is evident that there was not the least prospect of an adjustment, unless the King would have sacrificed his reason, his honour, and his country. The Parliament insisted upon the same fundamental changes, and did not allow their Commissioners any authority to depart from the letter of their instructions. An absurd story has gained a place in our history, as a solemn matter of fact, that the King the night previous to the breaking up of the treaty, had expressed a willingness to accede to the propositions of Parliament, but that his resolution was changed by a letter, which he received, during the night, from the Marquis of Montrose, detailing his victories in Scotland, and assuring his Majesty, that he would soon march to his assistance. Nothing can be more improbable. The Parliamentary Commissioners had not power to treat ; and had the King accepted their propositions as they were offered to him, they would, as effectually have deprived him of his crown and dignity, as they afterwards did, when they took away his life ; and to use the language of a writer, in no degree par-

SECTION IV. tial to the royal cause ; "It was more for his honor to resolve, THAT THE MONARCHY SHOULD NOT BE MURDERED BEFORE THE KING." \* CHAP. II.

The fury of the political tempest was now at its height—Strife and confusion, anarchy and licentiousness, confiscations and imprisonments and slaughters, with all their long train of aggravating evils, everywhere, prevailed. But the demon of the storm was at hand, who should, for a season, compose the discordant elements, and bring them under his control ; till awakening reason, resuming her just prerogative, should, by the force of her power, drive the usurper from his throne.

The "Independents" who at the commencement of the struggle, were few in number ; had now greatly augmented both their numbers and influence, and began, openly, to oppose the measures of the Presbyterian party. These last, were the allies of the Scots, who were for retaining the Monarchy, in conjunction with their idol, "the COVENANT." They had powerful leaders, Hollis, Stapleton, Glyn, Waller, Long, with all the Peers except the Lord Say. But nothing could withstand the resolute and pervading genius of Cromwell, who led the Independents. His compeers also were deep and subtle, and well-fitted to act their impious and desperate parts in the tragedy to be enacted—Fiennes, Vane, Hazlerigg, and Martin.

\* Complete History of England.

SECTION  
IV.

## CHAP. II.

Preparations  
of Cromwell.

Cromwell had already prepared the way for the ultimate triumph of his party. With the penetration of a master-mind he observed, that the King's success had hitherto been determined by the invincible courage of his cavalry. Searching into the grounds of this superiority, he discovered it to consist in a *sense of honor*, by which, as Gentlemen, they were inspired. He determined to create a counteracting power in his own soldiers: and instead of a sense of honor, with which it was impossible to inspire them, he studied to infuse into them the *Spirit of Fanaticism*. He chose from the swarming sectaries the greatest zealots, both as officers and men—employed preachers to instil the motives which he wished them to adopt—whilst he himself at their head, like another Mahomet pretended to divine impulses, and, imposing upon their zeal and credulity, he persuaded them to believe *that they engaged for God when he led them against the King; and that as it was God's cause, those who fell in battle, died in his favour*. Where this persuasion met with a natural courage it added ferocity to boldness; and, where natural courage was wanting, zeal supplied its place, and inspired an obstinacy which chose rather to die than yield.

His deep-laid  
plan.

Having thus prepared materials for his designs, his next object was to obtain an opportunity of putting them into execution. Accordingly a project was set on foot, for obtaining the command

SECTION  
IV.

## CHAP. II.

of the army. But the difficulties in the way seemed almost insurmountable. Three of the most able and popular men of the day, Essex, Manchester, and Waller, were to be removed. But all difficulties melted away before the deep laid schemes of the Independent leaders. They had recourse to their Divines and Preachers; and, having obtained the appointment of a solemn fast day, in which they would *SEEK GOD*—a phrase introduced with the Covenant—the pulpits were filled with alarming apprehensions of the divine displeasure against the pride and selfishness of the popular leaders, intimating “that God would take his own work into his hands, and if the instruments he had already employed, were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the troubles of the nation to a Godly period.”

The next day their Leaders in the Commons took up the theme, and Sir H. Vane, first, with an impiety, which one hopes has no parallel in the History of man, told the House—“that if God had ever appeared to man it was in the *exercises* of yesterday, and that it proceeded from the immediate spirit of God was plain, because all the Godly Preachers dwelt upon the same topic.”

Oliver Cromwell followed in the same hypocritical strain, not with greater subtilty: but

The Presby-  
terian leaders  
retire.

SECTION IV. by moving "that an ordinance be prepared to make it unlawful for any member of either House to hold any office in the army, or, any place in the State." This was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," and after a strenuous debate was carried in the affirmative; and like the sudden thunder-bolt, at one blow, it laid in ruins all the hopes and projects of those who had embarked in the cause of the Parliament. The Earls of Essex and Manchester, Sir W. Waller, and other Commanders, whose design was to humble and circumscribe the Monarchy; and, who, to gain the assistance of the Scots had consented to change the Ecclesiastical Regime, were obliged to lay down their commands and retire from the contest.

Army secured  
to Cromwell.

Cromwell, of course, like other officers of the army, was included in the provisions of the Ordinance—but it was never intended that he should comply with them. Immediately after the passing of the ordinance, he was despatched into the West to the relief of Taunton, and during his absence, as if totally unacquainted with the project, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new General, wrote a letter to the House to request, "that they would give leave to Lieutenant General Cromwell to stay with him *a few days* for his better information, without which he should not be able to accomplish what they expected from him." This was too reasonable a request to be denied; and,

being so easily obtained, it was soon followed by another request from the General—"that they would allow Cromwell to remain with him during that campaign." It is inconceivable how such men as Essex and Waller could allow themselves to be imposed upon by such shallow artifices—but their power was gone, and, by a just retribution they were doomed to see the fruits of their own rash and infatuated conduct. In the name of Fairfax, Cromwell new-modelled the army; and, for the future, conducted all the military transactions of the period.

A new scene now opens before us. Fairfax and Cromwell left Windsor Castle towards the end of April, to watch the motion of the King's army, and advanced to Oxford. To divert them from making any attempt on that place, the King invested the town of Leicester, which, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to yield to the desperate assaults of the Royal forces. Such a display of successful courage, gained the Royal army great reputation. The Parliament was astonished at the sudden news. The Royalists persuaded themselves that their triumph was not far distant; and the King himself, in a letter to the Queen, stated that "his affairs were never in a more hopeful condition." But alas! he was on the brink of ruin! He had done enough for his own honor and for the constitutional liberties of his country; and was about to be delivered up to

Conquest of  
Leicester.

SECTION IV. his enemies as a victim to lawless violence and fanatical fury.

CHAP. II.  
Battle of  
Naseby.

After the storming of Leicester, the King drew off his forces to Banbury, with the intention of guarding Oxford, and obtaining reinforcements from his Western army. But in this state of inactivity, he was surprised by the intelligence that Sir Thomas Fairfax was advancing towards him. He made the best preparations, with his diminished forces, to receive him; and drew up his army on an advantageous rising ground, about a mile south of Harborough. But receiving false intelligence, that the enemy had retired, he was induced to leave his position; and had scarcely proceeded on his march, when he beheld the enemy drawn up on a rising ground near Naseby.

The impatience of Prince Rupert could never endure the sight of an enemy, and, before the necessary arrangements could be made, led on the attack—overthrew Ireton's troops, and took him prisoner, with six pieces of cannon. Lord Astley at the head of his troop, had the same success, and threw the enemy into great disorder. But the left wing, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, advancing up the hill, were encountered by superior numbers, and put to flight by Cromwell, who despatching a portion of his horse to prevent them from rallying, turned round upon the King's foot, which, by this manœuvre were placed in a perilous situation. At this moment, the King

advanced at the head of his guards, which in all probability would have retrieved the loss of the left wing, when, on a sudden, the Earl of Carnarvon cried out to him "will you go upon your death in an instant?" at the same moment laying hold of his horse's rein, which turned him round; and, before the King could interfere, the word "turn to the right" went through the troops, which caused them to turn their backs upon the enemy, which, a moment before, they were about to charge. By this time, Prince Rupert had returned from his successful pursuit: but the moment was gone: the battle could not be restored, although the King with great hazard and magnanimity, made every effort to rally his forces, crying out: "one charge more and we recover the day." But it was all in vain. He was obliged to retire, and left Fairfax and Cromwell entire masters of the field.

The loss which the King sustained on this fatal day was irreparable: for, besides one hundred and fifty officers and gentlemen of quality who fell in the action, most of his infantry were taken prisoners, with his baggage and artillery: nor was this havoc sufficient to satiate the Moloch of Fanaticism. Women were offered to its revenge; and more than a hundred were slain in the pursuit; many of whom, were ladies of quality. The King's cabinet was taken, containing his private correspondence, and they dishonourably published

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
The Victory complete.

SECTION such portions of it, as they thought might create a  
IV. prejudice against him.

CHAP. II.

King's letter  
to Prince Ru-  
pert.

The Royalists were still confident in their cause; and entertained strong hopes that a peace might still be secured. Even Prince Rupert entertained the vain idea; and wrote a letter with that view to the Duke of Richmond, to be presented to the King—a circumstance, indeed, which it would have been unnecessary to record, was it not to introduce the King's answer, which, in a few words displays the high qualifications of the Monarch, both as a soldier, a statesman, and a christian: "If I had any quarrel but the defence of my *religion, crown, and friends*, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking, either as a mere *soldier* or *statesman*, I must say, there is no probability but of ruin; but as a christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown: and whatever *personal punishment* it shall please Him to inflict on me, must not make me repine, *much less to give over this quarrel*; for I know my obligations to be both in *conscience and honor*, neither to abandon *God's cause, injure my successors*, nor *forsake my friends*. As for the Irish, I assure you, they shall not cheat me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* rebels."

SECTION Whilst the King was on his march to relieve Hereford, besieged by the Scots, he received intelligence that Bristol, which was his chief strength and reliance, had been invested by Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was on the point of turning his arms in that direction, when a letter from Prince Rupert, saying that he would undertake to defend it full four months, encouraged him to proceed to Hereford which he entered in triumph.

IV.

CHAP. II.

Surrender of  
Bristol.

But his heart was set on the relief of Bristol, and with that view he transmitted to the Prince a scheme of military movements, which he intended to put in execution. But before he had time to put his army in motion, he received the astonishing news of its surrender.

The King felt that this was a decisive blow, and performed the duty of a General with admirable promptitude and decision. He wrote to the Prince, and without indulging in one irritating expression, recalled his commission and gave him orders to leave the kingdom. But the Prince followed the King to Newark, where he had an interview with his offended Sovereign, who submitted his case to his Council: and after a debate of two days, the Prince received a written declaration, which cleared him from all imputations of *disloyalty* or *treason*; but not of *indiscretion*; and, soon after, with his brother Maurice, he left the kingdom.

Prince Ru-  
pert retires  
from the con-  
test.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Lord Digby retires. In the mean-time, the Lord Digby who had never left the King, but when any desperate enterprise was to be achieved, had left Newark with a body of Horse to join the Marquis of Montrose; and, at Sherborne, fell in with a party of the enemy, which he attacked with great bravery, and routed; but his own men who had not come up, mistaking the fugitives for their fellows, fled with consternation. He advanced, however, as far as Dumfrieshire, when he was reduced to such extremity by desertion and fatigue, that he was obliged to give up his design. The Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other officers, took shipping, and sailed to the Isle of Man.

Lord Goring retires. The King, who, surrounded on all sides, was obliged to leave Newark; which he did, at midnight, with a body of five hundred horse, and, arrived safely at Oxford. At the same time, Lord Goring left his army in the West; and, on a sudden, returned to France. He was desperately courageous; his morals infamous, and his manners profligate: and had he intended to ruin the King's cause in the West, he could not have done it more effectually. Sir William Dugdale was informed, that he took upon him the habit of a Dominican Friar in Spain!

Lord Hopton covers the retreat of the Prince of Wales. And next, the Lord Hopton, Commander-in-Chief under the Prince of Wales in Cornwall, was obliged to surrender to Sir Thomas Fairfax,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. on the most honorable conditions, after having secured the flight of the Prince of Wales, who, accompanied by the Lord Capel and Colepeper, Sir Edw. Hyde and others, safely reached the Isle of Scilly. Lord Hopton retired from the conflict with the most unblemished honor, and the highest reputation for valour and conduct.

And last of all, the brave Lord Astley, who was on his march from Worcester to Oxford, with two thousand men, was surrounded, and after a desperate resistance totally defeated. Lord Astley retires.

In Parliament, every proposition made by the King was rejected, and through the intrigues of the Independents, the greatest confusion prevailed in their counsels. The Scots finding their great idol disregarded, published a declaration against their propositions for peace, which effectually widened the breach between the contending factions in the House; whilst the adherents of Popery, who from the beginning, had fomented the quarrel, assailed the King, with their intrigues, through the Cardinal Mazarine, minister of France, who used every effort to induce the King to yield to the Presbyterians and abolish Episcopacy! A letter was even produced by the Scots, which they alleged to be written by the Queen, containing such expressions concerning religion, as utterly confounded the King, and led him to conclude, that the whole was a conspiracy between the Papists and the Presbyterians

Difficulties of the King. A. D. 1646.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. against the Church. But although they could not prevail in this grand point, he was induced through the personal entreaties and promises of Montrevil, the envoy of Mazarine, to enter into a treaty with the Scots, and to entrust himself in their hands.

The King retires to the Scottish Camp.

Although the King had entered their camp with the most solemn assurance of safety, under the hand of Montrevil, and in the name of the King of France, yet the Scots affected to be surprised at his arrival; and wrote the most dissembling letters to the Committee of both kingdoms at Westminster, in which they inform them of the "strange Providence" which had happened, assuring them that there had been "no treaty between the King and them, or, any in their names."

This unexpected event threw the two Houses at Westminster into great perplexity; and, their first resolution was to command their General to raise the siege before Oxford, and to proceed to Newcastle, to which place the Scots had directed their march. But they were soon pacified by the assurances of the Scotch Commissioners: "that all their orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their army." Upon which, a vote of the House was immediately dispatched to the Scotch army that "his Majesty's person should be sent to Warwick castle."

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. But the Scots were not yet prepared to surrender all the advantages which they expected to derive from the "strange Providence" which had happened to them; and insisted strongly on the necessity of maintaining the King's legal and constitutional rights. The King sent a gracious message to Parliament to say, "that he was willing to comply with everything which might be for the good of his subjects." But the public good was a subject which little concerned the conflicting parties in Parliament, who determined, at all hazards, to secure their own individual interest.

By their specious representations the Scots prevailed upon the King to command the Marquis of Montrose to disband his army and retire from the kingdom—a command, which he obeyed with the greatest reluctance and profoundest grief; whilst a general order to the same effect was transmitted to all the governors of castles and fortresses, throughout the kingdom.

The Marquis of Montrose retires.  
A. D. 1646.

At this juncture, the Presbyterians were in the ascendant; and, had they now closed their negotiations with the King, they would have gained the day, and accomplished the grand object which the Scots had in view, on engaging in the quarrel. How remarkable that the Scots, through their covetousness, in prolonging the treaty concerning the King's person, should have been the means of frustrating their own designs!

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Propositions  
of Parliament.

In the meantime, high debates were carried on in Parliament, and the Independents contrived to introduce into the propositions which they were preparing to submit to the King, such conditions as would render it impossible for him to comply with them. After several months altercation, the propositions were completed; the substance of which was—the abolition of Episcopacy—the establishment of Presbyterianism—the relinquishment of the command of the militia, and the abandonment of all the nobility and clergy, who had adhered to the Royal cause.

Singular oc-  
currence.

The Duke of Hamilton who had now regained his liberty, conveyed to the King the first intelligence of these propositions, which he strongly urged him to accept. It was on the seventeenth of July that this Arch-deceiver and betrayer arrived at Newcastle; and, at the instant he approached the King's presence and was kneeling to kiss his hand, the sky, which had been perfectly tranquil and without a cloud, was suddenly overcast, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning threw the whole heavens into disorder—a circumstance which, might probably, have passed without notice, had not the same phenomenon happened soon after, when the Earl of Argyle was also approaching his Majesty for the purpose of testifying his allegiance—again the air thundered—the lightning flashed, and all nature seemed to testify her abhorrence of their treachery.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King's  
discussion with  
Henderson.

Every engine was now set at work to induce the captive monarch to comply with the Parliamentary propositions. Mr. Henderson, the famous Scotch Presbyter, was deputed to hold a solemn disputation with the King on the subject of Church Government, and repaired to him at Newcastle, provided with books and every assistance, to establish the *Divine Right* of Presbyterianism. My limits, I find, will not allow me to do justice to this remarkable conference.—Suffice it to say, that if the King's arms had been as strong as his arguments in favor of Episcopacy, he had been invincible. And it is remarkable to behold a Prince, without the assistance of men or books, successfully maintaining his ground against so great a Theologian, in a controversy which had exercised his thoughts and attention through his whole life. The circumstances attending the conference had a powerful influence on the mind of Henderson. He returned to Edinburgh, overwhelmed with grief and shame at the part he had taken in opposition to the King; and shortly after, on his death bed, published a solemn declaration to the Parliament and Synod of England, in which he owns “that they had been “abused with most false aspersions against his “Majesty: and declares that they ought to restore “him to his just rights, Royal throne and dignity, lest an indelible character of ingratitude “be upon them, that may turn to their ruin.”

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Henderson's dying declaration.

Nor is this all. He left behind him the following character of the illustrious Monarch. "I do declare before God and the world, whether in relation to Kirk or State, I found his Majesty the most intelligent man I ever spoke with; as far beyond my expression, as expectation, I profess that I was oftentimes astonished with the solidity and quickness of his reasons and replies, wondered how he, spending his time in sports and recreations, could have attained to so great knowledge; and must confess that I was convinced in conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction; yet the sweetness of his disposition was such, that whatsoever I said was well taken: I must say that I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper, which convinced me that such wisdom and moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of the divine grace. I dare say if his advice had been followed all the blood that is shed, and all the rapine that is committed, should have been prevented."

Interference of the French Court.

No sooner had Henderson retired from the field of controversy, than Bellievre, the French Ambassador, arrived with great promises of assistance from the Court of France; but, what is very extraordinary, declared "that nothing could be done for him, unless he would give up the church, extirpate Episcopacy, and give up all the lands belonging to the Cathedral Churches." The

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

King was inflexible, and magnanimously rejected those offers of assistance which were to be purchased on such dishonorable terms. A more formidable antagonist appears in the person of the Queen, who, on the failure of Bellievre, dispatched Sir William Davenant to induce the King to comply with the views of the French Court, and the desires of his Parliament. But he treated her Ambassador with great sharpness, and he returned to France much dejected with his reception.

We should wonder at this interference of the French Court, and their vehement desire for the overthrow of the church of England, did we not know, on the most irrefragable testimony, that this was the grand design of the Romanists during this calamitous period. Sir William Boswell in a letter to Archbishop Laud, from beyond sea, distinctly assures him "that the Romish clergy had gulled the misguided portion of the English nation; and that too, under a Puritanical dress;" and tells him "that the main-drift of their intention was to pull down the English Episcopacy." A statement which is abundantly confirmed by Archbishop Bramhall in a letter to Archbishop Usher, in which the venerable prelate assures him on his own knowledge, "that in the year 1646, by orders from Rome, more than a hundred of the Romish clergy were sent into England, most of whom went into the Parliamentary towns under the name of *Puritans*. Many of the Eng-


Designs of the French.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. lish Romanists were at first surprised; but they soon came to a true understanding, and it was agreed that there was no better design to *confound the Church of England* than by pretending *liberty of conscience*." I shall afterwards adduce further evidence connected with this subject; but this is sufficient in this place to shew, that there was a deep-laid and organised plot for the destruction of the Anglican church, inasmuch as it was considered the great bulwark of Protestantism.

Parliament bargains with the Scots. It was now evident that the King could not be moved, and the Scots prepared to make their bargain. It was agreed that £400,000 should be advanced to them, with a tacit condition that the King should be delivered to the Parliament. But the plot was not yet ripe. The Marquis of Argyle and the Chancellor Loudon offered their services and repaired to London, to treat with Parliament. They represented, that by the *oath of allegiance* they were bound to defend the person of the King from all harm—that an additional obligation was laid upon them by the "*solemn league and covenant*"—that *the law of nations* would not permit them to deliver up the meanest person that fled to them, much less would it permit them to deliver up the King; and that "an indelible character of disgrace and infamy must be for ever imprinted on them, if they yielded to it." But the Parliament knew the temper of the

men and resolved not to advance their money till they had obtained possession of the Royal person. SECTION IV.

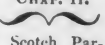
CHAP. II. To assist in these deliberations, the Scotch Parliament was assembled, and the Duke of Hamilton again appears, in all the fullness of prosperity and glory; and, was sedulously courted by all parties. But he was the same man, and acted the part of a *Traitor* to the last. He was solicited by the Royalists, not to delay bringing the main subject respecting the security of the King's person before Parliament. In particular, the Lord Innepesser having sounded the Commissioners, earnestly besought the Duke not to admit of a moment's delay, assuring him, "it would now go for the King by thirty voices; but if protracted, such was the industry of the Argvlians and Kirk Commissioners, that they would draw away so many as to lose their cause." The Duke thanked him, but desired him "to leave the matter to him, who knew best to take the opportunity." A week after, the same Lord, perceiving a great change in the Commissioners, sent again to the Duke to inform him "that by reason of men's inconstancy, they could now only carry it by fifteen votes." His Grace returned the same answer; and, it was not till the fifteenth of December, after letters had been received from the London Commissioners, that he brought the subject before Parliament. The matter was formally debated and some delay occurred; but, on the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  sixteenth of January it was voted in these words, "That according to the agreement of the London Commissioners, the army should retire, and the King be left to the English, without any condition for him, or, our interest in him."

The Duke of Hamilton and his brother voted against this proposition; but this speciousness did not save their reputation. All their known dependents and friends voted for the resolution, and a portion of the reward of iniquity, to the amount of £30,000, fell to their share.

The Earl of Essex, discontented—dies. Whilst this prodigious wickedness was transacting, the Earl of Essex, overcome with chagrin and disappointment, retired from public life; and, in the silence of retirement, deeply lamented the part he had taken in promoting the miseries of his country. He brooded in secret over the calamities which he himself had been a principal agent in promoting; and, would fain have given his power and influence, to rescue his King and country from the evils in which he had assisted to involve them. But it was now too late. The Divine Being would not commit such a glorious enterprize to one, whose pride and vanity, more than any maliciousness of spirit, had induced him, against all reason and honor, to take up arms against his Sovereign. Whatever might have been his designs at this period, he was not permitted to put them into execution; but, worn out with anxiety and remorse, he sunk under the

pressure; and gradually declined, till the fourteenth of September, when he expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.  The Scots had now received their reward, and the King was delivered up to the English Commissioners appointed to receive him—a transaction so dishonorable, that it became the subject of discourse and censure throughout Christendom; and has left an indelible stain of infamy upon all concerned in it. Nor was it left unpunished. The Scots retired with a reward, but it was charged with a deadly curse. From that time, all the prosperity which they had enjoyed, during the two last reigns, was blasted—a new scourge of blood and slaughter was preparing for them—the ruin of their Kirk and state was impending, and the whole of that generation lived to behold their country the most despicably conquered province on the face of the earth!

It was on the thirtieth of January, that the Scots having delivered up their captive Monarch, departed into their own country; whilst the English Commissioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, conducted their illustrious prisoner to Holmby Castle, in Northamptonshire. On his way he was attended with vast concourses of people, who implored his blessing, and attended him with acclamations and prayers for his safety and happiness. His behaviour during his confinement in this place,

Saturday, the 30th of January A. D. 1647. N. S.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. affords a finished portrait of the King, Philosopher and Christian, illustrating in his daily practice the calmness of an enlightened devotion, and the dignity of patient submission.

The army and the Presbyterians. The whole power of the state was now wielded by the Presbyterians, who, relying on their own strength, rejected proposals which had been sent by the King, though, containing the most ample concessions. They even began to riot in the public plunder, and distributed largesses amongst their friends to the amount of £90,000. The sweets of power and self-gratification were irresistible; and they resolved to secure the means of both, by disbanding the army, a resolution which was more easily made than put into execution. But their reign was short; the Independents had already made great advances; and Cromwell had made such preparations as entirely defeated their intentions. He himself and the principal officers of the army, with hypocritical zeal, broke in upon the sacred functions of the Ministry; and undertook the office, of preaching and praying amongst the troops. The soldiers were soon inflamed by the same unlawful fire, and preached not only to their comrades in arms, but in the pulpits of the churches, to the deluded people. All the mounds of propriety and reason, and of Ecclesiastical decorum, which had hitherto restrained the tide of religious licentiousness, were broken down. Women, seized with the fanatical spirit essayed

to become declaimers and prophets. Confusion like that of Babel, everywhere prevailed. No one must be called to account for his religious opinions, however profane, heretical, and blasphemous. In their profane jargon, to forbid these wild exercises, was—"to restrain the spirit."

The Presbyterians, however, attempted and made vigorous efforts to put down the multitude of sects, which daily increased, and like a swarm of locusts, invaded the land. But in vain they attempted to allay the spirit which they themselves had raised. The very attempt turned to their own confusion and ruin. The leaders of the Independents termed it persecution and tyranny; and, on this pretext, Cromwell proceeded to establish a military Parliament, in order to secure the liberties of the people. The upper House consisted of a certain number of officers, and the lower House of three or four soldiers from every regiment. The authority by which they sat was founded on the power of the sword; and was, almost, if not altogether, as legitimate as that of the Parliament at Westminster, which was founded in usurpation. The military Parliament sent repeated messages and declarations to the civil legislature, complaining of their persecution of the *godly*—a persecution they asserted, worse than that of the Bishops—demanding liberty of conscience, refusing to disband till the just rights and liberties of the subject were recognized; and

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. declaring, that the design of disbanding the army, "was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of Sovereignty, who being elevated above servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." What a righteous retribution, that the Presbyterians should be assailed with their own weapons, and dragged from their bad pre-eminence by the very instruments they had created, and by whose means they had gained their bloody and dear-bought triumph!

Presbyterians struggle in vain. It must be owned, however, that the Presbyterians did not tamely submit to the dictation of the army; but struggled hard to maintain the power, which they had acquired with so much difficulty and danger. The House talked high; and came to bold resolutions, which the murmurs of the army obliged them to rescind. They condescended even to bribe by the advance of a month's pay. But all in vain. The army became more tumultuous, and, like an unrestrained tide, made daily encroachments on their authority.

Cromwell outwits them. All this time, Cromwell was playing his part with the most consummate art. He attended the House, exclaimed vehemently against these irregularities; lamented, with tears, the insolence of the Army, and represented his own life as in danger from their mutinous conduct. But it was impossible, entirely, to conceal his sinister intentions; and the leaders of the House, determined to secure him, as the author of all their distractions,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Their design was kept a profound secret; but such was his command of information, that he became fully acquainted with it, and next morning, at an early hour quietly left the City, attended only by one domestic, and joined the Army.

Nor was he long inactive. He had trained the army to his purposes, and by the force of a superior genius, which rendered him perfectly master of all the arts of dissimulation and intrigue, had gained an ascendant over the mind of the general himself. Accordingly, without the concurrence of the Commander-in-Chief, a plot of the most decisive and desperate character was adopted and put into execution. Cornet Joyce, a man of a rude and insolent character, was dispatched to Holmby Castle, with a select body of horse, to seize the King's person, and convey him to the army. At midnight, on the eleventh of June, he suddenly drew up his horse before the Castle and demanded entrance. The officers of the guard would have resisted his summons, as he could show no authority: but the common Soldiers would not stand to their arms, and opened the gates to their comrades. Joyce, having stationed a guard at the doors of the Commissioners, hastened to the King's chamber, and, with a pistol cocked in his hand, boldly knocked at the door. The King's attendants amazed at his audacious conduct, desired him to lay aside his arms and to retire till morning. But all their solicitations were in vain: the

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King  
and Cornet  
Joyce.

blustering Cornet, with still greater clamour, demanded to see the King, who being awoke by the altercation, sent him a mild message, to say, that "he should not rise to see him till morning," upon which, very much against his inclination, he retired.

The King rose early in the morning, and, after his usual devotions, sent for Joyce, who entered the apartment with great bluntness, and told his Majesty *that he had orders to convey him to the army.* The King demanded *by whose appointment?* But this was a question which the well-instructed Cornet had no intention of answering; and remaining silent, the King asked him for a sight of his instructions. This strain of examination might have daunted a man less qualified than Joyce for the part he had to act; but to this last interrogatory, he adroitly answered "You shall see them presently," and drawing up his troops in the inner court of the Castle, he said to the King "Sir, these are my instructions." The King taking a view of them, and perceiving them to be fine men, and well mounted and armed, smilingly, told the Cornet:—"Your instructions are in fair characters, legible without spelling;" but added "that he should not stir, unless the Commissioners went along with him," to which Joyce assented, "saying it was a matter quite indifferent to him."

The King attended by the Commissioners under the guidance of the self-complacent Cornet, proceeded as far as Hitchingbrook, where they were

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Presbyterians  
confounded.

met by Colonel Waller with two regiments, who had orders from the General to conduct the King back to Holmby Castle. But his Majesty peremptorily refused to return; and proceeded under his new escort, to the head quarters of the army.

The news of this surprising action, spread with the rapidity of lightning, and filled the minds of all men with astonishment. But the Presbyterian leaders in Parliament were principally concerned. It gave a sudden turn to their consultations, and changed the whole aspect of affairs; whilst their anxiety was still further increased by the advance of the army towards the metropolis.

In this emergency it was resolved that the House should assemble for business, next day, which was Sunday; and, that their Chaplain, Mr. Marshall should pray—"That God would be pleased to give them one heart and one mind, in carrying on the great work of the Lord"—a sentiment which many have not scrupled to condemn as a species of hypocrisy. But whilst this may be true of the political leaders, it is too severe a charge, and, without foundation, when applied to the Presbyterian Divines of that period. Their conduct must be accounted for on other principles. Many of them were eminent men; but with all their learning, theological knowledge and acquaintance with scripture, they were under a violent impression in favour of a peculiar system, which they judged to be *exclusively* consistent

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. with truth; and there exists the strongest proof that they were under the delusion of their own spirit. The means which they employed to execute their designs—the deceit and cruelty which they patronized—the reasonable concessions for peace, which they rejected, and the total absence of candour which they manifested, sufficiently shew that they were not actuated by the spirit of christianity. This may be considered a harsh judgment; but it would be weakness to hesitate in delivering it, when a divine canon is at hand to support and confirm it: “If any man saith: I know Him, and keepeth not his commandments he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.” Christianity does not consist in a mere formal profession of discipleship, nor in a speculative acquaintance with its sublime mysteries, nor, in a laborious inculcation of its doctrines, but, *in doing the will of Christ*; and, in following his example in meekness and lowliness of mind, in moderation and charity.

Their Counsels of no avail. The result of their Sunday deliberations and the prayers of Mr. Marshall, was a letter to the General, not to allow any part of the army to advance within twenty-five miles of London, with a *douceur* of £10,000. The General with his usual submission, complied with their request, but demanded a month's pay for the soldiers; which they immediately granted. But these concessions increased the malady they were intended to

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. remedy. The Parliament were assailed with their own weapons. Petitions suborned by the Independents, poured in from all quarters, and tumultuous mobs were assembled to overawe their deliberations. But the Presbyterians were still strong, and passed several resolutions, the object of which was, to induce the King to declare himself a prisoner, in order that they might insist upon his enlargement. But these paper resolutions of the House made little impression on shields and bucklers; and the army presented to the House a most wholesome, but most obnoxious address, shewing the absolute necessity of a sovereign Prince, to controul the movements of an overgrown and irresponsible Assembly.

The commons considered it a mighty presumption to be thus checked in their career, and determined, at one bold stroke, to try the temper of the army. They accordingly voted, “That the army retire forty miles from London.” But instead of meeting with obedience to their order, another chastisement awaited them, in which a retributory judgment was manifest. Their own conduct in the case of the Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, was pleaded as precedents; and in a council of General Officers, impeachments were drawn up against eleven of the Presbyterian leaders. This was extremely shocking to the Commons, and highly resented by them; but to no purpose. The military council insisted on

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. their own example as sufficient precedent; and, eventually, the impeached members, to avoid the fate which threatened them, retired beyond sea. Sir Philip Stapleton, who was deeply involved in the guilt of all these transactions, was one of them, and being seized with the plague on his passage, he died in a ditch, near Calais. This was a severe blow to the Presbyterians, from which they never recovered.

Breach between the army and Parliament. The breach between the Parliament and the army every day, grew wider. One day, resolutions were passed in compliance with the demands of the army, and on the next, they were rescinded. Seditions and tumults filled the city with alarm. Indescribable confusion prevailed, and it was evident that an inevitable crisis was approaching. One morning, whilst the House was waiting for their Speaker to commence business, they were informed to their astonishment, that he had retired from the city, accompanied with Sir H. Vane, and other members of the Commons, and the Earls of Manchester and Northumberland, and eight other of the Lords. The rendezvous of the army was at Hounslow Heath, where the absconding senators appeared, and were received with great formality and respect, by the general officers. They represented to the General, in terms of affected grief and indignation, that they had not freedom at Westminster; but were in danger of their lives by the tumults of the People, and appealed to

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. the army for protection. This was sufficient. The army, immediately, advanced to London to reinstate the members in their places, and protect the freedom of Parliament! Resistance was vain. The army marched through the city, in triumph, with laurels in their caps, and the Speaker, with all due formality, was restored to his place. Whatever of power or authority remained to the Presbyterians was now extinguished; and that great party which had been so long in the ascendant—which, after the redress of all real grievances, had embroiled both England and Scotland in a bloody and destructive war—which had been victorious in the senate and in the field,—which had entirely overthrown both the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of their country, and, which had enriched itself, beyond example, with the immense spoils of Church and State—was now, after all their triumphs, and, at the moment of their greatest confidence, scattered like dust before the wind. They were not even permitted to see their Presbytery established, nor one lay elder constituted in any one parish of the kingdom; but were turned out of all they possessed, and exposed to public scorn and contempt. And what is most remarkable, and discovers the overruling hand of Heaven in their overthrow—their exorbitant power, which they had purchased with so many millions of treasure, and such oceans of blood, was demolished without a blow.

SECTION IV. A new scene opens. The magnanimous King,

IV. during this period of angry contention, had  
 CAP. II. followed the movements of the army, and was, at  
 The King negotiates length, settled at Whitehall, his ancient palace,  
 which he had not seen since the commencement of  
 the war. The Lieutenant-General of the army  
 had a new part to act; and the Monarch, for the  
 present, was treated with great indulgence and  
 respect, and he was permitted to see his friends,  
 and especially his children, who frequently visited  
 him under the care of their tutor, the Earl of  
 Northumberland. During these interviews, his  
 most implacable enemies were struck with admi-  
 ration, at the dignified tenderness of the father,  
 and the dutiful submission of the children. On  
 these occasions, he gave to each of them the most  
 solemn advice, suited to their age and condition,  
 the whole of which is eminently worthy of trans-  
 cription, but my limits will not permit that  
 gratification.

with Cromwell and Ireton. At this juncture, also, Sir John Berkley and  
 Mr. Ashburnham, came over from France, to  
 assist the King with their counsels; and it was,  
 through these gentlemen, that he carried on a  
 negotiation with Cromwell and Ireton, who en-  
 tirely governed the army. Nothing could exceed  
 their protestations of affection towards the King's  
 person, and of their determination to support his  
 cause. Ireton, in the presence of Major Hunting-  
 don, swore in the most solemn manner, that he

would adventure his life and fortune for the  
 King." Cromwell made a similar declaration, and  
 added, "that no man had ever been so abused;  
 and that he thought him the uprightest and most  
 conscientious man in his three kingdoms," and  
 concluded by saying, "that God would be pleased  
 to look upon him according to the sincerity of his  
 heart, towards his Majesty!"

SECTION IV. Notwithstanding these professions, the pro-  
 posals which were made to the King, during this  
 secret negotiation, although they were more  
 moderate than those submitted to him on former  
 occasions by the Parliament, yet they were re-  
 jected by the King with some sharpness, as  
 destructive of the Monarchy and constitutional  
 liberties of England. Cromwell still continued  
 his attentions upon the King, and, whatever was  
 his design in carrying on the negotiation, it is  
 certain he had already made up his mind as to the  
 course he should take. Difficulties almost in-  
 superable were in his way: but his inventive and  
 subtle genius did not despair of overcoming them.  
 Many of the general officers were sincere in their  
 affection and attachment to the King's person;  
 and *Barron* in his defence, tells us, that when  
 Cromwell, one day, in the presence of one of them,  
 holding the King's hand between his own, bathed  
 it plentifully with tears, whilst he made the most  
 solemn promises of attachment, when he came out,  
 he asked the officer, *whether he had not acted his*

Their treach-  
 ery.

SECTION *part well?* "Were you not then in earnest?"

IV. replied the officer. "Not in the least" he replied—an example of effrontery and hypocrisy, almost unparalleled in history.

CHAP. II.

Protestations  
of Cromwell  
and Ireton.

At length the Parliament finished their proposals for peace, which were presented to the King, and were in substance the same as had been rejected by him at Newcastle. Before, however, he would return a decisive answer, he sent for Major Huntingdon, a brave officer of Cromwell's own regiment, but sincerely devoted to the King's interests, and desired to be resolved by him in one thing—"whether Cromwell was the same in his heart to him, as he had by his tongue so frequently expressed himself." The Major was staggered; and fearing to mislead the King, asked a short delay, and posting off, arrived at Putney by night; and having roused the Lieutenant General from his bed, received from him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity, and his determination to restore the king to his just rights and dignity. Ireton joined in the same asseverations, and added "they would purge the House of Commons again and again, till they had brought it to such a temper as should do the King's business."

The King re-  
jects the propo-  
sals of Parlia-  
ment.  
A. D. 1647.

On this assurance the King founded his answer to the Parliament; and sent it to Cromwell and Ireton to be perused, with a permission to make such alterations as they thought necessary. Thus

amended, it was sent to the Houses at Westminster, where it was read. The substance of it was:

"that he could not agree to all their propositions; but earnestly requested a personal treaty as the only means of securing a solid and lasting peace."

"Behold!" says Major Huntingdon, "the horrid perfidiousness of those two great impostors." No sooner was the answer of the King read to the House, than Cromwell and Ireton were the first to express their dissatisfaction; and were even violent in their invectives against it. Overcome by their persuasions, the House voted the most candid and reasonable answer in the world—a "*flat denial*." The King immediately despatched the Major to demand an explanation. Cromwell replied "that he had done it, to sound the virulent humours of the Presbyterians, whom he knew to be no friends to his Majesty." But his real motive was to prevent a "personal treaty," which might have given a death blow to his designs. If proof be needed, it will be found in the fact, that he never afterwards visited the King!

Indeed, he had now gained his point by breaking off the King's negotiation with Parliament; and a new scene in the political tragedy, instantly opens. The officers of the army rarely visited Hampton Court. The guards became rude and even insolent. A mutinous spirit was created in the army, and a new sort of agitators arose, called Levellers. Their discourse was directed against

SECTION

IV.

CHAP. II.

Their villany  
triumphs.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. the King's person: they declared that God had hardened his heart to reject their proposals, and blasphemously asserted that the Lord had "led captivity captive;" and "put all things under their feet."

Other actors appear. In the beginning of November, things were so prepared that in a council of officers, Cromwell and Colonel Harrison ventured to broach their further designs; and the latter, made a long harangue concerning some things "that lay upon his spirit, relating to the King, Lords, and Commons:" declaring "that the King was a man of blood, and, therefore, their engagements with him, were taken off, and that he ought to be PROSECUTED." And on the same day, the agitators of nine regiments, and the General's life-guards, drew up an address, in the same strain, to the soldiers of the army.

Whilst this plot was ripening in the army, the Presbyterians made a grand effort to possess themselves of the King's person. The Scotch Commissioners, Loudon, Lanerick, and Lauderdale, endeavoured to enter into a treaty with him for this purpose: and, one day, when the King was hunting at Nonsuch, the two latter noblemen repaired to that place with fifty horse, in order to cover his escape. But the King refused to accept their services, on the ground that, "he had engaged his honor not to leave the army, without giving them notice."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II. But Cromwell who had now done with the King, was anxious to remove him to a greater distance from the scene of action, in order, with greater facility, to prepare the way for his ulterior designs. To effect his purpose, he conveyed to the King a positive assurance that his life was in danger, and, that he could no longer protect him. On receiving this information, the unhappy King resolved to fly from the scene of danger. He now consulted the Scotch Commissioners, and proposed to retire to Scotland; but they would give him no encouragement, unless he would comply with their design respecting religion. Distracted with the difficulties of his situation, and terrified by new apprehensions he became, at length, more solicitous to make his escape, than to determine upon the place of his retreat. Accordingly, on Thursday night, the eighteenth of November, between the hours of eight and nine in the evening, he left his lodgings, in disguise, having passed through a private door into the park, crossed the river to Thames Ditton, where Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham waited for him with horses. They rode South West, towards the new forest, and reached Sutton by break of day. The King asked Mr. Ashburnham, who seemed to have the sole direction of their journey, *where the ship lay?* The King appeared greatly disappointed at his answer, and proposed that they should, for the present, take shelter at Tichfield, The King's flight.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the seat of the Earl of Southampton. Here they were hospitably entertained by the Earl's mother, a lady of great honor and fidelity. They had in this retreat, leisure to consider their situation, and take measures for their future safety. But if the King was not betrayed by his attendants, the whole of this flight is the most surprising action that can be conceived. Every step was taken with such fatal precision, that if Cromwell himself had been in the person of Mr. Ashburnham, he could not have conducted the enterprise to a result more agreeable to his wishes, or, more in harmony with his purposes!

Fatal decision.

Whilst the King and his attendants were consulting as to the course they should pursue, the Isle of Wight was mentioned, by Mr. Ashburnham, as a place of the greatest security. Colonel Hammond, a near relative of Doctor Hammond, was Governor, and a man who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Lieutenant General Cromwell. Notwithstanding, it was agreed that Berkley and Ashburnham should repair to this man—obtain from him his word of honor, that he would not deliver up the person of the King to the Parliament: and if he could not withstand their solicitations, to afford him liberty to escape. Charged with this commission, they crossed to the Isle of Wight and delivered the King's message to the Governor, to which he returned an evasive answer. But being pressed for something more decisive,

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. he, at last, declared "that he did believe his Majesty did rely upon him as a person of honor and honesty, therefore he did engage to perform whatsoever should be expected from a person of honor and honesty." With this very equivocal answer, Mr. Ashburnham was satisfied, and consented, contrary to his directions to convey him to the King. On their arrival, Mr. Ashburnham went to the King's apartment, and when he acquainted him with all that had passed, the King perceiving the fatal mistake, exclaimed "What! have you brought Hammond with you? O, Jack, you have undone me." Upon which, his faithless messenger, falling into a bitter passion of tears, offered to go down and kill Hammond. But, of course, the King would not consent to such a proposition but said "it was now too late to think of any thing but going through the way, into which he had forced him, and, leave the issue with God." Accordingly, he received Colonel Hammond with great cheerfulness, and accompanied him to the Isle of Wight, where he was lodged in Carisbrook Castle.

The unexpected flight of the King made a great impression on the minds of all men. The Presbyterians thought he was concealed in the city, waiting for a favorable opportunity to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he had escaped beyond sea—a circumstance which filled the army with apprehensions. But Cromwell

Various conjectures afloat.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. silenced all their hopes and fears, when, within two days, and with unusual gaiety of manner, he informed the House of his retreat, and assured them: "that Colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so devoted to their service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any man living."

Cromwell  
quells the Agi-  
tators. By this time, Cromwell had reduced Parliament to a temper entirely suited to his designs. But he had now another difficulty of no little magnitude to encounter. The military House of Commons, or, Agitators, had so well transcribed the copy which had been set them by their superiors, that they began to act independently of the Council of General Officers; and presented addresses to Parliament, demanding the abolition of all titles, and reducing all men to the same rank and condition, with other extravagant notions, subversive not only of all Government, but of society itself. The Levellers had already proceeded to great lengths; and had persuaded great bodies of the soldiery to enter into engagements, to render themselves absolute, and shake off the authority of their commanders. But this licentiousness was not to be borne; and the genius of Cromwell which had triumphed over the pride and glory of chivalry—beat down the obstinacy of Presbyterianism and defeated the plans of the wisest Politicians, was not to be intimidated by the insolence of these low-bred and fanatical

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Levellers. Having ascertained by means of spies, the time and place of their rendezvous, he came upon them, suddenly, with an ordinary guard, and, having put certain questions to the leading Agitators, which drew from them insolent answers, he levelled them on the ground with his own hand, and then ordering his men to charge, he secured as many as he thought proper; and having ordered some to be immediately executed, he sent the others to London to await a more formal trial.

Having surmounted this difficulty, he advanced in his extraordinary career, to the perpetration of his enormous designs. A meeting of the general officers of the army was appointed, at Windsor, to take into consideration what should now be done with the King. This grand conference, as was usual on such occasions, began by prayers performed by Cromwell, Ireton, or, some other "inspired" officer, and the result of their consultation was: "THAT THE KING SHOULD BE PROSECUTED FOR HIS LIFE, AS A CRIMINAL PERSON;" a resolution, which was to be kept a profound secret, and to the accomplishment of which, the Parliament was to be brought, gradually, and by slow degrees. Plots the King's death.

Every thing now tended to this end. Four bills entirely subversive of the constitution, were prepared by Parliament, and submitted to the King for his assent. His answer was couched in the mildest terms, and contained concessions as ample

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. as were consistent with his honor, and his fidelity to the nation. His overtures were rejected with contempt; and he was assailed with reproaches and execrations. The whole Independent and Republican party, were inflamed to madness, by the vehemence of their leaders. Cromwell now openly declared in Parliament "that the King was a man of great parts and great understanding, but withal, so great a dissembler and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." He alleged many particulars against him and concluded, that they should now "proceed to the settlement of the kingdom, without having further recourse to him." Ireton was still more pointed and affirmed, that by his rejection of the bills "the people no longer owed him any subjection." And a member of the name of *Wroth* proposed to have him kept in some inland garrison, till he could be brought to judgment, observing "It was equal to him what kind of Government they settled, so that they admitted neither Kings nor devils."

A resolution of "non-addresses."

Such was the violent language with which the life and person of the King was now openly assailed; and, in accordance with these sentiments the House immediately proceeded to resolve "*That they would make no more addresses to the King, but proceed at once, to provide for the peace and safety of the kingdom.*" This ordinance of the House was attended with a long and virulent declaration, inveighing, in the most libellous man-

ner, against all the acts of the King's administration; so that Hollis himself, observes, respecting many of the charges contained in it, that they were "absurd and incredible." SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

But the libellers were to receive a severe and sudden check, which was intended by its re-action to bring a severe chastisement upon some of the principal actors in these scenes; and, particularly, the Duke of Hamilton.

This odious declaration, and these open assaults against the Sovereign power, filled the minds of all honest men with disgust and indignation, and produced an instantaneous and universal feeling in favor of their injured Monarch. In the House of Commons, all those whose minds were not wholly prostituted to the designs of Cromwell, deserted the House. Murmuring and discontent filled the public mind, and the people discovered their resentment in every possible way. Pamphlets were published couched in the most bitter and insulting language: "the new Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of Commons sitting at Westminster." Mortified and stung with these cutting and bitter reproaches, the House made searching inquiries after their authors, but in vain. The national ferment was increased by the imposition of new taxes, and the overbearing insolence of men in office. Men of all ranks who had any regard for their honor or reputation, now retired from all official connexion with the

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. state. The Government forthwith degenerated. Men of the lowest condition, and persons of mean and contracted minds succeeded to their places. And roused to indignation. Men whose education and property entitled them to nothing beyond the rank of a common constable, became Justices of the peace, Commissioners, and Sequestrators—obedience to such rulers became a vile and degrading servitude, which could not be endured. The nation roused itself from its lethargy, and seemed determined to avenge their Sovereign and their outraged liberties, by force of arms. A fearful and wide-spread insurrection took place in London; the counties of Kent and Essex, were foremost in manifesting their determination. Wales was immediately in arms. The flame spread with amazing rapidity: and the brave Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in the north, was soon at the head of a powerful body of men. And now, the tide had been turned, and, the rebellious Parliament and Cromwell, and all his fanatical satellites had been swept away by the resistless fury of the storm, had not the Almighty Ruler determined, that rebellion should work out its course, and bring down condign punishment on the heads of its first projectors.

Second civil war. A. D. 1648. The seamen stung with remorse, and detesting the tyranny of their new masters declared for the King, and twenty ships hastened to receive on board the Prince of Wales, as Admiral, whilst the Scots, willing to make another effort in favor

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. of their great idol, raised a powerful army, at the head of which, the unfortunate Duke of Hamilton, perceiving the gulf of misery, into which he had betrayed his innocent master prepared to invade England. The Earl of Holland also, touched with a sense of his former injuries, with the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Peterborough, appeared near Kingston, with a body of five hundred horse and some infantry, for his Majesty's service. The preparations for an arduous struggle were truly formidable. But the instruments of the Divine vengeance were at hand, and before the Royalists could form themselves into one grand army, Fairfax and Cromwell were in the field. The former undertook the reduction of Kent; and Cromwell having led his forces into Wales subdued, and, like an hungry lion, turned round in quest of his foes. Nor was he long in finding them. One body of the Scots who had entered England in greater numbers, and with more hostile feelings, than on any former occasion, had advanced as far as Warrington; and, after some sharp encounters, Major General Bagley delivered up himself and four thousand men to the mercy of the Conqueror; whilst the Duke of Hamilton, at the head of the main body was defeated almost without a blow, and surrendered himself prisoner to Colonel Lambert. Cromwell pursued his victorious career, and entered the Scottish capital in triumph. He was received by

The Scots receive deserved chastisement.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

the inveterate Earl of Argyle, as a brother confederate; and having joined their forces, all opposition was quelled. A Parliament was called, and the late invasion of England, was determined to be an unjust and treasonable expedition. Solemn fasts were enjoined by the Assembly, to implore God's pardon for their "heinous wickedness;" the Chancellor Loudon, one of its projectors, setting the example, by making a public recantation, with many tears. Cromwell was magnificently entertained by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and addressed and complimented by the Kirk, as "*their deliverer*." Having finished all things in Scotland, and effectually tied the hands of that nation, so as scarcely to leave them power to hold them up, in astonishment at the horrid tragedy he was contemplating, he returned to London; whilst Fairfax, having concluded the war by the siege and capture of Colchester, where a bloody sacrifice was offered to the revolutionary moloch, fixed his head quarters at Saint Albans.

The King's  
conduct.

All this time, the patient Monarch was leading a calm and contemplative life in the Isle of Wight. Mr. Herbert, who attended upon him, has given a particular account of his studies and course of life. The sacred scriptures, was the book in which he most delighted; but he read considerably in other authors. Amongst them, Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Doctor Hammond's works, Villalpandus on Ezekiel, Her-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

bert's Divine Poems engaged his attention, and he would frequently read the Italian heroic poems of Tasso and Ariosto, and Spencer's Fairy Queen. Nor did he confine himself to reading. He finished his celebrated work before-mentioned—translated Sanderson's work "*De Jura mentis*," composed several short English poems, and penned Latin distichs in his books, which he frequently inscribed with his favourite motto: "*Dum spiro, spero*." But, however pleasing it would be to dwell upon these subjects, I must not enlarge.

The confinement of the King had been rendered less irksome on the breaking out of the civil war, through the selfishness of the Presbyterian party, who, on the removal of the army, in defiance of their resolution of "*non-addresses*," entered into a negotiation with him, and sent Commissioners for that purpose to Newport. During this arduous negotiation, he was indefatigable and persevering; discovered great penetration of mind, and solidity of judgment; and, single-handed against fifteen persons, expressed himself with great volubility and readiness on all subjects; and shewed himself equally conversant with Divinity, Law, and Political economy. The Commissioners were surprised, no less with the depth and solidity of his parts, than with the extent of his acquirements, insomuch that one day, when the King was rising up from the debate, the Earl of Salisbury, suddenly said to Mr. Warwick: "The

Treaty of  
Newport.  
A. D. 1648.

SECTION IV. King is wonderfully improved." To which the other smartly replied: "no, my Lord, he was always such; but you have discovered it too late." Nor was his patience, which was equally well exercised, less than his ability. Let one example suffice. On the subject of Ecclesiastical Government, the Commissioners brought in their *Divines* to argue with him. On one occasion, whilst two of them, Jenkins and Sparston, with a rudeness only paralleled by their ignorance, they told him "that if he would not abolish Episcopacy he would be damned."

It would be tedious and unnecessary, to enter into a detail of the circumstances attending this treaty. All his concessions were of no avail. Everything was sacrificed to the selfish or vindictive passions of men; and, the catastrophe of the reign hastened to its consummation.

Designs of the army. Cromwell and Ireton were now supreme, and through their instructions, a remonstrance was framed by the army, and presented to Parliament, demanding that the King should be brought to immediate justice—a motion that was supported in a violent speech by Sir H. Vane. But there were yet some who could not, at once, be forced into such extreme and fatal measures. But there was no time for delay. Whilst the debate was in progress, the House was once more surprised at the news of the King's removal from the Isle of Wight, under a strong military escort to Hurst Castle.\*

\* What was then called a Block-house, in the Sea, not far from the Isle of Wight.

SECTION IV. The House was highly indignant at this intelligence, and *resolved*, that the King should be sent back to Carisbrook Castle, which they conveyed by letter to the General. But without noticing their "resolution" he returned an answer, in which he demanded the arrears of pay, threatening in case of non-compliance to march the army towards London. This increased the flame, and some of the more impetuous moved, "that the army might be declared traitors, if they approached any nearer to London; and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers." But alas! these were but the dying struggles of an imperious faction, which in the hour of their despair, even carried a resolution by a majority of thirty-six votes, to the effect: "*that the King's concessions afforded sufficient grounds for the House to proceed in their treaty for the peace and settlement of the kingdom.*" But it was their last effort. For, the very next morning, several regiments of foot appeared at Westminster, and placing guards at all the approaches to the Houses of Parliament, they seized upon forty-one of the most obnoxious members—treated them with great indignity, and committed them to close imprisonment. These were the leading men in promoting all the opposition against the King; and, amongst others, was Sir John Clotworthy, the unworthy reviler of the Earl of Strafford in his last moments, on the scaffold. Besides

IV.  
CHAP. II.  
Resented by  
Parliament.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. these, a hundred and fifty were excluded from the House either by fear or constraint; and the whole of the old Puritan Presbyterian faction was entirely broken and dispersed.

Design for the King's escape.

The House was now purged to its lowest dregs, and thoroughly prepared to sanction the horrid designs of the Regicides. The King was now removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor; but, on his way, a plan was arranged for his escape, which, however, did not succeed. His Majesty contrived to induce Colonel Harrison, who had the charge of his guard, to dine at Bagshot Lodge, the seat of Lord Newburgh, lately married to the Lady Aubigny, both persons of inviolable loyalty. They had undertaken to secure his flight, and for that purpose had procured, as it is said, the fleetest horse in England: but the fate of the Monarch was not to be averted, nor the admonitory lesson lost to mankind, of the fearful effects of arbitrary power, when broken in upon by the unrestrained violence of popular licentiousness. The noble animal on which the King was to have made his escape, was lamed on that very day by the stroke of another horse, and to the indescribable grief and concern of his friends, the project entirely failed.

The Commons proclaim a fast.

The great imposters at Westminster, now proclaimed a fast, the usual preliminary to acts of extraordinary wickedness; and four of the members of the House of Lords were found sufficiently

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. degraded to unite with the Commons in the acting of this solemn farce. The impiety was transacted in St. Margaret's church, where, that deluded man, Hugh Peters, acted the part of buffoon in this profane and ignoble scene. His text was taken from the Psalms, "To bind their Kings in chains and their rulers with links of iron: Such honor have all his saints." He compared the state of the kingdom, to the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage. He next expatiated on the best method of delivering England; and, stooping down, hid his face in the cushion of the pulpit; from whence, suddenly, lifting it up, he told his audience "*that he had a revelation how to effect it, which was by extirpating Monarchy!*" He compared the King to Barabbas, whom the foolish citizens would have released; and the "red coats" to our Saviour, whom they would have crucified; and after declaring, that he had "upon an exact scrutiny, ascertained that there were five thousand saints in the army, as holy as any that convened with God in heaven." He concluded by conjuring them, in the name of the people of England, to execute "justice on the Barabbas at Windsor, and not permit Benhadad to escape in safety." Such was the profanation to which the pulpit was subjected at that unhappy period. This monstrous evil was so apparent, that a member in his speech said "that there was no way of ending the divi-

Their wickedness and hypocrisy.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. sions, in England, but by forbidding all preaching for one whole year: "and it was remarkably said by Sir Robert Spotiswood, son of the Archbishop, at his execution in Scotland, "none of the judgments of God are greater: no, not plague, or famine, or sword—than when he suffers a lying spirit to fill the mouths of the prophets."

The King's death deter-  
mined upon. The direful delusion produced its legitimate effects. Immediately after the fast, it was moved in the House "that they should proceed capitally against the King;" and Cromwell, in whom the "lying spirit" most of all resided, said, "that if any man had moved this by design, he should have deemed him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their councils, though he was not prepared, in the sudden, to give them counsel." But, soon afterwards, with a profaneness equal to Hugh Peters himself, he declared: "that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking, to restore his Majesty to his pristine dignity, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth that he could not speak one word more, which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King." And to complete the moral deformity of this extraordinary man, he openly avowed: "that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud."

SECTION VI. CHAP. II. The way was now fully prepared for the enactment of the last scene, in which, strange forms are about to appear, insulting with maddening rage, around the regicidal tribunal. It began with a charge prepared by a committee of the House of Commons, which they called: "An impeachment of high treason, against Charles Stuart, King of England." And which, was immediately sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. But the Lords—the ignoble Lords—who had prostituted every principle of their order, and of the constitution, now saw, as all such recreants from the course of integrity and honor, must sooner or later discover, that they had overacted their part, and sold themselves into the hands of those "who shed innocent blood." They rejected the impeachment with some warmth and adjourned for three days, fondly imagining that, by this means, they should stem the sanguinary torrent. But their opposition was wholly impotent, and they were now justly made the laughing-stock, as they had long been the dupes, of the Commons: on their return they found the doors of their House shut against them, and secured with padlocks, and were thus dismissed from their attendance on Parliament, without even the formality of a vote!

The regicides, fully determined on their fatal course, were yet at a loss upon what theatre the bloody scene should be perpetrated. But the genius of evil is prolific of invention. Nothing

The Peers  
excluded from  
their House.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CAP. II.

A new Court  
of Justice rect-  
ed.

could be found either in common or statute law, (by way of precedent,) to warrant legal proceedings against the Sovereign Power. A new form was therefore to be created, which they termed, in derision of all things divine and human, "The High Court of Justice." One hundred and thirty-five members of the House were nominated as Judges, twenty of whom might act; but such a number could not be found. A fiction, therefore, was invented, and it was resolved, that other "GODLY PERSONS," who were out of Parliament, should be associated with them, in order, as they asserted, that their impartiality should not be called in question! Such a high-minded resolution, and such an extreme desire for justice, was quickly responded to, and the number was filled up from the officers of the army and the citizens of London. And after all, fifty of their nominees refused to act; and of the whole kingdom, sixty-eight only could be found, and those of the *Independent faction*, to sit in judgment on the life of their Sovereign. Mr. John Bradshaw, a lawyer, of Lincoln's Inn—a man not without abilities, but of an insolent carriage, and influenced by the force of a low and selfish ambition—was nominated *President*. No man could have been chosen better adapted to the duties of the office, which he discharged with unshaken effrontery and unrelenting severity. He was installed into his high dignity with great state—

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

a guard was appointed him, and the Dean's house at Westminster, given him as an habitation, with the title of "Lord President of the High Court of Justice." These proceedings alarmed the whole nation. None were louder in their vituperations than the Presbyterian Divines. But too late: their admonitions were despised: their own subserviency was now remembered: the very same arguments which they used to enkindle the war, were made use of to justify the intended murder of the King. The Scots protested by their Commissioners—the States of Holland by their Ambassadors—the Prince of Wales made use of every expedient to deliver his father; and some of the most eminent of the nobility proposed themselves as hostages, or, if that were not sufficient, offered to suffer in his stead. These noble-minded men, whose names ought to be recorded with honor, were the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey.

Four noble  
men offer them-  
selves for the  
King.

But all these offers were made in vain to men, who, under the infernal delusion of their own passions, laid claim to a divine inspiration, and pretended to "Ducts and calls of Providence."

During these preparations, the King was removed from Windsor to St. James's, and committed to the charge of Colonel Tomlinson, under whose surveillance he was treated with greater rudeness than before: deprived of every attend-

Removed to  
St James's.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II.   
 ance and shew of Royalty, and abridged in his diet and exercise. But he discovered no uneasiness under this uncourteous treatment, calmly observing "Is there any thing more contemptible than a despised Prince?" Such, indeed, was the mingled dignity and meekness of his demeanour, that his guards were shaken in their fidelity to their officers by the force of his piety and innocence; nor were the same men permitted to serve twice on that duty.

A. D. 1694.  
 N. S.

On the twentieth of January, the King was removed to Whitehall, and, last of all, to Sir Robert Cotton's house, near Westminster Hall, as most convenient for his approaching trial. During all the persecutions and privations which he suffered at this period, he observed his usual prudence and patience. No outward perturbation could be discerned. His christian fortitude triumphed over every indignity. Scarcely a sigh escaped his breast—not one reproachful or revengeful word escaped his lips, only saying, "May God forgive them their impiety."

The King in  
 the Hall of  
 Judgment.

At length, the day of his public ignominy arrived, and at the command of the Lord President, the Royal Prisoner was brought up, under a strong guard, and delivered to the Serjeant-at-arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a crimson velvet chair was prepared for him. The King, looking round with stern majesty, conveyed a solemn rebuke to the members of this mock

tribunal, and without uncovering his head, sat down. SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

Silence being proclaimed, Bradshaw, with an arrogant and supercilious air, addressed him in the following strain: "The Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities which had been brought upon the nation, and of the innocent blood which had been shed, and which was fixed upon him as the principal author, had resolved to make inquisition for this blood; and according to the debt they did owe to God, to justice, and to themselves, and according to the fundamental trust reposed in them by the people, had resolved to bring him to trial and judgment; and, for that purpose, had constituted that court of justice, to which he was then brought. He should now hear his charge upon which the Court would proceed, *according to justice*." At the command of the President, Mr. Cook, the solicitor, proceeded to read the impeachment, charging the King with all the calamity and bloodshed in which the nation had been involved: an involuntary smile played upon the King's cheek, discovering how deeply sensible he was of the monstrous falsehood and absurdity of the charges alleged against him. Bradshaw, with an assumed air of authority reprehended the King for want of respect to the Court before which he was arraigned, and, after many impertinent observations, con-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King  
denies their  
authority.

cluded by asking him, "what answer he had to make to that impeachment?" The King, without discovering the least alteration in his countenance, replied: "That he was their King, and they, his subjects, who owed him duty and obedience. That no Parliament had authority to convene him before them; but that they were not the Parliament, nor had any authority from Parliament. That he would not so much betray himself and his Royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, as it might be interpreted into an acknowledgment of their authority, though he firmly believed, that every person within the walls of that court, did, in their own consciences, fully absolve him from all the *material things* objected against him." Bradshaw here interrupted him, and begged him "not to deceive himself; that the Parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question; and, even threatened him with the punishment, which the law pronounced against those who stand mute and refuse to plead." The King was now removed by the guard, and as he passed along, the multitude were differently affected at his appearance. Many with bleeding hearts and weeping eyes, lamented the unhappy fate of their beloved Prince. Others received him with cruel upbraiding and reproaches, calling him tyrant and murderer: whilst one of the soldiers even spat in his face, which the King

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

wiped off with his handkerchief, and mildly said, "my Saviour endured far more than this, for me." Soon after this, another soldier calling out: "God bless you, sir," the King courteously thanked him, upon which his officer struck him on the head, which his Majesty observing said: "the punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence."

The next day was Sunday, and vast crowds of people repaired to Westminster, to see the King: but they were dissatisfied: his Majesty spent the greatest part of that day in the most solemn devotions. On Monday he was again brought up, under a strong guard, to Westminster Hall; where the solicitor moved the Court: "that the prisoner give a positive answer to his charge, or, that the Court would take the matter of it *pro confesso*, and proceed accordingly." The King, however, still insisted upon his former plea, that the Court had no authority to proceed against him, declaring, "that power, without law, could never make LAW." He told them, "that he stood there to plead the cause of England as well as his own, and desired that he might be heard," at the same time producing a paper on which his arguments were written. Bradshaw boldly interposed, and demanded his entire submission to the authority of the Court. The King insisted upon the superior authority of the laws of the land, affirming that he knew as much law as any gentleman in England; and that he pleaded for the liberties

Maintain the  
supremacy of  
the Law.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. of the people more sincerely than *they* did." He was again interrupted by the President, upon which the King remarked: "remember you refuse to hear your King," demanding "what kind of a Court that was, where reason could not be heard?" to which the Court inadvertently, but with great truth replied: "He should find it there." The King still refusing, his contempt was recorded, and the Court adjourned.

False witness-  
es produced. The proceedings on the following day were of a similar description; and on the Wednesday, the Commissioners sat in the painted chamber in a sort of mock examination of witnesses, against the King. Thirty-three persons, of the meanest condition and most profligate lives, raked out of *fifteen* counties were examined; and their depositions, which were taken on oath, were either irrelevant, or false and inconsistent.

His death  
fixed. Whilst these things were acted openly in the view of the people, the merciless cabal held their private meetings, in which, it was debated as to the time, place, and manner, of the King's death. Various barbarous and infamous modes of death were suggested; but, at length, the majority agreed that he should be beheaded on a scaffold, to be erected before the banquetting House, at Whitehall: "that from the same place where he was used to mount the throne, and appear in the sacred pomp of Majesty, he might pass on to the block; and cast off the ornaments of royalty

where he was commonly invested with them." SECTION IV. CHAP. II. And, as it was apprehended that he might refuse to yield to their unjust sentence and submit himself to the stroke of the executioner, they ordered iron rings and staples to be fixed into the scaffold, for the purpose of drawing down his head and hands to the block!

After two days consultation, the grand theatre was again opened for the last time. The President, without noticing the King, was proceeding to address the Court, when his Majesty again desired that he might be heard before judgment was passed; observing, that, "an hasty judgment could not easily be recalled." After some delay the King's request was acceded to, and he proceeded to say:—"That if he had had respect to his life, more than the peace of the Kingdom and the liberty of his subjects, he should certainly have made a particular defence, because he might by that means have, at least, delayed a hard sentence which he believed would pass upon him. But still having something to say which did concern *both*, he desired to be heard in the painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons. He observed that this delay could not be prejudicial to them; and if they refused, he protested, that all these fair shews of peace and liberty were mere disguises, and that they would not hear their King."

This address produced a considerable sensation in the Court: The President objected, that it was <sup>The King's request.</sup>

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

another method of declining the jurisdiction of the Court; but the King strongly urging his point, many were of opinion that it was his intention solemnly to resign his kingdom to his Son. Colonel Downes moved with the speech of a suppliant King, said to Cawly and Walton whom he sat near:—"What! have we hearts of stone? Are we men?" They replied, "he would ruin both himself and them," but he persisted, and said, "if he should die, he could not but speak." Cromwell then asked the King the purport of his communication. The King persisted in his request; and told the President, that he had something to offer against the sentence, and desired the Court to adjourn. After some debate, the adjournment was agreed to, and the Court retired into the inner "Court of Wards." Colonel Downes zealously urged many things in the King's favour, and contended that his earnest desire to be heard before Parliament, was but reasonable. Cromwell had now a critical part to act: he fell into a fury; and said; "It was not fit that the Court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man; and if the bottom was known, he would fain save his old Master" and concluded, by desiring the Court to proceed, without further delay, in the performance of their duty. Others taking courage by the example of their leader, followed in the same strain, and treated the Colonel with great severity.

Cromwell interferes.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The Court having re-assembled, Bradshaw informed the King that his request was only tendered to delay justice; and it was their unanimous resolution to proceed to judgment. The King confessed it was a delay: but a delay of importance which concerned the peace of the kingdom, as much as the safety of his own person, and required them, as they would answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, to consider it once again. But the Court was inexorable; and Bradshaw told him, that they had fully considered his proposal, and that if he had nothing further to answer, they were prepared to proceed to judgment," to which the King subjoined "that he had nothing more to say; but requested that what he had said might be recorded." Bradshaw now commenced his address, in which he endeavoured, at considerable length, to justify their proceedings—misapplying both law and history—wresting the declarations of the one, and the facts of the other, to serve his purpose; and concluded by advising him to a serious repentance. The King bore all his insulting calumnies with his usual patience; but when he attempted to speak and to defend himself against the imputations laid to his charge,—with a peremptory air, Bradshaw told him: "his time was past:" and, immediately proceeded to pass the dreadful sentence.—"This Court doth adjudge that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death by

The final judgment passed.  
27th January,  
A. D. 1649.  
N. S.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. the severing his head from his body." Whilst the President was pronouncing these words, the King was observed, with a placid smile, lifting up his eyes to heaven, as if appealing to the Divine Majesty, in whose presence he had long seemed to live: and when Bradshaw had concluded, the King offered once more to speak; but he was interrupted and hurried away from the inhuman tribunal; and on his way to Sir Robert Cotton's house, he was exposed to the scoffs and insults of the soldiery who blew the smoke of tobacco into his face, the smell of which was exceedingly disagreeable to him. But he bore all these affronts with the most heroic patience.

Concern of the President's wife. The feeling which pervaded the public mind during these transactions was intense. The agitated state of mind under which the wife of Bradshaw laboured, during these proceedings, must be recorded. The King's sentence was passed on Saturday the twenty-seventh of January. It was on the morning of that day, that the President's wife rushing into his chamber, with lamentations and tears, threw herself on her knees before him, and entreated him, that he would have nothing to do with his majesty, nor sentence his earthly King, for fear of the dreadful sentence of the King of heaven. "You have no child she continued—why should you do such a monstrous act to favour others?" But with insufferable pride he rejected her entreaties, observing: "I confess he has done me no

harm, nor will I do him any, except what the law commands," SECTION IV. CHAP. II.

At the rising of the court, the King was removed in a sedan chair, under a guard of Halberdiers, to White-Hall; and from thence to St. James'. The streets through which he passed were lined with a strong guard of foot soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty passed. The shops and windows were crowded with people, many of whom were bathed in tears, and expressed aloud their lamentations and prayers. On his arrival at St. James', the King requested two things: "that he might have liberty to see his Children, and that Dr. Juxon the Bishop of London, might be permitted to assist him in his devotions." No fear, no anxiety, no perturbation appeared in the conduct of the King, and he gave all his directions with equal meekness and equanimity. All his thoughts were employed in preparing for that death which he now saw to be inevitable; and he resolved, to seclude himself from all outward interruptions. For this purpose, he charged Mr. Herbert to admit no one to his presence, whom it was not absolutely necessary for him to see. "I know," said he, "my nephew, the Prince Elector, and some other Lords that love me, will endeavour to gain permission to see me, which I take very kindly; but my time is short and precious, and I desire to improve it the best I can in preparation. I hope they will not take it amiss that none have access to me but my

The King's conduct.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Children. The best office they can now do, is to pray for me." It happened as he expected: for his Electoral Highness, accompanied by the four Lords of excellent memory, the Duke of Richmond the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, having obtained leave, in the silence of sorrow, approached the door of his apartment. Mr. Herbert acquainted them with the King's charge, in which they, sorrowfully, acquiesced, and presenting their humble duty to his Majesty, retired, with marks of deep concern and the most poignant grief.

Public feeling. The next day was Sunday, and the King was engaged in the most profound devotions. The pulpits of the Presbyterian Divines resounded with denunciations against "the impiety of the Parricides" and deprecated the heavy judgments which such a sinful nation, polluted with the blood of their Prince, was to expect. Universal grief, fear and indignation prevailed. All countenances gathered sadness and astonishment, and a sudden panic seized the minds of all men, as if some prodigious national evil was about to happen.

Final proposals. But the unfortunate Monarch was still to be persecuted by his tormentors: on this very day, the hours of which had been consecrated by their prisoner to the purposes of religion, he was interrupted by their appearance. They presented him with a paper, tendering him his life and some shadow of royalty if he would subscribe it.

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. Amongst many other propositions destructive of the established religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, one was: *That he should keep on foot the army, under their present General and Officers, to the amount of forty thousand, as long as it should be the pleasure of those whom they should nominate to the command of the Militia. That the whole management should be left with the Council of War—that a tax on land, should be settled for its support, to be levied and collected by the army itself; and that a Court Martial of extraordinary power should be established.* But as soon as the insulted Monarch had read a few of these tyrannical and arbitrary proposals, he threw the papers aside with indignation, saying: "I will rather become a sacrifice for my people, than betray their laws and liberties, their lives and estates, with the Church, commonwealth and honor of the Crown to the bondage of an armed faction."

The dissenting ministers. It was yet Sunday, and the Bishop of London was not permitted to attend his Majesty. Several of the London ministers, however, were admitted. Amongst these were Mr. Calamy, Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryle, and Mr. Goodwin, who offered their spiritual assistance. But the King, after thanking them in a very handsome manner, acquainted them, that he had made choice of Dr. Juxon, for that purpose, and dismissed them with great civility. In the evening the Bishop arrived, and was received by the King with great cheerfulness;

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

The King's  
resignation.

but the other, depressed with grief, could not refrain from expressing his concern and condoling with his Majesty on the melancholy circumstances of his situation. But the King, interrupting him, said: "Leave off this my Lord; we have not time for it. Let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom, ere long, I am to give account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace. We will not talk of these rogues into whose hands I have fallen. They thirst after my blood, and they will have it: but God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." After this, they spent two or three hours in deep conference, reading select passages of scripture, with supplications and prayers. They were interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Seymour, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince. Being admitted, he presented the King with a letter from his Royal Highness, dated from the Hague. Mr. Seymour was overwhelmed with distress, and having kissed the King's hand, he clasped around his knees uttering such mournful expressions of grief, that Colonel Hacker who had the command of the King's guard, was greatly affected. But as soon as the King had read his son's letter, and imparted what he wished to Mr. Seymour, the latter retired; and the King and the Bishop returned to their devotions.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

His confer-  
ence with his  
children.

Next morning, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester her brother, came to take their last sad farewell of the King their father, and to receive his blessing. The Princess, thirteen years of age, a lady of excellent understanding, was most sensibly touched at her Royal Father's condition: and her little brother, who was only eight years of age, seeing her weep, was overcome with sobs and tears. The King tenderly raised them both from their knees, kissed them, and gave them his blessing. Placing them upon his knees he caressed and admonished them. He told the Princess not to grieve or torment herself for him, for his would be a glorious death, being for the Laws and Liberties of the land, and for maintaining the TRUE PROTESTANT RELIGION; and, that he doubted not but that God would settle his son upon the throne, and that they would all be happier than they could have expected to have been, if he had lived. He then required her to read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Laud's Book against Fisher, which would guard her against Popery. He told her that he had forgiven all his enemies, and desired them also to forgive them; but never to trust them, for they had been most false to him, and to them who gave them power, and he feared also, to their own souls. He particularly required her to tell her mother, that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. be the same to the last. Then tenderly looking at her, he said: "Sweetheart, you will forget this!" "No," said the Princess "I shall never forget it as long as I live," and shedding a flood of tears promised to write down the particulars. Then addressing the Duke of Gloucester, he said "Child, mark what I say. They will cut off thy father's head, and, perhaps, make thee a King. But mark what I say. You must not be a King whilst your brothers, Charles and James are alive. Therefore I charge thee, do not be made a King by them." At which the child said, with a sigh: "I will be torn in pieces first." The King appeared much pleased with such a decisive answer from so young a child; and, having presented them with all his jewels, he blessed them and sent them away.

The Prince of  
Wales sends to  
Cromwell.

In the meantime, there arrived, from the continent, Colonel John Cromwell, nearly related to the Lieutenant-General, with credentials from the States of Holland. He was the bearer of a "carte blanche," to which was attached the King's signet, as well as the Prince's: and, both, confirmed by the States, for Oliver Cromwell to write his own conditions, if he would save the life of the King.

The Colonel, immediately proceeded to the house of his kinsman; but he was with the greatest difficulty admitted. After mutual salutations, the Colonel freely reasoned with him on the

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. heinousness of the deed which they were about to transact, expressed his astonishment that he should be concerned in it, since he had heard him, so frequently, protest in favour of the King. To which Cromwell with his usual wiliness answered: "It was not he, but the army. He owned he had spoken in favour of the King; but that times were altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he had fasted and prayed for the King, but no return that way, was yet made to him." Upon which the Colonel producing his papers: "Cousin," said he, "this is no time to trifle with words. See here, it is now in your power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honorable for ever; otherwise, this deed will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation and name of Cromwell, that no time will be able to efface." Cromwell paused, and seeming to reflect with himself said: "Cousin, I desire you will give me till night for reflection, retire to your inn, but not to bed, till you hear from me." The Colonel then took his leave, and, about one o'clock that night, a person arrived at his Inn with the following message. "He might go to rest, nor wait for further answer to carry to the Prince, for the Officers had been SEEKING GOD, and he, also, had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that, the King should die."

Cromwell re-  
jects his offers.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

During the time of the King's interview with his children, the leaders and managers of this execrable deed, were consulting how they should conclude their bloody tragedy on the following day; and the warrant for his execution was subscribed, that night, by fifty-nine of the Commissioners, and directed to Colonel Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant Phray. The whole day the King eat and drank very sparingly, a great part of it being spent in prayer and devotion; and it was some hours after night, before the Bishop took leave of him. Before his departure, the King spoke to him respecting the Prince of Wales, and requested him to be early in his attendance next morning; after which he continued more than two hours in reading and prayer. On retiring to rest, he desired Mr. Herbert to sleep on a pallet near him; where that gentleman could take no rest; but, the King slept soundly for four hours, as if he had nothing to discompose his thoughts.

The King's  
devotion.

About two hours before day, he awoke; and called to Mr. Herbert to rise, "For," said he, "I will get up, having a great work to do this day: this, Herbert, is my second marriage day: I would be as trim to day as may be; for, before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." And then, appointing what clothes he should wear, he said with his usual prudence and foresight. "Let me have a garment more than ordinary; for the

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

season is so sharp, as probably to make me shake, which some observers will imagine to proceed from fear. I would have no such imputation, I fear not death. Death, is, in no wise, terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." The Bishop now arrived according to promise, when the King, taking a Bible, in which he had written many annotations and quotations with his own hand, delivered it to Mr. Herbert with a strict charge to deliver it to the Prince, his son; and to state, that "as from his heart he had forgiven his enemies, and would leave the world in perfect charity with all men, so he advised his son to exceed in mercy, not in rigour: that as to Episcopacy it was still his opinion, that it is of Apostolic Institution, and, in this kingdom exercised from the most primitive times. And that it was his last and earnest request that he would frequently read the BIBLE; which, in all the time of his affliction, had been his instructor and delight." Having then delivered to the same Gentleman some presents for his children, the Earl of Lindsey and the Duke of Richmond, he retired with the Bishop to his devotions, who immediately proceeded to the service of the day, and read the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, the history of our Saviour's passion. The King supposing it had been selected on purpose, thanked the Bishop for his seasonable choice. But the Bishop modestly replied "that it was the Lesson

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. appointed in the Calendar for the day," which the King regarded as a providential interposition to fortify his mind against the terrors of his approaching conflict; and a suitable preparation for the Holy Sacrament, in the participation of which he enjoyed the greatest satisfaction.

Leaves his prison. It was now ten o'clock in the morning; and Colonel Hacker, in the performance of his duty, approached, and, with a trembling hand, knocked, gently, at the door of the King's closet, for the purpose of conducting him to White-hall, where he said "his Majesty would have some time allowed to rest." The King came out with the Bishop and Mr. Herbert; and, passing through the garden, under a strong guard, walked between the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson, both bare-headed. His Majesty walking fast, hastened them saying:—"He now went before them, to strive for a heavenly crown, which he ought not to do with less solicitude, than he had been accustomed to do, when encouraging his soldiers to, contend for an earthly diadem." At the end of the Park, the King ascended, through the long gallery, into the Cabinet chamber, where they permitted him for some time, to confer in private with the Bishop. Whilst thus engaged at his last private devotions, Nye, and some bold Ministers, knocked at the door. The Bishop opening it, they told him they came to offer their service to pray with him. When the King declined their offer, they became

SECTION IV. CHAP. II. more importunate, and seeming to demand a more explicit answer, his Majesty said: "Then thank them from me, for the tender of themselves: but tell them, plainly, that they who have so often, and, causelessly, prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, pray for me, and I will thank them for it."

It was a cold, dark day; and a dinner of two or three dishes had been prepared for him, at White-hall. But he refused to eat, designing the "Lord's Supper" to be his last refreshment on earth. But the Bishop urged him to consider how long he had fasted: and how severe was the weather; and, that if a fit of fainting should seize him, his murderers would put an injurious interpretation upon it; by these means he prevailed upon him to take half a manchet of bread and a glass of wine. Colonel Hacker now announced that the fatal moment had arrived. He was ready at the call; and proceeded with him and the Bishop, with a composed and tranquil air, through the Banqueting House, and by a passage made through a window, to the scaffold. It was covered with black: two executioners in masks, stood prepared to strike the final blow. Vast crowds of spectators appeared in the distance, whilst the nearer space was crowded with armed men. But his Christian courage never forsook him, for a moment. He looked round upon the array with settled composure: one thing alone concerned

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

Speech on the  
scaffold.

him, that the people were so far removed from the scaffold by the numerous guards of horse and foot, that he could not address them in the manner which he intended. He, therefore, addressed himself to Colonel Tomlinson and those who stood with him on the scaffold, which he did to the following effect: "I should have had no difficulty in holding my peace, did I not think that my silence might be misconstrued into an admission of guilt. I think it, therefore, my duty, first to God, and next to my country, to clear myself as an innocent man, and a good King. All the world knows that I never began the war with the two Houses of Parliament. The dates of their commissions and my own, are a sufficient proof: and I call God to witness, before whom I must shortly appear, that I never did intend to encroach upon their privileges. I confess, at the same time, that God's judgments upon me are just, which are, many times, exacted by an unjust sentence, nor must I complain of this retribution: for, I also allowed an unjust sentence to pass upon the Earl of Strafford, for which I am now receiving a just retribution. This good man, pointing to the Bishop—will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world—even the chief promoters of my death—nay, I hope my charity extends further: I wish they may repent; and I pray, like Saint Stephen, that this sin may never be laid to their charge; and, as a good King, it shall be my

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. II.

endeavour, to the last gasp, to seek the peace of the kingdom. The men who take the lead in public affairs have gained their present power by conquest, but conquest without a just cause is robbery. Yet they will never prosper till they give God his due, the King and his successors their due, and the people their due. They must give God his due by regulating his Church according to scripture. And as the most likely means for settling this great question, I should propose a national synod. They must give the King his due, in which the Laws of the land would sufficiently instruct them. As for the people whose liberty and freedom I desire as much as any man, I tell them, this freedom consists in receiving from Government, those laws by which their lives and property shall be most their own. It is for maintaining this principle that I now come here. If I had yielded to arbitrary laws—if I had agreed to have the laws according to the power of the sword, I need not to have appeared on this scaffold, and I may, with truth declare, that I die the MARTYR of the People."

At the conclusion of his speech of which this is but an imperfect outline, the Bishop reminded him, that, although it was well known what his affection was to the Protestant religion, it might be expected that he should say something for the world's satisfaction in that particular. The King heartily thanked him for his seasonable admoni-

The King's  
protestation  
and death.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

tion, and declared, *that he died a christian, according to the profession of the Church of England*: then turning to the Officers he said: "I have a good cause and a gracious God." To Colonel Hacker he said: "Take care that they do not torture me" and gave him money, as well as to the executioner to whom he said: "I shall say a short prayer, and when I thrust out my hands \* \* \* After this he called for his cap, which he put on. The Bishop, then, in allusion to a private discourse which they had previously had, on the several stages of human life, said: "There is but one stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome will carry you a very great way—from earth to heaven, where you will find the desired prize, a crown of glory." To which the king replied. "Yes: I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where there can be no disturbance: "to which the Bishop rejoined, "a happy exchange!" Then taking off his cloak and "George" he delivered the latter to the Bishop, with one emphatic word, "REMEMBER." Then meekly laying his neck upon the block, after a short delay, stretching forth his hands, his head was at one blow severed from his body.

Tuesday,  
30th Jan.  
A. D. 1649.  
N. S.

Thus perished in the forty ninth year of his age, whilst he was still in his full strength, King Charles the First of sacred memory, affording a monitory lesson, to all posterity, of the evils of arbitrary power—the danger of political expedi-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. II.

ency—the inutility of unjust concession to popular aggression; and, the more than brutal violence of popular licentiousness. We stand back with horror, at the scene, which immediately followed the death of the unhappy Monarch. His inhuman persecutors despoiled the lifeless trunk, dipped their staves, and, even washed their hands in his blood. They cleft the block in pieces, and sold it to the impatient people, and the sand distained with gore. They even offered his hair for sale, and delivered the body to the camp Surgeons for dissection. Nor was this all. Contrary to all public faith, they seized the Bishop of London, rifled him of all his papers, searched his clothes and coffers, if any thing could be found which had been delivered to him by the King: and because, they suspected that the King's last word, "REMEMBER," had some extraordinary meaning in it, the Judges abjured him with many threats, to enter into a full explanation of it. The good Bishop thus urged, at length disclosed the fatal secret. The King, my Master, bade me REMEMBER to carry this supreme command of his dying father, to the Prince his son and heir, THAT IF EVER HE WAS RESTORED TO HIS CROWN, HE SHOULD FORGIVE THE AUTHORS OF HIS DEATH."

Nor was such a Prince, who had been taught thus to exercise the perfection of Christianity, un lamented by his subjects. Perhaps none of the King's of England ever left the world with more open marks of sorrow and affliction. The venerable Archbishop Usher, who beheld the tragic

Lamentations  
of the people.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. II.

scene from a window, swooned at sight of the fatal blow. When the tidings of his death spread through the country, such was the effect, that many of both sexes were seized with sudden faintings and lasting melancholy; and, it is said that some, seized with sudden convulsions, expired. Even his enemies relented. The pulpits of the ministers who had persecuted and defamed him, resounded with lamentations; and their congregations were overwhelmed with grief and tears. Men of all sorts and conditions, and almost of all sects, extolled his virtues, and compared him for his patience, piety and prudence, to Job, David and Solomon. The very homage covered them with infamy. But I must not enlarge. The tide of affairs rolls on; and we are called to contemplate other scenes. From this page let all future generations of our countrymen, learn to exercise a just moderation: never, for selfish, or party purposes, to encroach upon the grand principles of the Constitution—never to act upon presumptuous and unwarrantable impulses, but to adhere to the simple and rational precepts of Christianity,—like Charles Stuart King of England, who, by his inflexible integrity and stern adherence to the Civil and Religious principles of his country, has left behind him an imperishable record, and, earned for himself the just application of that brief and simple eulogium of holy writ—

“The Memory of the just is blessed.”

### CHAPTER III.

CHARLES II.—PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION IN ABEYANCE—THE GOVERNMENT ASSUMES THE FORM OF AN OLIGARCHY—DEGENERATES INTO A MILITARY DESPOTISM, AND BECOMES INSUPPORTABLE. THE ANCIENT MONARCHY RESTORED—NEW PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT ARE EVOLVED, AND THE THRONE IS FULLY ESTABLISHED.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of the late Monarch, according to a fundamental law of the English Constitution, his eldest son, Charles the Second, succeeded to all the titles and dignities of his murdered parent. But he was then an exile on a foreign shore. During the civil war he conducted himself with great gallantry, as Captain of the royal Guards; and, on the surrender of the garrison of Oxford, he returned to the Court of France, at which place he received the fearful tidings of his father's death, and of the daring

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
Charles II.  
A. D. 1649.

SECTION IV. usurpation and distractions which still prevailed in his native land.

CHAP. III.

The Usurper appears.

It was his misfortune to behold the Monarchy which had withstood the repeated shocks of preceding ages, and survived the most violent struggles and convulsions of the State, torn from its deep foundations, and hurled in fury on the wild waste of political agitation; whilst the discordant elements of rebellion, anarchy, and fanaticism, were struggling for that ascendancy which their individual force, or the peculiar circumstances of their position, might enable them to assume. Nor was the struggle long. The master-spirit, whose genius had hitherto directed the storm of misrule, was at hand. His unwearied energies, his invincible daring, his irresistible impetuosity, marked him out as the instrument of divine vengeance, raised up, at that particular juncture, to chastise the rage and impiety of all parties. In his hands was placed the "coercive power," which he exercised to debase the proud, restrain the wicked, defeat the ambitious, and deceive the visionary: and, after wielding for a season, all the energies of the kingdom—battering down the high imaginations of irresponsible prerogative—the violence of Republican fury, and the wild folly of fanaticism; and, after, in the execution of the divine purposes, preparing the way for just and reasonable principles of Government, he was destined, himself, to sink

under the laws of an awful necessity, to be given up to the stings of remorse and the upbraidings of conscience; and, at last, struck with death, compelled to deliver up the seat of power to its legitimate owner. These are the things before us.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

The Parliament, which, as we have already seen, had been purged to its lowest dregs, proceeded, under the direction of the Army, to exercise the power which had been placed in their hands. A proclamation was issued, declaring it high treason for any person to declare "Charles Stuart, or any other person, King, or Chief Magistrate of England." With equal facility they passed a resolution, that the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous; nor did they rest satisfied till they had, by a formal vote, abolished, for ever, the Monarchy of England. These steps they considered as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of their own sovereignty, which they prepared to exercise by the formation of a new "Great Seal." On one side, were the Cross and Harp,—the arms of England and Ireland, and on the reverse, the figure of Parliament, with the inscription, "IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED!" This seal was committed to the custody of three lawyers, Whitlock, Keeble, and Lisle: the Judges were appointed, and the coining of money regulated, with the inflated inscription "God with us." To strengthen their usurpation,

Acts of the Parliament.

## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.



an executive power was established, which they called "The Council of State," consisting of forty persons, composed of the principal actors of the times: an oath of secrecy and fidelity was imposed on the Members of the Council; and, to consolidate their power to the utmost, a solemn oath was ordained, called an "Engagement," in which every one taking office under the oligarchy was to swear to "be true and faithful to the Government established, without King, or House of Peers."

High Court  
of Justice re-  
opened.

These arrangements being made, the "High Court of Justice" was again opened for the enactment of other political murders. The first victim of their merciless policy was the Duke of Hamilton, who made great efforts to save his life; and even offered a ransom of £100,000. But all his endeavours, as well as those of his friends, were ineffectual; and he was condemned to lose his head. Similar efforts were made in the case of the Earl of Holland, the leader of the Presbyterian Faction; but in vain; and he was condemned to die by the casting vote of the Speaker! and still greater efforts were made to save the accomplished and gallant Lord Capel; but to no avail.

Duke of Ham-  
ilton suffers.

A scaffold was erected in front of Westminster Hall; and in the month of March these noble prisoners were brought forth, to act their last part in the national tragedy. The Duke of Hamilton, who, by his dark and intricate counsels, if not by

wicked treachery, had betrayed his master to his ruin, was the first to suffer under the usurpation which had destroyed him. He endured the evils to which his melancholy lot subjected him with great patience and devotion; and, certainly, at his last hour, expressed as magnanimous a sentiment as was ever uttered. Just at the moment when he was ready for the scaffold, some officers from Cromwell were introduced to him, who assured him, *that if he would discover what had been often asked of him, his life should yet be spared*; but he rejected their proposal, and, with great firmness replied: "If I had as many lives as hairs on my head, I would sooner lay them all down, than redeem them at so base a price." The next was the Earl of Holland, who by his double-minded policy and extraordinary acts of treachery, had, perhaps, as great a share as any man of his time, in the guilt of involving his country in ruin. After his sentence, he was in great distress and agony of mind, for some days, and was attended on the scaffold by two Presbyterian divines, by whose advice and prayers, it is said, he found relief.

## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. III.



The last, was the Lord Capel, a man, cast in the noblest mould, and in the enjoyment of every thing which could render life desirable—he had a wife of great beauty and unblemished reputation—a numerous and hopeful family, and large estates. He had been steady and uniform in his

The Earl of  
Holland.

The Lord  
Capel.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. fidelity to his Sovereign. But in one thing he had offended: he had pursued with many others, the innocent Earl of Strafford to the block—a circumstance which he chiefly lamented in his last moments, and viewed his own fate as a just retribution for his offence. On the morning of his execution, when in earnest conversation with his chaplain on the subject, he said “I would not for all the world have died without a public confession of this sin; and making the best satisfaction I can to the memory of the Lord Strafford before God and man, for having my hands dipped in his blood.” After this, with a serene countenance, he passed through Westminster Hall to the fatal scaffold; and, after a noble speech, with unparalleled Christian Courage, submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Thus fell, by ignoble hands, one of the noblest sons of England. “He was a man,” says the noble Historian, “that whosoever shall, after him deserve best of the English nation, can never think himself undervalued when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared with, that of the Lord Capel.”

Effect of their  
cruelty.

Nor, were the Regicides satisfied with the blood of these unfortunate noblemen. Their cruelty raged; and, great numbers perished in all parts of the kingdom. But instead of striking terror as they intended, into the hearts of the royalists, their lawless severity only served to increase their

disgust and indignation; and “the High Court of Justice” was, generally, designated “*Cromwell's new Slaughter House.*”

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. But whilst they pursued with unmitigated hatred, all those who adhered to the ancient Constitution, their own dissensions daily increased. The Presbyterians who were still a powerful party, perceiving their Church Government despised, and themselves slighted, turned their whole strength against the Oligarchy. At this juncture, Milton, the celebrated poet, appeared on the stage as the champion of the Independents. He drew his powerful pen against the Presbyterians, and brought all their sin to remembrance, charging them as the chief instruments of promoting the Civil War; and bringing the King to the scaffold. The Presbyterians he argued placed the King in the hands of the Independents and they murdered him. There was some truth in these assertions, and they quietly suffered every contempt and indignity from the ruling party.

But the fanatical levellers, who had still more degenerated, were their greatest obstruction. They had become the open and avowed enemies of all Government, except that of the Saints, under the reign of Christ, whom they hourly expected. Whilst it suited the designs of Cromwell, he had never failed to encourage these delusions. But necessity, even had his interest not been concurrent with it, obliged him to put a stop to their

Cromwell  
stops the Lev-  
ellers in the  
army.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. proceedings. Accordingly, he attempted to divide them; and orders were issued for ten regiments to embark for Ireland; but they refused to comply, broke out into open rebellion, and leaving their quarters marched to Burford, in Oxfordshire, where they amounted to five thousand men. But their career was short. Through the vigilance of Cromwell and Fairfax, they were pursued and entirely routed and dispersed.

Ireland invaded by Cromwell. But another Foe was at hand: and the storm of war was about to burst upon the devoted kingdom of Ireland, whose sins and rebellion cried to Heaven for vengeance. The Marquis of Ormond had placed himself at the head of the loyalists, and having secured Dundalk, Trim, and Drogheda, directed his march to Dublin. But his camp being thrown into confusion by an unexpected sally from the town, by night, his followers were dispersed; and whilst he was endeavouring to recover them from their panic and to re-assemble them,—Cromwell, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and favoured by wind and tide, landed at Dublin. He lost not a moment, but impelled with the fury of revenge, carried fire and slaughter into every corner of the devoted land. Drogheda, first, fell under his resistless attack; and the whole town was sacrificed, as he said, to the ghosts of the murdered English; and, so strictly were his orders executed, that it is said not more than thirty persons escaped. Such was

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. the terror inspired by this terrific slaughter, that many places surrendered without a summons: but more were marked out for destruction. Wexford suffered the fate of Drogheda. Ross was taken by assault. The sieges of Duncannon and Waterford occupied a longer period; but, after immense loss on both sides, they were reduced. It was the month of December, and although Cromwell's army was reduced by cold, and disease, and fatigue, to four thousand men, and the Marquis of Ormond was at the head of an army of eight thousand men, nothing could stop his progress, until he had made himself master of the province of Ulster.

In the meantime, Prince Rupert at the first sound of war, appeared with a fleet, off the coast of Ireland: but being encountered by the celebrated Blake with a more powerful fleet, he sailed to Lisbon, where he was blockaded. But the active spirit of the Prince could not long be restrained: he ventured out and sailed to the coasts of Malaga, where he destroyed several English vessels: but a heavy blow impended over him. He was closely pursued by his persevering foe, and, being driven among the Western Islands, he was separated in a hurricane from his beloved brother Maurice, whose vessel perished in the storm. His loss was not only a grief to the Prince; but, to all the good and the brave, in Christendom. He was snatched away in the

Death of  
Prince Maurice

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
thirtieth year of his age, leaving says the historian  
“his great fame to posterity, and the love of his  
person to his contemporaries.”

Conquest of Ireland. The industry, perseverance, and prudence, of the Marquis of Ormond, under the pressing difficulties of his situation, were incredible. But he could not allay the wild animosities of his Irish confederates, and they deserted in crowds to Cromwell, who was thus prepared at the return of spring, for a short and bloody campaign. Calan was first put to the sword: Gowram fell next, where Hammond, the governor, and some of his chief officers were shot in cold blood. Kilkenny and Clonmell, soon after, shared the same fate, whilst his Generals in the North were equally successful. McMahon, at the head of three thousand Irish, the first promoters and the most cruel actors in the Protestant massacre, received a fearful retribution. They had purged themselves from all the English soldiers, under a superstitious notion that they could not prosper whilst one remained in their ranks; and, being encountered by Cort and Venables, were entirely cut in pieces: such a scourge was Cromwell, and his associates, to that unhappy and perfidious people!

England in great distress. Whilst Ireland was thus exposed to the miseries of war, England was groaning under the yoke of the oppressor; the adherents of the Royal cause were persecuted with unrelenting severity. The lands of the King, the Clergy, and the Cava-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
liers, were seized for the public use. The rights of all men were invaded and the liberties of all oppressed. Imprisonment, composition, and sequestrations, became the ordinary acts of Government, as if spoliation and robbery were its legitimate province.

Innumerable evils arose from the lawlessness of the people. Bodies of disorderly men and disbanded soldiers traversed the country, broke into houses, and committed numberless ravages. In religion, the most unheard of disorders prevailed. The most pernicious heresies, the wildest enthusiasm, and the most awful blasphemy, every where prevailed.\* Amongst these was George Fox, the most extravagant enthusiast that ever lived, and whose name would not deserve a record in History, had he not founded the sect of the Quakers, since called the “Society of Friends.”†

\* A Preacher, at Coventry, named Salmon, declared that God was the doer of evil, and taught his followers to commit every sort of abomination on the ground that they were doing the work of God. Another, of the name of Wyke, took upon him the power of breathing the spirit of God into men, by kissing them three times. Socialism is no novelty.

† In his writings, which are extant, are found sentiments at once absurd and blasphemous. He says of himself “I am the door that ever was, the same Christ yesterday, to day and for ever.” In another, “All languages to me are no more than dust, who was before languages were.” But the present opinion of the Society of Friends must not be confounded with the extravagant pretensions of their founder. Since his time, they have had many clever apologists, especially Barclay and Gurney, who have reformed the tenets of their system, and brought it much nearer the Christian standard. But there are still many peculiarities, especially the rejection of the two sacraments, which discover their fanatical origin.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Scotland pro-  
poses terms to  
the King.

But other triumphs awaited the Conqueror of Ireland. Scotland was about to suffer the chastisement, which was due to its dissimulation and treachery. The Scots had long before sent Commissioners to treat with the King, who had retired with a slender court to Breda; but the conditions which they offered were so harsh, and severe, and dishonorable, that he instantly rejected them. But they were now more successful, although the terms of agreement were not much less severe. They demanded as the price of their allegiance and service, that all persons, under the excommunication of the Kirk, should be banished from Court. This was for the purpose of excluding the Marquis of Montrose, the King's most faithful servant. He was required to swear to the solemn League and Covenant, to establish the Directory, Confession of faith and Catechism—to observe them in his own family, and never to attempt any alteration—to consent that all civil affairs should be managed by Parliament and all Ecclesiastical matters by the Assembly.

There was every reason from the confused state of Scotland, from the vigour and power of England, to induce the King to reject conditions, which were abhorrent to his honor and conscience. But the Duke of Buckingham and other noblemen who attended him, supported by the Prince of Orange urged him to the attempt; and, on the fallacious ground that when the people of Scot-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

The Earl of  
Montrose lands  
in Scotland.

land saw their Sovereign, their loyalty and affection would immediately relax from the severity of their proposals. But previously to any resolution of this kind, the King had granted to the Marquis of Montrose, whose element was action, a commission to raise forces in the kingdom of Scotland. He delayed not a moment, but, for fear a treaty with the Scots might annul his authority, with a few hundred soldiers supplied by the Duke of Holstein, he landed in Scotland. And though he did not meet with the reception he expected, he was still undaunted and led his army southward, where he was soon met by General Stranghan, and entirely defeated. A price was set upon his head. But such was the love and veneration of the people for him, that there was little expectation of his being given up. But every scheme which the deadliest hate of his enemies could invent, was set at work. The Presbyterian Ministers, from their pulpits, exhorted the people to search him out, and discover his retreat as a thing necessary for their salvation. He threw himself, however, upon the honour of Lord Aston, who delivered him to his pursuers: and he was brought to Edinburgh, where a degrading triumph was prepared by his enemies. He was seated on a high cart, and ignominiously bound with cords; and, preceded by the common hangman, he was conducted to the public gaol. Within, two days, he was brought before the

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

His defeat  
and death.

Parliament, where he was treated with great harshness and severity, which ended in a most cruel and barbarous sentence. But nothing could shake his magnanimity or daunt his courage, and he made a calm and dignified reply to his accusers. On his return to prison the Presbyterian Ministers followed him, insulted over his fall, and aggravated the terror of his sentence, which they alleged was to be followed by "eternal damnation;" but signified their earnest wish to intercede for him, with the Kirk, if he would give them solid proofs of repentance. He rejected their officiousness, telling them they were a deluded and deluding people: and as if gifted with prophecy, forewarned them that they would shortly bring their miserable country, into the most insupportable servitude. Atrocious as his sentence was, he welcomed it.—"He would rather," he said, "have his head set upon the gate of his prison, than have his picture hung in the King's chamber—that he was so far from being troubled, that his four limbs should be hanged in four cities of the kingdom, that he heartily wished he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a monument of his loyalty to his King and country." On the day of execution, he suffered every indignity with patience, and at last, after devout ejaculations to God, he calmly submitted to the last acts of the executioner.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

The King was at Breda, when the news of this horrible transaction reached him, which he greatly resented, and demanded an account of it from themselves. They had recourse to their usual artifices, and avowed that it was all intended to serve his Majesty.

The Royal party, indeed, did not believe a word of this excusation; and they determined, if it were only for the purpose of keeping alive the interest of the royal cause, to proceed to Scotland; but which an overruling Providence remarkably turned to the condign punishment of that kingdom. It was the twenty-ninth of June, when the King cast anchor at the mouth of the river Spey; and contrary to all expectation, he was obliged to sign the Covenant, before he was permitted to land.

The Marquis of Argyle was the principal person engaged in these transactions, and the chief actor in the scenes which are about to be transacted. He used all his address to render himself agreeable to the young Monarch, and provided him with everything suitable to his high dignity; but reserved the whole management of affairs to himself. In the meantime, the Presbyterian Ministers pursued him with untiring zeal. They insisted on his constant attendance on their long prayers. On Sundays, their rigorous exactions were intolerable, whilst their sermons and their very prayers were libels and bitter invectives against the actions of his father, the idolatry of

The King  
lands in Scot-  
land the 23rd of  
June.  
A. D. 1650.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Cromwell  
Commander-  
in-chief.

his mother, and the malignancy of himself. But the folly and impropriety of their conduct was soon made manifest.

On the fifteenth of July, the King was proclaimed. A numerous army was levied under the command of the Earl of Leiven. But Cromwell was on his way; not as Lieutenant General, but as Commander-in-chief of the English forces—a post to which he succeeded on the resignation of the Lord Fairfax, who refused to take up arms against the Scots, as he considered it a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant. His resignation was a final blow to the Presbyterian interest. On such a circumstance was the elevation of Cromwell made to turn!

With rapid marches, at the head of eleven thousand men, Cromwell advanced to the borders of Scotland; and on the twenty-third of July, crossed the Tweed. He found the Scottish army occupying a very advantageous position near Edinburgh; and resolutely encamped his forces around Musselburgh. In this perilous situation, he was reduced to such straits from want of provisions, that if the Scotch had collected their strength and acted upon national instead of visionary principles, the English army must have been destroyed. But they were entangled in the web of their own inventions, and destroyed by the same spirit of error and delusion which had actuated them from the beginning. For some time,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

they would not permit the King to join the army, because he was the “root and fountain of all malignancy,” and no blessing could attend their arms, under such a general; and when at length it was permitted, and the soldiers discovered a more ardent zeal in the goodness of the cause, from the presence of their sovereign, and it was discovered that the soldiers had marked an R, under the crown, upon their arms, the committee of State and Kirk were thrown into the greatest alarm, and exclaimed, “that the quarrel was changed, and the cause of God neglected.” Nor would they rest satisfied till the King had returned from his command, which he had no sooner done, than all malignants were ordered to retire—a circumstance which despoiled the army of three thousand of its best men. Nor was this all; for when the same loyal party, with a zeal and courage almost incredible, offered to be placed in the front of the army, and to lead the van against Cromwell, they were refused—the Ministers declaring against it, and comparing the sin of malignancy to the sin against the Holy Ghost. They ventured so far as to assert that their forces, thus purged, were invincible; and, that “with an army of saints they could not be beaten.” To such a degree were they infatuated and prepared for punishment!

Nor was this all: they were determined that the King should speak the same language as themselves, as if the will and conscience could be

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. coerced into an acquiescence with sentiments repugnant to the dictates of the understanding. They prepared a declaration of the most unreasonable and arbitrary description, in which the King was made to inveigh against the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother—to acknowledge his own sins and the sins of his father's house—to account all those his enemies who opposed the Covenant—to express his abhorrence against all popery, superstition, and prelacy—to resolve not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions, to declare that he had now found mercy to be on the Lord's side, and that, for the future, he would do nothing without the advice of the Kirk and State. It is almost impossible to say which preponderated, the weakness, absurdity, and tyranny of the Covenanters, in insisting upon such a declaration, or the want of principle in the Monarch in subscribing it. Its extravagance was, certainly, calculated, to lead the King to regard it as an insane production, and that his subscription was as unmeaning as its contents.

Battle of  
Dunbar.

In the meantime, Cromwell found it impossible, in the heart of the enemy's country, any longer to maintain his position; and, on Saturday, the thirty-first of August, he drew his forces out of their quarters, his ships weighing anchor at the same time, with the design of reaching Dunbar, and there embarking his troops. The Scotch followed with a very superior army. The next

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. day, they had the fairest opportunity of cutting off the retreat of the English; but the Committee and Ministers, who accompanied the Scotch camp, would not allow their soldiers to engage on the Lord's day. Cromwell, therefore, reached Dunbar, but he was so hemmed in on all sides, that his destruction appeared inevitable. And the Committee persuading themselves that Cromwell must surrender at discretion, and, being as they said, "certain of a dry victory on the succeeding day," would not permit an attack to be made. The night that intervened was dark, rainy and tempestuous. Cromwell employed the time in refreshing his men and protecting his match-locks from the damp and rain. The Scots, on the contrary, were secure and careless—a circumstance not unobserved by Cromwell—and of which he determined to take advantage. In the morning, which was the third of September, he led out a strong party of horse, and falling on the enemy's horse guards, obliged them to retire. Whatever might have been his design before, he now determined to strike for victory. He immediately brought up his main bodies of horse and foot; and with very little resistance took the Scots cannon, and entered their camp. A dreadful struggle ensued. But it was brief. The Scots fled in every direction. Confusion and terror everywhere prevailed. The Angel of destruction must have preceded the English army: for the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. slaughter was incredible. Three thousand lay dead on the field, and nine thousand were taken prisoners—a number which exceeded that of the whole English army, who only lost three hundred men! A victory in which the hand of God was as manifest as in the triumphs of Poitiers and Cressy.

The King was greatly benefited by this defeat, and was treated with greater respect and indulgence. A Parliament was even called, which by bringing many of the malignant party into the councils of the nation, greatly increased the King's authority and influence; and enabled the Legislature to abolish many obnoxious acts, and to introduce others which tended to strengthen the King's interest among all ranks of people.

Meanwhile, Cromwell held Edinburgh as a conqueror; subdued all the southern fortresses of Scotland, and, with incredible industry and genius, pursued the siege of Edinburgh Castle, the glory of Scotland, and which had never yet surrendered to an enemy. But the day of vengeance was come, and it was doomed to fall. After incessant efforts of skill and bravery, he took it by open assault, on the twenty-fourth of December.

The coronation.

Notwithstanding these warlike transactions, preparations were made for the King's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity, on the first of January, in the Abbey of Scone. He was

also appointed to the command of the army; and everything promised a propitious result. But it was otherwise. The King was deeply affected by the death of his sister, the Princess Elizabeth, who had succeeded her father as prisoner, in Carisbrook Castle, where she mourned over the unhappy fate of her parent, and pined away till she followed him to the grave—"Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." But a still heavier blow awaited him, in the death of the Prince of Orange, his only ally, adviser, and friend. The Prince died of the small pox, a few days before the birth of his son, who was destined to act such a conspicuous part in the History of England.

Nor must we, in this place, omit the death of that celebrated Prelate, who, again and again, would have saved his country had his advice been followed—Williams Archbishop of York. The resources of his genius continued with him to the last: for, perceiving the approach of death, and having no Presbyter near him, to administer to him the sacred rites of the church, he ordained an honest and pious servant who had attended him, for that purpose.

The preparations in Scotland were now in a great state of forwardness; and the King erected the royal standard at Aberdeen; and, from thence marched to Stirling, at the head of a well-provided and superior army. Cromwell, with his

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

Death of  
Archbishop  
Williams.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. usual rapidity, followed upon the King's march, and having reconnoitered his camp, which he found too well fortified to attack, he pursued his career northward, securing every garrison as he advanced, as far as Saint Johnston, which he reduced in one day.

This advance of the English General induced the King to change his Counsels; and, instead of waiting for an opportunity of engaging the enemy, he determined to attempt an inroad into England; in which he was encouraged by the assurances of attachment, and promises of support, which he received from all parts. Expresses were immediately sent, to give his friends the necessary information; and, especially, to the Isle of Man, where the Earl of Derby had secured himself since the termination of the late war.

The King enters Eng- land.  
A. D. 1651. On the thirty-first of July, he broke up his camp at Stirling, and directed his march towards Carlisle, with an army of sixteen thousand men; a force which, with the aid he might justly expect in England, must have secured a speedy triumph, had it not been the just purpose of God, to punish the perfidy of the Scottish nation. Nothing, indeed, can be more clearly indicated than the retribution of a divine Power, inasmuch as the ruin of the expedition must again be attributed to the blindness and fanatical zeal of the Committee of Ministers, who attended, and, even directed, the motions of the army.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. On their arrival at Carlisle, the King despatched General Massey, with some detachments of Cavalry, to give notice of his arrival; and to summon the royalists to his standard. This was a necessary and prudent measure; and the fact, that General Massey was a Presbyterian, was sufficient to give confidence to that party. But the Committue of Ministers, perceiving as they imagined, less regard for the Covenant, in the King and his officers, on this side the Tweed, sent an express after the General, in which they required him to publish the declaration before spoken of, "which testified the zeal of the King and the whole army, for the Covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it." In vain did the King countermand their orders, the royal party everywhere took alarm; and instead of joining the royal army fled from their houses in dismay.

The King, however, pursued his march, and on the twenty-second of August entered Worcester; where he was joined by many of the chief Nobility and Gentry. But, whilst everything bore the most flourishing appearance, and, persons of the first consequence were daily flocking to his standard, he received the tidings of the defeat of the Earl of Derby, who had set out on the first summons, at the head of a valiant band of fifteen hundred men. He was met, near Wigan, by a superior force, under Colonel Lilburne: his new

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
raised forces were put to flight, many persons of quality perished, and he himself, narrowly escaped and joined the King at Worcester.

Battle of Worcester. Meanwhile, on the news of the King's arrival, the Oligarchy, at Westminster, were thrown into consternation, and, at the first moment of alarm, thought of nothing but their own personal safety. But their fears and preparations were unnecessary. In three days, Cromwell appeared before Worcester with an army of thirty thousand men, whilst that of the King's was only about twelve thousand. Many skirmishes took place between the King's forces and different parties of the enemy, with various success. But the fatal day, at last, arrived. On the morning of the third of September, the King had led out his infantry to attack Cromwell, who lay at Perrywood, and himself with great gallantry headed the charge. The battle was contested, for three or four hours, with great obstinacy. On the first onset, the invincible life guards of Cromwell were thrown into great disorder. The King performed prodigies of valour, and during the conflict had two horses shot under him. But he was ill-supported by General Lesley with the horse; and, fresh troops pouring in at every advance, his forces reduced to a mere wreck, were put to flight, whilst he himself, with great difficulty, was persuaded to leave the field.

His retreat, however, was at length secured by the Earl of Cleveland and some others, who

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
rallying the dispersed soldiers gave a check to the enemy as they were entering the city gate. The King was, at that time, among the combatants on foot; but after many ineffectual efforts to rally his troops, being provided with a horse, he escaped by the opposite gate. Four thousand men were slain in the battle: and seven thousand of the Scots were taken prisoners. Many persons of rank perished; and amongst the rest the Duke of Hamilton, who, by his faithful and gallant conduct, had endeavoured to wipe off some portion of the disgrace which had rested upon the reputation of his brother.

This dreadful overthrow in which all was lost, was considered decisive; and it seemed, to all human appearance, as if the the Royal party had received its final blow from which it could never recover. But the Almighty Ruler had other purposes in view; and England was still, to be an EXEMPLAR STATE, and give law to an extensive empire. A few years was to unfold the divine economy. All that had been intended by this expedition was accomplished. The Scots had brought upon themselves a just chastisement. The King was again to retire. The principles of the monarchy were for a season to be suspended. An opportunity was given to the present democratic and sectarian innovation to unfold its real character and tendency: the inveterate prejudices of fanaticism were to be beaten down—the whole

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
anarchical movement was to be restrained and modified, and to work out, at a more distant period, the purposes of the DIVINE BENEVOLENCE.

The King's flight and his final escape from his enemies, is amongst the marvellous records of History. It was ten o'clock in the evening, when he left Worcester, by Saint Martin's gate, attended by a few Noblemen, and, about fifty Horse, with the intention of retreating to Scotland. But they had not reached Kidderminster before it became dark; and their guide declared himself to be at a stand. The King asked if there was no place at hand where he could have a few hours rest. The question brought to the recollection of the Earl of Derby, a person of the name of Penderell, who had befriended him in his late flight from the battle of Wigan. There was not much time for deliberation, and the party directed their flight towards the borders of Shropshire; and arrived at "Whiteladies," about three o'clock in the morning, when the Earl of Derby sent for William Penderell, to whom he recommended the care of the King's person. No sooner was the King, placed in security, than the Lords who accompanied him, took their departure. But they had not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by a party of Cromwell's army. They made a brave resistance: but were finally overpowered. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Levingston and Talbot, fortunately escaped; but the Earl of

Derby and the Lord Lauderdale, were taken prisoners. The former was conveyed to Chester, where he was tried by a junto of officers, treated with great inhumanity, and beheaded at his own county town of Bolton, in Lancashire; and the latter, was detained for many years a prisoner in Windsor Castle. Whilst General Lesley himself, with the remnant of the Scotch army, had scarcely advanced beyond Newport, when he was surrounded by his pursuers; and all his men dispersed or taken prisoners.

The King, soon after the departure of his Nobles, left Whiteladies in disguise for Boscobel House—a mansion, at a short distance, situated in the midst of a beautiful and retired grove—but at that time only inhabited by William Penderell and his wife. His removal from Whiteladies was seasonable; for immediately after, it was entered and searched by a troop of soldiers, under Colonel Ashenhurst. In this retreat the King spent his time chiefly in the wood adjoining, as being more secure than the house. He was attended by his friend, Colonel Carlis, whilst William Penderell and his four loyal brothers, stationed themselves in different parts of the wood, and acted as sentinels. It was in this wood, that the King and his companion found concealment in a large and thickly foliated oak, from whence they could discern various parties engaged in searching for the King, and could even hear their discourse. This noble

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
The King's escape.

SECTION tree, for affording security at such a perilous  
IV. season to the Monarch, was afterwards called the  
CHAP. III. ROYAL OAK.

The Scots  
sold for slaves.

Whilst the King was sustaining the hardships of his condition, at Boscobel, with incomparable patience, Cromwell, directed his march southward, driving before him three thousand unfortunate Scots as prisoners, the greater part of whom were, afterwards, sold as slaves into the British plantations in America. He entered London in triumph, and was received both by the city and Parliament with marks of distinguished honour, and a pension of £6,000, was awarded to him. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with a pension, nor to be controlled by a Parliament which he had created and supported. From the moment of his victory, which he considered his "crowning mercy," his character rapidly developed. He first ascertained the sentiments of his companions in arms, with respect to the future Government of the nation. And then, by the most artful policy, he induced the Commons to come to a popular vote, that the present Parliament should not continue beyond the third of November, 1654. From that moment the Commons sunk into neglect, and Cromwell was made supreme; and, every succeeding day unfolded his design of securing to himself an undivided power.

Scotland still  
suffers.

Nor had he yet done with Scotland, which was doomed to be reduced to the most degraded con-

dition, and united to England, as a conquered SECTION  
Province. Major General Monk, who had been IV.  
left as Commander-in-Chief in that country, acted CHAP. III.  
up to the letter of his instructions. The magnificent castle and town of Stirling, in which were found all the ancient treasures of the monarchy and the records of the kingdom, was seized in defiance of the lofty boast which King James had inscribed upon its walls: "HÆC NOBIS INVICTA TULERUNT CENTUM SEX PROAVI." Dundee was taken by storm. St. Andrews, Dumbarton, and others, soon after followed; and the whole kingdom was subdued, even to the Isles of Orkney and Shetland. New Judicatories and Courts of Justice were opened. Meetings were called in every county, and the inhabitants were made to subscribe a renunciation of the King, and declare their submission to the English Commonwealth. The use of arms was denied them, and even of horses, except for the most necessary purposes. Their Kirk was despised and insulted; and their "Covenant" neglected and trampled under foot: and, last of all, which never happens, except in the last stage of the most abject slavery, the sacred records of the nation were removed from their ancient repositories, and sent off to the city of their conquerors. Whilst, to make the hand of Heaven manifest in their humiliation, when, in after times these records were sent back, the ship in which they were conveyed was lost by shipwreck!

Degradation  
of Scotland.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Death of Ire-  
ton.

At the same time, the conquest of Ireland was completed by General Ireton. But his own days were numbered; and the avenger himself, in the midst of his career of blood and slaughter, was cut off from the earth. He had just executed his vengeance on the town of Limerick, when he was seized with the plague, and died in the most fearful manner, crying out in his delirium, "I will have more blood! blood! blood!" Thus perished this wicked and audacious regicide, originally intended for the law—a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition, and such a determined republican, that his removal was a necessary step to the advancement of Cromwell.

War with  
Holland.

Other nations, who had been accessory to the English rebellion, were now, in their turn, to feel the ungovernable fury of the Regicides. The Oligarchy at Westminster, observing, with jealousy, the prosperity of the rival republic of Holland, sent an ambassador to the States, to establish a treaty of commerce; but their demands were too preposterous to be entertained for a moment. The Parliament immediately passed an act to inhibit all foreign ships from bringing merchandise into England, except the produce of their own country. This was total destruction to the interest of the States; and they made preparations for a war which they saw to be inevitable.

This war was very unpopular with Cromwell, who saw the danger to be apprehended to his own

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

The King  
escapes.

power, should the Parliament once establish for themselves a victorious and dependent power in the navy. But the time to act was not yet arrived, and, for the present, he concealed his uneasiness.

Meanwhile the King, who had left his retreat at Boscobel, had travelled, during the space of forty-one days, in various disguises, with great pain and fatigue, more than three hundred miles. He had traversed the country from Worcester to Bristol, and from thence to Shoreham, in Sussex; where, after a variety of the most extraordinary escapes, he embarked on the thirteenth of October, and arrived safely at Feschamp, in Normandy.

The navies of the contending powers were already in motion; and the King, who was then in Paris, gallantly offered to attend the Dutch Admiral on board his fleet; but the trading and cautious policy of the Dutch, who were anxious for nothing so much as peace, prevented them from accepting his offer. The first encounter was off the coast of Scotland, in which Admiral Blake triumphed over the enemy's line of battle ships, and carried off the fishing flotilla, which they were stationed to guard: whilst Sir George Aiscough, returning from the conquest of Barbadoes, was sent with thirty ships to the westward, where, on the twentieth of August, near Plymouth, he fell in with and attacked the whole Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, when they were again discomfited; but the majority of their ships

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. escaped, on account of the injuries which the sails and tackling of the English ships had received in the action: the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp having retired, he was succeeded by De Wit, in commission with De Ruyter. Nor was it long before Blake came up with them, off the coast of Kent, when a dreadful battle ensued, in which the English had the advantage, and pursued the remnant of their shattered fleet within a few miles of their own coast. But their damages were soon repaired; for being reinforced from Denmark, they put to sea once more, with eighty ships of war, under their celebrated Admiral Van Tromp. But Blake, with an heroic courage which did not ask how many, but where his enemies were, bore down upon them off the Goodwin Sands, with forty ships of the line. The battle raged from two o'clock in the afternoon till six at night. The two Admirals exerted all their courage and dexterity. The English fought with their usual intrepidity, and took and destroyed six of their ships, yet the superior numbers of the Dutch prevailed; and the whole English fleet must have been in great danger, had not the night been favourable to their retreat. Whilst the two naval Commanders were preparing for future action, Cromwell was pursuing his great design; and, in order to facilitate his future aggrandisement, he caused the Duke of Gloucester, who had been confined in Carisbrook Castle, to be set at liberty. He

Naval en-  
gagement.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. was conveyed to Dunkirk, with two attendants; from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he was received by his mother and brothers with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. The Parliament were no less assiduous in strengthening their supposed interest. The fleet was repaired and increased at vast expense, and with great zeal and industry. Great encouragements were held out to the sailors; and Dean and Monk were put in commission with Admiral Blake. Nor were the Dutch behind. Early in February, an express was sent to their Admiral, at Rhee, to blockade the Thames, in order that their merchant ships might put to sea. But to their amazement, the English Admirals were already at sea, with eighty ships of war; and on the eighteenth of February intercepted the Dutch fleet, consisting of seventy-six ships, with a convoy of three hundred merchantmen.

The battle became general about ten o'clock in the forenoon. The combatants thought of nothing but death or victory; and it was fought with desperate valour on both sides, till the darkness of night compelled them to desist. Never was a watery field more obstinately contended. Havoc, and ruin, and carnage, attended the mighty struggle; and the rocky heights on both sides of the channel were shaken with the thunders of their cannon. The slain was equal on both sides; but Van Tromp having lost eleven men of war, thirty

Naval en-  
gagement.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. merchantmen, and fifteen thousand prisoners, was forced to retire; but for two days, driving his merchantmen before him, he sustained the incessant attacks of the English, till he reached the sands of Calais, where, favoured by the tide, he drifted to his own shores.

Cromwell, and the Fifth Monarchy. The States of Holland were deeply afflicted with the news of this terrible defeat; and sent letters to the English Parliament, with a design of putting an end to these unprofitable and bloody contests. But the Parliament, who were becoming formidable by their success, refused to listen to their representations, although seconded by all the interest of Cromwell, who now saw that the time was come to destroy the power which he himself had established. He again sounded his friends and adherents as to their views of the Government; but found, in all, the same determined opposition, and the establishment of a Republic seemed to be inevitable. But Cromwell was not intimidated. His great difficulty was with the army, and some of its leading officers. Their unbridled licentiousness had passed through every stage of "levelling" and "modelling" into the wildest fanaticism. They now denominated themselves "Fifth Monarchy Men," and Colonel Harrison, who has already been before the reader, was at the head of this sect, which approved of no government, except where Christ was to rule and exercise dominion by his saints. Cromwell,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. with his usual dissimulation, pretended to enter fully into their views, and declared that it was his design to prepare the way for the reign of the Messiah! The Parliament was fully aware of these proceedings, and used every precaution to avoid the impending blow: but in vain. On the tenth of April, Cromwell entered the House with a file of musqueteers, to put an end to their deliberations. He dismissed the Members with insults and reproaches; and, locking the doors, returned to his apartments at Whitehall. Thus perished, for a time, the miserable remnant of the LONG PARLIAMENT, after it had conducted the nation through every stage of political iniquity, civil contention, and slaughter; and delivered the people, whose liberties they had usurped, and whose resources they had embezzled, into the hands of a tyrant; and they were now driven from their usurpation with dishonour, and without regret. They had run a long and varied course; nor yet in vain. They had abolished all the remnants of ancient and feudal times, and made room, at a future period, for the growth and perfection of the British Constitution, and the advance of the British Empire.

Never did the Usurper discover his sagacity more than at this juncture. Ardently as he longed for the sovereign authority, he would not run the risk of losing the glittering prize by too hasty a seizure of it. In conformity with the fanatical

Cromwell's policy.  
A. D. 1653.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. opinions of the army, he determined to assemble a Parliament exactly of the character indicated by Colonel Harrison.

The fanatical  
Parliament.

On their assembling at Westminster, amongst many other things in unison with their ideas of Government, he told them that he had not made choice of one person, in whom he had not this good hope, "that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people." After exhorting them to "use with tenderness all conscientious people," he devolved upon them, by a written instrument, the supreme authority of the Commonwealth.

Such was the beginning of this unhappy Parliament; and every day only served to exhibit their mad folly, and to expose them to the contempt and execration of their fellow citizens. Labouring, as they did, under a false impression, and deluded into the vain belief, that they were the predestined agents for the establishment of the kingdom of the Son of God upon earth, they discovered all that vain consequence, and rash presumption, which such a delusion was likely to create in such ignoble minds. In them was exhibited the "ne plus ultra" of fanaticism, affording a salutary lesson, to all future posterity, of the evils to be apprehended from breaking down the long-established and reasonable boundaries of Religion, and yielding to the impulses of a disordered imagination. One example must suffice

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. to shew the extent of their absurd pretensions. —The Dutch war had been carried on with great vigour, and two great and decisive victories had been achieved by General Monk, against all their celebrated Admirals.\* In the last engagement, which was fought with desperate valour, off the coast of Flanders, the brave Van Tromp was slain—an irreparable loss to the Dutch, who now earnestly sued for peace. But the English Parliament was inexorable, except on conditions exactly in accordance with their own vain pretensions. In their answer, they stated, "that the Dutch were carnal and worldly-minded politicians—enemies to the kingdom of Christ; and such as would, upon all occasions, retard the progress of the saints and people of God in overturning the powers of the world. That Antichrist, the man of sin, could never be destroyed, in Italy, whilst the Dutch retained any considerable strength in the Netherlands. They did not insist upon the flag, or the dominion of the sea; but held it necessary, in order to the coming of Christ and his personal reign, that the seas should be scourged, and kept as peaceably as the land, and that both ought jointly to submit to the power of King Jesus—that the Dutch ought to kiss the Son, lest he be angry—and should take care how

\* With these naval victories, Cromwell had nothing to do; and it ought to be remembered that they were achieved by those very ships built by the late King, out of the revenue furnished by the ship-money!

SECTION IV. they contemned his "holy ones, lest they be chastised with a rod of iron."

CHAP. III.

The Dutch, who came to negotiate with England, and not with the "Fifth Monarchy," were astounded at these lofty pretensions. In vain did they urge their zeal and sincere affection for the true reformed Religion—all their arguments were ineffectual; and, in order to save their country from extirpation, they determined to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances. But their deliverance was nearer than they expected. Cromwell saw that the moment for him to act was arrived: he entered into a treaty with the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, in which they agreed to assist him against all his foreign and domestic foes, whilst he engaged to strip the saints of the power with which he had invested them.

The fanatical Parliament dismissed.

Accordingly, on the twelfth of December, he sent Colonel White, with a file of musqueteers, who very unceremoniously dismissed these infatuated men, after they had sat as a Parliament for five months and eight days. Their dismissal was followed by a resolution of the Council of State, that the government of the kingdom should be vested in a single person, and that OLIVER CROMWELL should be raised to that dignity, under the style and title of LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England. The nation, torn in pieces with its dissensions, and broken down with so many usurpations, was obliged to submit in

silence. Cromwell lost not a moment, but proceeded to his inauguration; which was performed, with great pomp and magnificence, in Westminster Hall. A Council was appointed. The power of the sword was vested in the Protector, jointly with the Parliament, when sitting; or, if not, with the Council. He was obliged to summon a Parliament once every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without adjournment; and a standing army was to be allowed of thirty thousand men. The Protector was to enjoy his office for life; and, on his death, his place was to be supplied by the Council. But all this was a dead letter, except the standing army, which was sufficient to answer the Usurper's purpose.

No sooner was Oliver Cromwell seated in the chair of sovereignty, than ambassadors arrived from many of the potentates of Europe. Amongst the ambassadors who crouched at the feet of the Usurper, the representative of the French King urged the claims of his master in the most flattering terms, and expressed the personal respect of the French monarch for "His Highness," in a eulogy which might have suited the most heroic and virtuous of Kings.

But the people of England who felt the yoke of the oppressor could not be deceived. Arbitrary measures which are but the play-things of Princes; and, with them, spring from the wantonness of power, in the hands of a Usurper like

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

Base flattery  
of the French  
King.  
A. D. 1654.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. Cromwell, were the necessary instruments of government. All parties alike felt the weight of his restoring hands. Presbyterians, Levellers, and Royalists, all felt that they had a MASTER. Ordinances were promulgated, declaring what was high treason against the State and Protector; and the "High Court of Justice," which had been so successfully employed under the Long Parliament, was again opened. Nor were these unmeaning forms. Mr. Gerard, a person of noble family, and a Mr. Vowell, a person of great excellence and learning, were both executed for a conversation which was reported to have taken place between them in a tavern. But which, at the place of execution they both denied, and, died with a Christian patience and heroism, equal to any of the worthies which had preceded them. Very different was the end of Sir H. Vane, senior, who died at this time despised and rejected of all men, nor by any, more than his own son by whom he had been seduced and betrayed.

Death of Sir  
H. Vane.

New Parlia-  
ment

The time was now approaching when, according to "the instrument of Government," the Protector must convene Parliament; and every effort was made to secure the return of such members as should be most obsequious to his wishes. But it was a difficult task. On the fourth of September this new Parliament was opened, on which occasion, Cromwell proceeded to Westminster, in great state and splendour. Lenthall was chosen

speaker; and, no sooner had the Protector left the house than they began to dispute the authority by which they were assembled. The few members of the "Long Parliament" who had been re-elected, still animated with the principle of contradiction, contended that that was the only assembly, duly elected, and which had been unlawfully dismissed.

For several days, the debates ran high, in favour of Republicanism and a Commonwealth, in which Bradshaw, Lord Grey of Groby, and Hazlerigg signalized themselves. But they had forgotten that they were no longer members of the Long Parliament; and their master thought it high time to interfere, and put an end to their disputes. Having stationed a guard at the door of the House, he ordered the members to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he sharply rebuked them for their "heats and divisions," and laid before them, a recognition of the Government by a single person and a Parliament, which he obliged them to subscribe. The members who would not sign this instrument he not only excluded from their seats; but, sent the more refractory to prison, amongst whom was Colonel Harrison, his late Prime Minister and associate. The majority of the members acceded to his terms. But nothing was done by this Parliament; and at the end of the period indicated by the instrument of government they were despatched by

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

Rebuked by  
Cromwell.

SECTION IV. the Protector, with every epithet of disgust and contumely.

CHAP. III.

His pride and haughtiness, on this occasion, filled the minds of all men with resentment. Republicans and Royalists were equally indignant; and nothing was heard of, but plots and conspiracies against the life of the Usurper. But he had still a great work to perform, which no man living was so well-fitted to accomplish as himself—to bring back the tone of the public mind, to destroy the spirit of Republicanism and to prepare the people, by a strict discipline, however unjustly administered, for the return of their legitimate monarchy.

Whilst preparations were thus making for this auspicious event, the King, driven by political interest from one kingdom to another, at length found a generous asylum at Cologne\* where he took up his residence. He sustained his adverse fortune with becoming fortitude, and regulated the expenses of his household with great prudence and economy, on six hundred pistoles a month. Sir Stephen Fox was his comptroller, and had the management of his affairs; and, Lord Clarendon bestows great commendation on that gentleman: but he was so far from taking the whole credit to himself, that he shewed a paper of accompts

\* An ancient and celebrated town in Germany. It is seated on the river Rhine, and is a free imperial city, having a seat and a voice at the Diet of the Empire and circle of the lower Rhine.

written in the King's own hand, to Mr. Echard, and told him that he was the best economist he ever knew. Whilst at Cologne, he spent a great part of his time in reading and study; nor must it be omitted that at this period, he discovered a steady and unwavering attachment to the Protestant religion. The Duke of Gloucester was, then, at Paris; and every effort was made to induce the young Prince to give up his religious principles: but he still remembered the dying injunctions of his father, and resisted all the promises of his mother, and all the arguments and exhortations of the Abbot Montague, who had been appointed his tutor. They had recourse even to rigour and severity. The King heard of this with great concern, and sent the Marquis of Ormond, with an express command, to bring the young Prince to him, a commission which he executed at great hazard to his own person and through almost insurmountable difficulties. But how unstable is man! a short time after this, the King himself fell into the snare, and, secretly, became what his brother the Duke of York, afterwards avowed himself to be—a Romanist; whilst the Duke of Gloucester alone died in the Protestant faith! But the King's repose and comparative enjoyment at Cologne was unseasonably interrupted by the impatient zeal of his subjects in England, who were ashamed of their abject condition; and stimulated to resistance, by the over-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

The King's conduct.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

The insurrec-  
tion of  
A. D. 1655.

bearing insolence of the Usurper. Daily communications were sent to Cologne, in which they exaggerated their own strength; and under-rated that of their enemies. The King, for some time, repressed their ardour, and laid his commands upon them not to attempt any rash enterprize, which could only terminate in the destruction of more of his loyal subjects. But, at length, worn out with their importunities he gave his permission for an insurrection, which was appointed to take place on a certain day, Wilmot, now Earl of Rochester, generously offered his services and was sent over, together with Sir John Wagstaff, to bring the project to maturity. The King himself repaired to Flushing, that he might be nearer to the scene of action. But the hour of his deliverance was not yet arrived, nor, were the minds of the people of England sufficiently restored for his return. The insurrection entirely failed. The royalists, who engaged in it, were treated with great severity. But the leaders of the revolt fortunately escaped; Penrudduck and Grove, were the only persons of condition who were executed.

But Cromwell did not fail to improve his success: and laid heavy contributions on the Presbyterians and Levellers, whom he suspected to be indisposed to his government; but the Cavaliers felt his severest displeasure; and were made to pay into the public treasury one tenth of their whole estate. But still he found the minds of

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

Establish-  
ment of arbi-  
trary power.  
A. D. 1655.

men refractory; and, to bring the whole nation into entire subjection, he resolved upon an extraordinary expedient. He divided the counties into provinces, and constituted twelve persons, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to the office of Prefects, whom he denominated "Major Generals." Their authority in their several provinces was absolute. It was in their power to send for, and examine all suspected persons—to levy all public monies, to sequester the estates of all who refused to pay their decimations. Nay, their inquiries extended to all private assemblies, and to persons who lived at too high a rate for their apparent means! With the Major Generals were associated "Assessors," whose province it was, to inquire into, and inform against all persons who might be obnoxious to their tribunal. Besides this, they possessed a military jurisdiction, and, had a kind of provincial militia, who were enlisted and called out under their authority. It is almost impossible to conceive a more arbitrary or coercive system, nor is it possible to describe the intolerable evils to which the people were subjected by the rigorous exactions and unparalleled cruelty of these authorities. But whilst Cromwell was making use of these tyrannical methods, solely for the purpose of securing himself in the Seat of Power—it is manifest to the most superficial observer, that means less stringent would not have been sufficient to restore the disordered

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. elements of society; and, prepare them, by a severe discipline, for again taking their place under a well-regulated government. Yet it was a desperate remedy; and, of necessity, the minds of all men were filled with hatred, disgust, and indignation, against their oppressor. And it must not be omitted, as affording a useful lesson to all innovators, that the haughty and implacable Lord Say, defeated in all his grand projects, and stung with remorse, retired to the Isle of Lundy, off the north of Devonshire, where with a band of retainers, he maintained himself a voluntary prisoner till the death of the Usurper.

Cromwell assists the Protestants in Savoy. Nor was it the unquiet and licentious spirits of this country only, that felt the power of his restraining hand. The Duke of Savoy, at the instigation of the Pope, and the Princes of Italy, had undertaken a crusade against the Piedmontese Protestants, in the valley of Lucerne. The Duke having defeated them, with great slaughter, drove them from their dwellings into the mountains, where they were exposed to every extremity of cold and hunger. The Protestant Princes very generally, interfered: but Cromwell proclaimed a solemn fast; caused large contributions to be made, and, through his influence with the Cardinal of France, obliged the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had taken, and to re-establish the Piedmontese in all their privileges. The Pope himself was terrified at his threatening—"That

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia and the sound of his cannon should be heard at Rome."

The fleet being now at liberty, the Protector fitted out two powerful armaments: one, under Admiral Blake, against the Algerine pirates; and the other under Penn and Venables, against the Island of Hispaniola. The former Admiral conducted his mission with great courage and success: but the two latter, having encountered great hardships, were repulsed, but they made themselves masters of Jamaica; a conquest so lightly esteemed at that time, that the two Admirals were committed to the tower, on account of their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

During this year, two individuals died whose memories it would be ungrateful not to record. The first, was that great and excellent man James Duke of Richmond; who had never once deviated from the path of honour and loyalty; and, after having seen his three brothers fall in the royal cause, himself died of a broken heart. The next was Dr. James Usher, the glory of his country, both for learning and piety. His christian charity and meekness, disarmed all his enemies. He displayed his great attainments, in many noble treatises, and, was invited by Cardinal Richelieu and other eminent foreigners, to repair into their countries. Even Cromwell was overawed by his excellence, shewed him some particular marks of

Conquest of  
Jamaica.  
A. D. 1656.

Deaths of the  
Duke of Rich-  
mond and  
Archbishop  
Usher.

SECTION IV. his respect, and, after his death, was at the charge of a public funeral.

CHAP. III.

War with Spain.

The wanton aggression of Cromwell on the Spanish colonies, provoked that nation to declare war against England. But Cromwell, who was now absolute, entered into alliance with France, stipulating to send three thousand men to be placed under the celebrated Turenne, on condition that Dunkirk and Mardyke, when taken, should be placed in his hands.

Admirals, Blake and Montague, were sent to blockade the port of Cadiz, and to intercept the Plate fleet. Most of the Spanish ships were lost or burnt in the conflict, and the Admiral returned to Portsmouth, with the Marquis of Badajoz as prisoner, and bullion, to the amount of two millions. Cromwell to increase the eclat of this exploit caused it to be conveyed to London in waggons.

The Protector was now in the zenith of his glory and prosperity. He caused justice to flow in an uninterrupted stream through the kingdom, excepting where his own person was concerned. Property became secure. Trade began to flourish, and the arts of peace to be cultivated.

Cromwell's policy. As to religion, whilst he favoured the Independents, he allowed a private toleration to all, taking the greatest pleasure in humbling the Presbyterians, who, at this period learnt a lesson which they have not yet forgotten. Nor did he

SECTION IV. spare any pains to render himself popular. He entertained the active and gay with raillery and jesting, hunting and hawking. The "godly" with prayers and expositions of scripture. His officers with frolic and gambol. He turned all men to his purposes, and had the most perfect intelligence of all things transacted, both in his own and all foreign courts; and, it is said, that in this system of espionage he expended £300,000 a year.

How long the Protector might have continued in the quiet possession of his authority, had he not, himself, interrupted it, it is impossible to say. But his ambition was not yet satisfied with the possession of royal authority. He aspired to the title of King.

For this purpose he determined to assemble a new Parliament; and as a preparatory step, he summoned before him as many as he knew most disaffected to his design. Amongst these, were the notorious Bradshaw, and, the no less notorious Sir H. Vane, the latter of whom he sent a prisoner, as if to demonstrate the hand of a retributory Providence, to Carisbrook Castle! Every effort was made, through the instrumentality of the "Major Generals" to influence the electors; and, to obtain full security for their conduct, no person was admitted into the House, who did not receive a "ticket of admission" from the council of State. This Parliament fully answered the

SECTION IV. expectations of the Protector—granted him large supplies and abolished the power of the Major

CHAP. III. Generals, whose authority was no longer necessary to his purposes; and, to crown the whole,

Makes an offer of the crown. after a long debate, made him a formal offer of the crown, in which, before the whole nation they made this remarkable declaration, recommending

“The title and office of a King as settled here with Christianity, in itself approved and retained by our ancestors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England.”

Notwithstanding, he was disappointed in the attainment of his grand object; and every step he took, was overruled by the high Providence of Heaven, to prepare the way for the establishment of the ancient monarchy. Indeed, all the transactions connected with this vain-glorious attempt, are striking and instructive. A committee was appointed, consisting of the principal regicides and republicans, to argue in favour of the measure, before Cromwell, which they did for two days in the most elaborate manner! But the proposition was violently opposed by Lambert and the principal officers of the army—a circumstance which would not have deterred the Usurper from his enterprize, had it not been for the obstinate manner in which it was resisted by those whom he loved. His son-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother Desborough, plainly assured him that if he assumed the title of King he would be assassinated.

SECTION IV. On the eighth of May, the Protector sent a message to the House to meet him in the Ban-

CHAP. III. quetting Hall. On this occasion, his looks were discomposed, his whole frame appeared to be agitated; whilst with great difficulty, he composed himself to speak, and, in faltering terms he declined the honour which was the great object of his ambition. His guardian genius seemed to forsake him and yield him up to the insulted spirit of the King. The whole scene argued the expiration of his power; and his refusal seemed an immediate act of Heaven, predictive of the restoration of the legitimate and banished monarch.

The Protectorship was re-established by a new instrument of government, in which, his powers were greatly enlarged and his inauguration solemnized in Westminster Abbey with great pomp and magnificence, at which, the Earl of Warwick, Whitelock, and Widdrington the speaker, principally officiated. The two former invested him with a gorgeous purple robe of velvet lined with ermine, whilst the speaker said: “It was an emblem of magistracy and imported righteousness and justice.” After which, seated in a chair of state, the bible, sceptre and sword, were each presented to him with an appropriate speech; nothing was wanting but the crown and an Archbishop, and, to conclude the ceremonial, an oath was administered to him to govern the kingdom according to law.

Cromwell's forced refusal. A. D. 1657.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Exploits of  
Admiral Blake.

His charac-  
ter.

Whilst these things were transacting on land the indefatigable Blake was pursuing his conquests by sea. He had rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz, and receiving certain intelligence of the Plate fleet, he weighed anchor with twenty-five sail of the line, and on the twentieth of April appeared in the offing, off the harbour of Sante Cruz.\* The Galleons had already arrived to the number of sixteen men of war. The Bay was secured by a strong castle and seven forts, all united by a line of ramparts. The difficulty and danger of cutting out the fleet were extreme: but nothing could daunt the courage of Blake and his associates. The conflict was tremendous and lasted several hours, and ended in the total destruction of the Spanish fleet. But it was the last action of the English Admiral. He returned to England in triumph, but worn out with his unparalleled labours, he died as his fleet entered Plymouth sound. He was a man of a patriotic and independent spirit. He was not actuated by the fluctuating politics of the period, nor followed the interest of the predominating party on shore, but sought to sustain the honour of his country, and the British empire of the sea. It was his constant argument and theme, amongst his seamen, "That they should not listen to any news from land, nor mind the changes in government;

\* Island of Teneriffe.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Hyde made  
Lord Chancel-  
lor.

but remember, that the fleet was English and their enemies foreigners."

The tide of affairs began now rapidly to advance. The King immediately after the declaration of war with Spain, removed from Cologne, and took up his residence at Bruges,\* in a style more suited to his royal dignity. It was at this period, on the death of Sir Edward Herbert, that Lord Edward Hyde was appointed Lord High Chancellor, and took charge of the great seal, "which the King had, up to that time, kept in his own possession."

Cromwell, in the mean time, pursued his design of aggrandizing himself and his family; but, in reality, of preparing the way for the King's return, to which every transaction tended. His Parliament met again on the twentieth of January, the authority and dignity of which he had confirmed and adorned by the formation of a House of Peers, which he had summoned by writ according to the ancient custom of the Kings of England. Mr. St. John who had, throughout, followed the fortunes of Cromwell, and was termed his "dark lantern" was elected a member of this august House; but Lenthall was overlooked, an omission which it is said nearly broke his heart. Cromwell, however, in pity, favoured him with a writ of summons.

\* A city of the Austrian Netherlands.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Cromwell's  
pride.

On the opening of Parliament, the Protector proceeded in state to the House of Peers; and, having summoned the Commons to the bar, he formally addressed them in the usual monarchical style. But in the midst of his ungovernable pride, he had omitted to fill up in the Commons, the places of those whom he had elevated to the Peerage, or to take any precautions against the admission of those members whom he had formerly excluded. In consequence of this oversight, the Commons became quite ungovernable: they inveighed against the authority of the House of Peers, and even complained of the Protector for taking upon him such an unwarrantable power as that of appointing them. Cromwell was filled with alarm and indignation, because he was not without his suspicions that the countenance of the army had some share in the insolent demeanour of the Commons. His vigilance however, never slumbered. He inspected the watch himself for several nights; and found it necessary, in order to save his House of Peers, to dissolve the Commons. He communicated his design to Fleetwood who strongly dissuaded him; but laying his hand upon his breast, in his usual vehement manner, "he swore by the living God he would do it,"

His alarms.

But it was the expiring effort of his authority. He had re-established the sovereign power in a single person—he had beaten down the hopes of

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

all vain pretenders, both in religion and politics—he had even with incredible industry restored the semblance of a House of Peers, and having prepared the way for the return of a regular government, he was shorn of his strength and deserted by the genius which had sustained and impelled him. He became sullen and dejected, and filled with those direful apprehensions, which at length overtake the guilty. He became difficult of access, suspicious of all who approached him—wore armour under his clothes—was armed with pistols and daggers—travelled with great rapidity—never returned by the same way that he went, and never slept, in any room which had not secret doors, which were always guarded by armed servants. His fears became known to the public, and emboldened the disaffected to enter upon new plots for his destruction. He was particularly affected by a powerful pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder."\* All humanity was now banished from his character, and lashed by the furies of a disturbed conscience, he determined still further to wash his hands in the blood of the innocent; and, once more, called into existence the "High Court of Justice." Before this tribunal, he brought Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, men of the highest character and reputation, who were condemned and executed with

\* Written, as was afterwards well known, by a Captain Titus.

SECTION many others, under every circumstance of severity  
IV. and cruelty.

CHAP. III.

All classes of men were now united against him; and, perhaps, the most remarkable document of these times, is an address of the sectaries to the King, which shewed how rapidly the tide of affairs was now setting in towards its ancient limits.\*

The King  
reduced to de-  
spair.

The King himself had left Bruges for Brussels, on finding that the Spanish alliance afforded him little assistance, especially since the taking of Dunkirk by the French, which, by stipulation had been delivered into the hands of Cromwell. All human aid appeared now to fail him, and France and Spain, after a war of thirty years, had now entered into a treaty of peace. But, at this juncture, when his cause seemed utterly hopeless, the Arbiter of human affairs, by a series of extraordinary changes, was preparing the way for his return to the throne of his fathers. Would that his conduct had been worthy of the prosperity which awaited him!

Cromwell's  
decline.

The first notice of this important event was the decline of Cromwell's health, whose days were numbered. To the restless and tormenting disquietude of his mind, were added the most harassing domestic affliction. The Earl of Warwick who had married his daughter, died: the Earl of Felconbridge who had married his other daughter,

\* Preserved in Clarendon's History.

was opposed to his opinions and interest. But it was the death of his favourite daughter, Mrs. SECTION  
Claypole, that entirely overwhelmed him. She IV.  
was a zealous royalist, and, on her death-bed, CHAP. III.  
represented to him in terms which filled him with grief and remorse, the heinousness of the crimes of which he had been guilty. From that time he was never seen to smile; and, about the middle of August, he was seized with a slow fever, which degenerated into a tertian ague. For some days, the disorder appeared in no degree formidable; and, every alternate day, he walked out in the garden at Hampton Court. But one day, after dinner, whilst his five physicians were present, one of them feeling his pulse, remarked "*that it intermitted.*" It was the announcement of the awful summons of death, he started and turned pale, and being seized with a cold sweat, he ordered himself to be conveyed to bed. The blow was so sudden and unexpected that his chaplains and domestics could not believe, that their potent master, who was the idol of their fanatical attachment and imaginary hopes could die the common death of all men. The next morning, when one of his physician's waited upon the Protector, with sadness depicted in his countenance, the Protector said: "Ye physicians think I shall die; but I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure on't." Such was also the promises of all around him: for, the same physician, as he retired, meet-

His sickness.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. ing an acquaintance expressed some fear respecting the Protector. "You are certainly a stranger," replied the other, "to this house. Don't you know what was done last night? the chaplains and all that are dear to God, dispersed in several parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have brought this answer that HE SHALL RECOVER." Nay, to that extreme of folly was their enthusiasm carried, that having appointed a solemn fast through the household, they did not so much pray for his health, as thank God for the undoubted pledges of his recovery. But the Almighty fiat proceeded to its accomplishment. The dying man, labouring under the same visionary impressions as his deluded chaplains and friends, was conveyed to Whitehall: on which occasion, Doctor Goodwin in his prayers, gave utterance to such sentiments as ought to prove a warning to blind and erring mortals of the matchless folly and presumption of setting up their prejudices as the measure of the divine procedure. "They asked not," he said, "for his life, for they were assured He had too great things for this man to do to remove him yet; but they prayed for his *speedy* recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things, then of great moment to be dispatched."

Presumption  
of his Chap-  
lain.

Sustained by the false security supplied by these flattering suggestions, the expiring Usurper

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. expressed no remorse at the remembrance of the crimes through which he had waded to his "bad pre-eminence;" but sheltered himself still more in the abstract dogmas of that theology, which was in a great measure, the foundation of all this delusion and impiety. Instead of a practical inquiry into his conduct as a christian, the only inquiry which at this awful moment, occurred to the Protector to make, was, "whether a man could fall from grace?" which, being answered by Doctor Goodwin in the negative, he replied: "Then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." On such fallacious grounds, after a career of the most consummate hypocrisy, falsehood, cruelty, murder, ambition and pride, did this Arch-Usurper without remorse, without compunction, without repentance, satisfy himself of the truth of his christian principles, and assure himself of a blessed immortality. But in defiance of the predictions of his chaplains—his final hour was now fast approaching; and he was about to pass away to that tribunal, where the crudities of an unauthorised system could have no influence upon his condition, where he would be adjudged by the purity of his motives and the holiness of his life, as the necessary results of the justifying faith of Christ—a tribunal where by his "words he would be justified," or by his "words condemned." Matt. xii. 37. He died on Friday the third of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon—a

His own de-  
lusions.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. day which he always considered as most propitious to him, and on which, two of his great victories, Dunbar and Worcester had been achieved.

The news of his death was instantly conveyed to the conclave of his parasites who, were thrown into the greatest consternation. "Be not troubled" cried Mr. Peter Sterry, "this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was among us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to Heaven at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there, to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions."

and his death.  
A. D. 1658.

Thus died Oliver Cromwell, as he had lived, amidst folly, presumption, and blasphemy.

His ostentatious funeral

The most extensive preparations were made for his funeral, which was solemnized, on a scale of magnificence, such as was never surpassed in the funeral rites of any sovereign that ever lived—but solemnized over an empty coffin! For, as if to manifest the displeasure of Heaven, and to rob his flatterers of the object of their idolatry—the body, although artificially embowelled, embalmed with aromatic spices, wrapt in six-fold cerecloth, and placed in a wooden coffin lined with lead, after an unusual manner burst all in pieces, and became so unsufferably noisome, that they were under the necessity of, instantly, consigning it to the earth—so that, whilst his deluded followers were expending vast sums of money upon the empty pageantry of a magnificent funeral,

he was doomed to an ignoble grave, and buried, to use the emphatic language of Scripture "with the burial of an ass."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

At this moment of time, nothing appeared more improbable than the restoration of the exiled Monarch. Every employment, every place of trust and power were in the hands of his inveterate opposers. The army was entirely at their command; and they were all sworn to resist the pretensions of "CHARLES STUART:" and, to shew how entirely this was the case, and how universal the subjection of the people, the eldest son of the Protector was proclaimed his successor, without the slightest opposition. Nay, addresses of congratulation poured in from every city and county of the kingdom, and nothing appeared more firm than the Sovereignty of RICHARD CROMWELL. He not only received the homage and congratulations of the army and the people at home: but foreign Potentates, by their envoys, admitted his title and recognized his authority; and every circumstance connected with his succession seemed to promise him a long and uninterrupted rule. But firmly established as his power seemed to be, it was doomed to be shattered without a blow, and all its fragments so entirely scattered and dispersed, that not a shred of it should be found, to say, that it ever existed.

Richard Cromwell succeeds.

The son had not the sagacity, nor the hypocrisy, nor the arts of management, possessed by his

SECTION IV. father; and was so far unfitted to secure himself in the giddy eminence to which he was raised.

CHAP. III.

The Independents dissatisfied.

He was neither a military man, nor a statesman. He inherited neither the political, or religious views of his father, and, instead of adhering, in every particular, to the existing system, and symbolizing with the Independent party and its heterogeneous and fanatic train, he discovered his predilection for the Presbyterians. This was enough. The Independents were filled with jealousy and revenge. The flame of discord was kindled and spread in wild confusion throughout the land. These two great factions once more prepared to contend for the Sovereign power, whilst the cavaliers, astonished at the sudden strife, remained silent spectators of the scene. The contest was to end in the discomfiture of both; and, in such a remarkable manner, that their destruction must be attributed to a Divine hand. It was not to be by might or power—not a drop of blood was to be shed, scarcely, a sword to be drawn. But it was to be silent and complete, by the force of circumstances which no human power could direct or control. They attracted each other like two angry and portentous clouds, charged with thunders and death; but in the concussion—without ignition, without noise—they were scattered and dispersed into empty air.

Parliament assembled.

A. D. 1659.  
N. S.

In order to settle the high differences which prevailed, the Protector assembled a Parliament.

Their first subject of inquiry was the question of government. The most furious debates ensued. SECTION IV. The Independents and republican party, with Sir H. Vane at their head, vehemently opposed the CHAP. III. presbyterian party, who espoused the part of the Protector. The Royalists so far from taking any share in the debates, withdrew from the House. The army was still more divided. But the prevailing party was for a military republic, at the head of which, were Fleetwood and Desborough, the brother-in-law and uncle of the Protector. This party, consisting of a council of officers, with Sir H. Vane, Hazlerigg, and, wonderful to be spoken! the learned Doctor Owen, met at Wallingford-House. They instantly perceived that the voice of Parliament was against them, and would be an insurmountable obstacle in their way. They determined therefore, if possible, to induce the Protector to dissolve it. This was the critical moment of the young Protector's career. His friends saw the time was come to strike a decisive blow; and they advised him to oppose, by force, the dictation of the Wallingford-House party. But it was not in his disposition. He dissolved the Parliament; and from that moment, his power and authority were no more.

The army intrigues

The supreme direction of affairs was once more in the hands of the army; but to save appearances, they determined to assemble that portion of the "Long Parliament" which had been re-

and assembles the "Long Parliament."

SECTION IV. deduced by "the engagement," to the lowest dregs of fanaticism, republicanism, and independency.

CHAP. III.

They met to the number of forty-two members, and miserable as the remnant was, yet they saw that their authority was a shadow, unless they could subject the military to the civil power. To facilitate this object, they had recourse to an ingenious stratagem, and appointed Lenthall, their Speaker, Commander-in-chief of all the forces; and ordered, that all Commissions in the army should proceed from him, under their seal. But the military council at Wallingford-House, had no intention of parting with their authority; and determined, at the first opportunity, to rescue themselves from such ignominious domination. Nor was it long before the occasion was supplied.

The King  
and the Royal-  
ists.

On the death of Cromwell, the King had removed from Brussels, and repaired to Calais, in order to encourage and direct the movements of his adherents, in England; and after the downfall of Richard Cromwell, the Royalists were roused to action, and a day was appointed, under a commission, for a general rising in all the counties of England. But formidable as the insurrection really was, every movement was attended with defeat and disappointment. It was only in Cheshire, under Sir G. Booth, that the arms of the Royalists met with any success. But this was sufficient to alarm the Parliament; and, as Lenthall, the Commander-in-chief, had never drawn

a sword, it was necessary to make choice of a General for the occasion. Through the intrigues of Sir H. Vane, and Sir A. Hazlerigg, Lambert was selected. His work was short, the Royalists were utterly defeated, and their leader committed to the Tower.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

It was at this juncture that the King, reduced to despair, at the hopeless condition of his affairs, resolved to throw himself into the hands of the French and Spaniards. For this purpose he determined to repair to the scene of the "Pyrenean treaty" which was then transacting at Fontarabia, a small town on the borders of Spain, where the two Prime Ministers of France and Spain had repaired, with a numerous and splendid train. In this adventurous journey, incognito, and without a passport, the King was attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Prescot, and Daniel O'Neale. His Majesty was received by the Spanish Minister, Don Lewis de Haro, with every demonstration of sincerity and attachment. But the wily cardinal would not admit him to an interview, but amused him with obscure promises of assistance, taking care to insinuate to Don Lewis "that it was time for all catholics to unite to destroy the heretical party, rather than to strengthen it by restoring the King of England, except he would become Catholic."\* The hint was not lost. The King who had once been made

The King in  
despair.

\* Echard chap. III. p. 751.

SECTION IV. of their "League and Covenant," now thought it  
CHAP. III. no impiety to violate all the solemn obligations he  
 was under to the memory of his father, and the

Abjures his religion. Before the high altar of the church of Fontarabia, the unfortunate Monarch abjured the Holy Catholic faith, which had been rescued at immense sacrifice, from the thralldom of popish intolerance and superstition; and for the sake of a corruptible crown, bartered away the incorruptible treasures of divine truth.

Ambition of Lambert. But whilst the King was thus renouncing his religion, and bringing down upon himself the divine displeasure, which manifested itself in frustrating all his expectations from this alliance, and in the speedy expulsion of his family from the throne of England—every event that occurred was preparing the way for his immediate RESTORATION. General Lambert, as we have noticed, had triumphed over the adherents of the King, and had given, as it was thought, a death blow to the royal party: but this very triumph laid the foundation for their ultimate success. The conqueror, flushed with victory, and, at the head of his old comrades, rushed to secure for himself the sovereign power. But he could not proceed in his designs without awakening the jealousy of the Parliament, which, after passing many resolutions, and cutting off the sources of their pay, proceeded to cashier several of the officers, and amongst the rest Lam-

bert himself. This step brought the matter to a crisis. The General, after the example of his master, resolved to dissolve the Parliament, and the Parliament determined to defend their authority to the last. For this purpose, they ordered several regiments to assemble and march, immediately, to their assistance. But Lambert in true Cromwellian style, was beforehand, and with his army, blocked up all the avenues to the House; and, when Lenthall, the Speaker, arrived with his guards, he politely told him that he might return, as there was no further business to be transacted. Resistance was in vain; and before night, the whole army was obsequious to his commands.

The army was again in the ascendant, and a council of officers assembled to adopt some measures for the administration of affairs. They found no difficulty in distributing the offices of the army; but the Parliament had cut off their resources, and to meet this difficulty, they were under the necessity of appointing a council consisting of twenty-three persons, which they denominated the "COMMITTEE OF SAFETY."

Scarcely had the new Governors begun to exercise their self-invested functions, and were preparing to commence another reign of oppression and fanaticism, when their leaders, Fleetwood and Lambert, were surprised with letters from General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, upbraiding them with the violation of their pub-

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

The "Committee of Safety" appointed.

General Monk appears.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. lic trust, and stating his resolution to see the Parliament reinstated in their full authority and freedom. Startled at this unexpected interference, they despatched General Lambert with a very superior force, to watch the motions of General Monk, whilst they entered into a negotiation with him. In this they were infatuated. Had Lambert been directed to advance immediately against their rival, his handful of men could not have withstood the numerous and well-disciplined army under Lambert; and their power must have been established. But an overruling power conducted their counsels. Lambert took up his quarters at Newcastle, all anxiety for action, and Monk prolonged the time by sending Commissioners to Westminster to treat with the "Committee of Safety."

Character of General Monk. Doubts have been entertained of the sincerity of this celebrated man, who was destined to be the restorer of the British monarchy—and justly. For, neither his virtue nor loyalty were proof against temptation. His vigour of mind—his courage, and military talent were indisputable, and to these great qualities he added a reserve and firmness of purpose which fitted him for the accomplishment of great enterprizes. At the commencement of the Parliamentary war, he favoured the royal cause, but he was taken prisoner in the skirmish of Nantwich, and was, for some time, in confinement. It does not appear how he ob-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. tained the confidence of Cromwell; but he certainly made himself useful to the Usurper, and was his chief instrument in the subjection of Scotland, where, by his judicious management, he made himself agreeable to the people. It is certain that Cromwell, whilst he trusted him with his confidence, always suspected him of favouring the royal cause. But, whatever designs he may have entertained during the tyranny of Cromwell, on the abdication of his son Richard, he resolved to act a decided part. But what is truly remarkable, on the defeat of Sir G. Booth, he was on the point of relinquishing his purpose, and actually sent a letter to the Speaker, in which he resigned his commission, with one proviso, that he should not read it to the House till the expiration of ten days, before which time the Parliament was dissolved!—a circumstance which he could not have foreseen, and upon which, all that followed was suspended.

There is every reason to believe that at this point of time, General Monk was sincere in his intention of serving the King; and, whilst he instructed his commissioners to prolong the treaty, he made use of every means which could secure success to his enterprize. He entered into a communication with the navy, and with influential individuals in all parts of the kingdom—new-modelled his army, obtained supplies from a convention of the states of Scotland; and declared

He declares for the Parliament.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

his intention of restoring the Parliament. His army was very inferior to Lambert's; but, relying upon the treaty, he began his march from Scotland. He had not advanced far, before he was mortified with the intelligence, that his Commissioners had suddenly concluded the treaty. He led his army back to Edinburgh; and, was again on the point of relinquishing his enterprize in despair. At this critical juncture, he was induced to try the temper of his troops, and finding them ready to live and die with him, he was encouraged to reject the articles upon which his Commissioners had agreed. A crisis now approached; and a contest between him and Lambert seemed inevitable. But there was no contest. For at the same moment, Lord Fairfax,\* the fleet, and the town and fortress of Portsmouth, declared for the Parliament; and, upon the strength of these demonstrations, Lenthall and his compeers resumed their places at Westminster. Many of the soldiers of Lambert deserted to their old General, and the remainder were distributed in different parts of the kingdom, by orders from the restored Parliament, whilst Lambert himself was taken prisoner and committed to the Tower. The way was now open; and General Monk entered England on the first of January; and, without interruption, pursued his march towards London.

Lord Fairfax  
joins with him.

\* The great Parliamentary General, who had long seen his error, and lived in great retirement at Nun-Appleton, near York.

But a serious difficulty was yet to be obviated. When he arrived at Saint Albans, he found there were twelve regiments of the old army stationed at Westminster and the parts adjoining, which constituted a force very superior to his own; and, sufficient, at one blow, to dash all his projects to the ground. In this perplexity, he addressed a letter to the Parliament, stating his apprehensions respecting the fidelity of the troops who had once deserted them, lest they should not live peaceably with his men who had always stood by them and secured their return to power. It was a critical moment. The Parliament deliberated—hesitated—were infatuated, and dismissed ten of their regiments to more distant quarters. The General entered London, in triumph, on the third of February: and his first care, was to assure the Parliament of his fidelity, and his resolution to uphold the freedom of their debates. For some time, he dissembled, and submitted to their dictation; but, at length, he issued a declaration, in which he insisted upon their filling up all the vacant places in the House, within seven days; and, after that, he ordered them to fix a day, for their dissolution and calling a free Parliament. This declaration was dispersed through the city and country, and produced such universal joy, that nothing was heard but cries of “a free Parliament!” the ringing of bells—firing of guns, and one continual blaze of lights and bon-fires. This

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. III.

General Monk  
enters London.  
A. D. 1660.  
N. S.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. exhibition of the public mind sealed the fate of the "Long Parliament," which having issued writs for a free Parliament, was dissolved after having been the scourge of the nation for nineteen years!

The difficulties of the General.

During the time which intervened, before the new Parliament could be assembled, the General experienced every difficulty, and was assaulted by every temptation which could shake the constancy and try the virtue of human nature. He conversed and consulted with all ranks of men, in order to ascertain their opinions, but covered his own designs with an impenetrable veil of silence—a line of conduct which had great influence on the restoration, because it prevented any premature attempt on the part of the King's friends; which might have thrown all things into confusion. It is however, stated on the authority of Mr. Locke, that the virtue of the General was overcome, by the representations of the French Cardinal Mazarine, who, with treachery and duplicity, almost incredible, after he had ensnared the young Monarch by his promises, made unlimited offers of assistance to General Monk, if he would seize for himself the sovereignty of England. But the wily Frenchman was not to succeed. The wife of the General overheard the conversation between the General and the Envoy of Mazarine; and gave immediate information to Sir Anthony Astley Cooper, one of the members of the Council

of state, who took such measures as effectually frustrated their designs. SECTION IV. CHAP. III.

Whatever selfishness or ambition might previously have lurked in the heart of the General—from this time he was straight-forward and sincere in his intention of restoring the King, which he discovered to be inevitable. He now granted an interview to Sir John Grenville, who, like himself, had kept his mission inviolably secret, and absolutely refused to give up his instructions to the General's secretary and confidant, Mr. Morrice, a gentleman to whose prudence and loyalty, his country is much indebted. In this interview, Sir John commenced the conference by expressing his deep acknowledgments "to the General for affording him an opportunity of discharging a trust of such great importance both to himself and the whole kingdom"—at the same instant, producing a letter from the King, and also the commission which he had from his Majesty to treat with him. The General taking the paper stepped back, and, with a frowning look, demanded "how he dared to speak to him on such a matter, without considering the danger he had hazarded?" Sir John answered, that he had well considered the danger, but that whatever it might be, it was not sufficient to deter him from the performance of his duty. Upon which, the General embraced him and commended him for his prudence, fidelity, and constancy. "I hope the King will forgive

His interview with Sir John Grenville.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. what is past, according to the terms of his gracious letter; and you shall assure the King that I am not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my all to his service." The sincerity of the General was now manifest; for, retiring, he left Sir John in conference with Mr. Morrice to make all necessary arrangements for the King's return; and when the notes of their conference were submitted to him, they met with his entire approval, and Sir John Grenville departed in the beginning of April.

Lambert escapes from the Tower. But whilst the King's answer, containing the necessary declarations and papers were preparing the whole plan of the restoration was on the point of being frustrated. Through the insinuations of the discarded members of the Long Parliament, all those persons who were implicated in the late King's death were thrown into despair, the soldiers of the old army were filled with the most unreasonable jealousies, and roused into mutiny and rebellion. At this moment too, Lambert escaped from the Tower, and hastened, immediately, to place himself at the head of his old comrades to prepare for mortal combat. But before he could assemble all his forces, he was pursued, and taken without a blow; as if Providence had determined that all opposition should melt away without effort, and that the glorious Restoration should take place without the shedding of blood.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. On the long, anxiously expected day, the "Free Parliament" assembled, and they immediately began to review the state of the nation, and bitterly to reprobate the conduct of the "Long Parliament," and the tyranny of Cromwell; but no man, during the first days of their debate, however loyally inclined, dared to mention the name of the King. But, on the first of May, the General perceiving the favourable disposition of the House, resolved, at once to open to them the momentous subject of his negociation with the King; and rising up in his place, he said: "that one Sir John Grenville, who was a servant of the King's, had brought him a letter from his Majesty, which he held in his hand; but which he would not presume to read without their direction;" and informed them, that the same gentlemen was in attendance with a letter to the House. This announcement was received with general acclamation; and, Sir John being called to the bar, said, "that he was commanded by the King, his master, with whom he had lately been at Breda, to present that letter to the House;" and delivering it into the hands, of the Sergeant, he withdrew.

The King's letter, and his "DECLARATION," Joy of the nation. which was drawn up with consummate prudence, gave unbounded satisfaction to the House. A torrent of joy spread through the whole kingdom. The House penetrated with gratitude, immediately voted a subsidy of £50,000 to the King. £10,000

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to the Duke of Gloucester; and hastened to draw up an answer to his Majesty's declaration, with a solemn invitation to return to his native dominions.

During these transactions in England, the King remained at Breda, but in the beginning of May he left that place for Rotterdam. He was received at the Hague, with lively demonstrations of joy, and entertained with great magnificence and hospitality; nor was it many days before Admiral Montague appeared off Scheveling, with the English fleet, when the Duke of York went on board, as Lord High Admiral, and was received with all duty and submission. The remainder of the fleet soon followed, bringing the Parliamentary Commissioners who were sent to invite the King to take possession of the throne of his ancestors. Lord Fairfax was particularly distinguished and received his Majesty's gracious pardon. The city of London were foremost with handsome presents, to testify their returning loyalty and affection. The Presbyterian ministers repenting, long ago, of their egregious folly waited upon the King, with assurances of their loyalty and attachment; whilst hosts of Royalists hailing the fulfilment of their long cherished hopes and prayers, repaired to the sister shore to congratulate their Sovereign on this happy change in his affairs.

On the twenty-fourth of May, the King having taken leave of the states, departed from the Hague and embarked on board the *Naseby*.\* Every circumstance was favourable to the splendour of the scene. The sky was clear, the sea calm; and, his Majesty mounting the stern, and looking round was received with the acclamation of multitudes of people, who covered the downs, the sand-hills, and shores. Shortly after, he took an affectionate leave of his nephew, the Prince of Orange, and of his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia; but it was with great difficulty that he could be separated from his beloved sister, the Princess Royal. That matchless lady, who had borne all her sorrows with an invincible patience and a lofty magnanimity, and which enabled her to be the support and consolation of her royal brothers, during their long exile—could now, scarcely, with constancy, support this sudden change in their fortune. But, the anchors being weighed, amidst the thunders of the surrounding cannon, they left this friendly shore; and, in two days, moored safely under the white cliffs of their native land.

During this time, the Parliament and city were busily employed in making the most honourable preparations for his return. Suitable to the King's "declaration" a general act of pardon was prepared, from which, those alone were excepted

\* Which, on that occasion, received the name of the "Royal Charles."

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

Departure of  
the King from  
Holland.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. who were, immediately, concerned in the death of the late King. Such, indeed, was the general joy that all might have escaped. Such, the extravagant transports of the Royalists, that they broke out into a kind of phrensy, which could not be restrained for many days; and such was the eagerness and impatience of all men, that vast multitudes flocked from London, and crowded all the heights along the Kentish coast, to catch the first glimpse of those propitious sails, which were wafting home the desire of the nation.

The King's  
arrival.  
A. D. 1660.

It was on the twenty-fifth of May, that the fleet arrived at Dover. The King was conducted on shore by Sir John Talbot, who was the first man he knighted in England. General Monk stood ready to receive him; and conducted him under a canopy of state, to his carriage which waited at some distance. A great concourse of the nobility awaited his arrival at Canterbury, and where General Monk and Mr. Maurice were sworn of his Privy Council: the latter gentleman, was also knighted and appointed Secretary of State. The Sunday was spent at Canterbury. The next day, he proceeded to Rochester, and, on Monday being the twenty-ninth of May, and, his birth-day, he entered London in the most splendid procession that was ever seen in that city. The ways were strewn with flowers—the streets were lined with tapestry—the conduits flowed with wine; and, such were the multitudes of spectators, that it

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. seemed as if the population of the three kingdoms had been congregated into one place. The night was turned into day, and the heaven itself was irradiated with the splendour of the overjoyed city. It was one continued jubilee, for many days, and, perhaps a nation never experienced such a joyful and exhilarating triumph—a triumph which was brought about by the interposition of heaven without suffering, oppression, or, bloodshed.

Nor was the Monarch unworthy of these demonstrations of public joy. He was thirty years of age, rather above the middle stature, and of a grave and majestic aspect. His manners were easy and graceful; and, wherever he appeared, he won the respect and affection of all who beheld him. He was possessed of a vivacious wit, a delicate apprehension, and an excellent understanding. His natural endowments were improved and adorned by study. He had acquired great skill in the modern languages and mathematics; and his mind was stored with those moral virtues, which, if they had continued, would have proved a perpetual source of happiness to himself and his country. He was conspicuous, at this time, for his moderation, clemency, justice, and temperance. Oaths and drunkenness were strange vices to him. In fine, he had acquired so much experience, from the variety of his own and his father's troubles, that he brought with him all the presages of a happy and well-conducted reign.

Character of  
the King.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. But it was otherwise. All his splendid virtues were eclipsed by his relegation from principle. He had, in an unhappy hour, sold himself to expediency. He had apostatized from the holy religion of his father, and, thus laid the foundation for the deterioration of his character which rapidly followed, and of innumerable evils to his country, and, at last, to the expulsion of his family from the throne!

Formation of  
a Ministry.

The machinery of the government was quietly and judiciously arranged. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was continued Lord High Chancellor. The Lord Southampton, Lord High Treasurer. The Marquis of Ormond made an English Earl, and, afterwards a Duke, Lord Steward of the Household. The Lord Say was made Privy Seal, and the Earl of Manchester, Chamberlain of the Household. General Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, and Admiral Montague, Earl of Sandwich. Sir Edward Nicolas and Sir W. Maurice, were appointed Secretaries of State.

The three friends Clarendon, Southampton, and Albemarle, were the chief instruments in restoring to order the distracted affairs of the kingdom, and of giving stability to the institutions of their country. The Earl of Clarendon was at the helm; and was, manifestly, the instrument of God at this important period, and gifted with extraordinary powers. He was a man of great abilities, exten-

sive acquirements, and mature experience. He was a profound legal scholar—an elegant writer, and a finished statesman. And, to render him as complete as possible for his high station, his mind was imbued with lofty sentiments and adorned with the highest moral qualifications; and, it is difficult to say, in which of these excellences he excelled—in integrity, fidelity, or patriotism.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. The "Convention Parliament" instructed by the late calamities of the nation, had applied themselves with great industry and prudence towards the settlement of the kingdom, and, a bill was immediately passed constituting them a legal Parliament. A general act of pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, through the urgency of the King, quickly followed; nor, was he wanting in all those demonstrations of virtue and prudence which rendered him deservedly glorious in the esteem of all sober and moderate men. In this bill the judges who sat at the trial of the late King, and indeed, all who were immediately instrumental in procuring his death were excluded, and from a clemency which we are constrained to admire, Sir H. Vane, Colonel Lambert, and Sir A. Hazzlerigg, were excepted as to their lives. But the last mentioned had, already, run his race. He was seized with fever, and died in prison at the time the bill was pending; nor did the other two escape the retribution which their crimes deserved. Ten of the most violent Regicides perished on the

SECTION IV. scaffold, affording a melancholy picture of human nature, hurried away and infatuated by fanaticism.

CHAP. III.

Various acts suited to the exigency of the times followed in quick succession. All judicial proceedings, in law, and equity, which had taken place since the first of May, sixteen hundred and forty-two, were confirmed. The revenues of the crown settled. Shipping and navigation regulated: and the army disbanded.

Presbyterians offered preferment. These preliminary steps being taken, the state of the church demanded the attention of the King and his Ministers, and required in its re-construction, the exercise of all their wisdom and prudence. Nor were they wanting. The King determined to act upon the most liberal principles. Immediately on his return, in order, if possible, to reconcile all parties, he had appointed certain Presbyterian ministers to be his chaplains, and several of their number were now offered the highest preferment. To Mr. Baxter, the Bishopric of Hereford, to Mr. Calamy, the Bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry, and to Dr. Manton, the Deanery of Rochester; but, unfortunately at present, none of them would accept of the King except Dr. Reynolds, who was appointed Bishop of Norwich:—whilst a declaration on the subject of union in religion was now published, which, for its moderation and prudence will bear comparison with any document of any age, or, country.

In the meantime, the Bishops that survived, SECTION IV. were restored to their dioceses. Seven others were consecrated, and the excellent Doctor Juxon, CHAP. III. whose character has long been before the reader, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

But in the midst of these happy prospects, the popish influence began to operate on the affairs of the kingdom, and the “little black cloud” appeared, which, at no distant time, was to deluge the nation with storm and tempest. The Queen mother arrived laden with political stratagems, under the tutelage of the Cardinal Mazarine, who, contrary to all the stipulations of the “Pyrenean treaty” was again plotting against the crown of Spain: but the upright Clarendon was in her way, and she did not scruple to make use of all her influence to induce her son, to discharge his faithful minister. For the present, she did not prevail. But her visit laid the foundation for future evil. The public joy was also darkened by the death of the Princess of Orange, the King’s sister, who followed her illustrious brother the Duke of Gloucester, at the distance of a few months, to an early grave. She was a Princess of admirable understanding and virtue, and, must ever hold a distinguished place in the annals of our country, as the mother of William III who, at the time of her death, was only ten years of age.

The acts of peace and regular government began to revive; the post office had been established

SECTION IV. by the "Convention Parliament," and the "Royal Society" was now instituted under the most encouraging auspices.

CHAP. III.

Fanatical insurrection.

But during this state of tranquillity, the dregs of the late fanatical fury, like the unwholesome humours of a diseased body, were coming to a head; and, at length, burst out into a virulent and blasphemous excitement, which ended in open insurrection. The deluded people broke forth from a conventicle in Coleman-street, where they had assembled, and declared that they took up arms for King Jesus, against the powers of the earth; vainly relying, on the declaration of holy writ, that "no weapon formed against them should prosper." It is impossible, in few words, to describe the wild fury of these enthusiasts. They fought with desperate ferocity, but, in spite of their vain-glorious boast, they perished miserably, by the swords of the life guards, or the axe of the executioner; nor, were these mad proceedings without an injurious effect on the public mind; as they tended to revive the remembrance of the late sectarian crisis.

The coronation which was solemnized with the greatest magnificence, was followed by the appointment of a synod of divines for the settlement of the church. Unfortunately, the prejudices of both parties ran high. The Bishops had too much reason to remember the ill-advised and rebellious conduct of the Presbyters in the late transactions;

nor, did they at the present crisis, manifest any symptoms of repentance, moderation, or humility. Mr. Baxter, a Presbyterian of considerable name, added nothing to his reputation in this synod. He displayed a great ignorance of antiquity—discovered an untutored and illogical head, and manifested great conceit of his own abilities. The book of common prayer underwent a rigid examination. Many exceptions were made by the Presbyterian Divines; and when the alterations and amendments thus suggested by them, were committed to Mr. Baxter for the purpose of drawing them up for presentation to the Bishops, he rejected them altogether, and drew up an entire new formulary, which he designated the "Reformed Liturgy." This rash and presumptuous act, gave just offence to the eminent episcopal divines who composed the synod. The work itself, which its ill-judging author intended to supersede the "Book of Common Prayer" possesses little merit, and sinks into utter insignificance when compared with that simple and dignified,—that brief and comprehensive,—that devout and sublime formulary composed by Saints and Martyrs after the best models of antiquity, and which is designed, we cannot doubt, in the providence of God, to hold a distinguished place in the prayers and praises of the Reformed Catholic Church, through succeeding ages.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

Synod of Divines.  
A. D. 1661.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

I see little reason to enter further into the detail of this discussion. The topics, were much the same as had occupied the attention of the same classes of disputants in the reign of James I; and the conference ended by the synod coming to the following resolution: "That the welfare of the unity and peace of the church, were *ends* upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means they could not come to any accommodation."

The Scotch  
"Covenant"  
meets its fate.

Meanwhile, the new Parliament had assembled. The greatest harmony and unanimity prevailed; and the Commons, as if by a preparation for the intended league with Portugal, and the marriage of the King with the Infanta, determined upon the extinction of the "Solemn League and Covenant," which was burnt with fire by the hands of the common hangman—A FATE WHICH IT RICHLY DESERVED. Nor was the public welfare neglected: they proceeded with great vigour to the despatch of business; and provided, by a variety of enactments, for the future stability and security of the kingdom.

Convocation  
A. D. 1662.

Nor were the members of the convocation, which sat concurrent with the Parliament, inattentive to their peculiar duties. They proceeded to draw up a solemn thanksgiving for the King's restoration, and a form of prayer to be used on the anniversary of his father's death; and added to the ritual of the church, the "form of baptism for those of riper years." Indeed, it seemed, at this impor-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

tant juncture, as if the whole nation had resolved itself into one grand council for rectifying the disorders which prevailed both in church and state.

Nor was it otherwise in the kingdom of Scotland. A full Parliament had assembled, and they proceeded, with unwearied zeal, to build up the walls of the constitution "which had been thrown down." The Covenant was formally rescinded—the militia placed at the disposal of the King; and, a perpetual brand of infamy indelibly fixed on all who were concerned in the sale and transfer of the person of the late King; and it was inscribed in the records of the kingdom, as an atrocious act, "contrary to all the rules of justice, honour, gratitude, and humanity." And, although the act of indemnity extended its protection to the utmost north, yet there was one individual whom the Divine retribution would not suffer to escape. The Marquis of Argyle was brought before the Parliament, tried and convicted of high treason; and, what is very remarkable, after his condemnation, he had the mortification to see the funeral rites of Montrose preformed with great solemnity; and within eight days his own head occupied the place, which he had so unrighteously awarded to that of the heroic Marquis.

The Marquis  
of Argyle meets  
with retribu-  
tion.

Prince Rupert once more appears on the stage of English History. He attended as chief mourner at the funeral of his royal mother, the Queen of Bohemia,—an illustrious female, the eldest daugh-

Prince Ru-  
pert.

SECTION IV. ter and only surviving child, of James I. She had married, as we have shewn, the Elector Palatine, and had endured with unshaken courage and resolution, the misfortunes of her family.—And she was permitted to behold the restoration and establishment of her father's throne in the person of his grandson. But a still greater honour was intended for her in the purposes of Providence. She was herself to be the parent and stock of the future Sovereigns of England. Of her seven sons and five daughters the youngest surviving, the Princess Sophia, was, after many years, declared and created heir to the throne of Great Britain: and from that auspicious beginning, the sceptre has descended to our present gracious Sovereign.

Character of  
the Parliament

But before the settlement of the Monarchy in the house of Brunswick, a long series of important events was to transpire. The present Parliament had weighty business before them; and, perhaps, such a Parliament never had been assembled in England; and, in native talent, in wisdom derived from experience, in attachment to the institutions of their country, they have never been surpassed. They laboured incessantly to restore the civil institutions of their country—and with unexampled success; but their chief anxiety was, to establish the order and unity of the church which had been so fearfully invaded. The members of the Convocation lent their aid. The Book of Common Prayer was revised by them and presented to his

Majesty. The King who still loved the institutions of his country, received it with the greatest satisfaction, and sent it to the Commons with a command, that they should prepare an "Act of uniformity" on the basis of that formulary. They were indefatigable in their attention to this momentous subject; and, after long and mature consideration, they prepared a measure which, when it had passed both houses, was presented to the King by the Speaker of the Commons, in the following words: "Your Majesty having already restored the governors and government of the Church, the patrimony and privileges of our churchmen: we hold it now, our duty, for the reformation of all abuses in the public worship of God, humbly to present to your Majesty a bill for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of Sacraments. We hope the God of order and unity will conform the hearts of all the people in this nation, to serve him in this order and uniformity."

Perhaps the world had never witnessed such a bold and momentous piece of legislation. Its immediate effects were truly formidable; and its influence through successive generations on the social state of Great Britain, has been vast and inconceivable. The necessity of the case fully justified the extent and pungency of its enactments; and all succeeding generations have applauded its wisdom, justice, and propriety. It

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. was a master-piece of political wisdom; and designed in the providence of God, to consolidate the mind and resources of the kingdom, and to prepare it for its future career of greatness. Before it came into operation, the greatest irregularity and disorder prevailed, in the church. Some of the ministers made use of the "Common Prayer," others, of the "Directory," and some, rejected both. The same confusion prevailed in discipline, in habit and in doctrine. In short, the church was a perfect Babel. The "Act of uniformity" reduced the discordant elements to peace—rectified the crying disorders which prevailed—ejected the intruders from the temple, and restored the unity and beauty of the house of God. But these advantages were not secured without great privations and sufferings to many. More than two thousand ministers, many of whom were divines of eminence, but the majority persons of no reputation, who had been soldiers in the army, or mechanics, and who had intruded themselves into the benefices of the church, were ejected from their usurped possession by the provisions of this Act.

Effects of the  
Act.

Persons inimical to the principle of acknowledging the English Catholic Church, as the national religion, by the state, have descanted largely on the hardship and cruelty of this Act. But in vain. It is the undoubted prerogative of the Church, to define and settle the terms of its com-

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. munion; and, if the State unites itself to the church, in order to its being included in a national covenant, the civil rulers may impose these terms on the nation. This doctrine was fully admitted by the Presbyterians; and, the leaders of that party, at first determined upon compliance with the act, but, unfortunately, afterwards changed their intention, relying partly on their numbers but more on the promises of the popish party, who offered them pensions, if they would stand out, and resist the law. But, unhappily, the grand question of toleration was not yet understood. Men had not yet learnt that it is one thing to impose terms of communion, and to end all disputes, by saying: "we have no such custom, neither the churches of God;" and, another, to *compel* men to submit to those terms. The one is Apostolic and Christian—the other, is not only inconsistent with the principles of christianity; but abhorrent to common sense. But the state was advancing, through many troubles, to the settlement of that question.

Doctrine of  
toleration un-  
known.

There was yet another criminal, who although expressly included in the act of indemnity, the justice of heaven suffered not to live. This was Sir H. Vane. He had been one of the chief and most unprincipled of the popular leaders in the late rebellion; and, though not one of the King's Judges, yet no individual in the kingdom was more deeply implicated in the guilt of that trans-

Sir H. Vane  
meets his just  
fate.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. action. Such was his restless disposition that he could not live in tranquillity, and, having been found tampering with the malecontents of the army, the Parliament petitioned the King that he might be apprehended and brought to trial, with Colonel Lambert, who was also suspected. On their trials, Lambert behaved with so much humility and submission, that after sentence, he was reprieved, and lived thirty years a prisoner in the Isle of Guernsey. But never did any man, both at his trial and execution, labour under a stronger delusion, or, manifest greater folly, than Sir H. Vane. He died in the same place on Tower Hill, as the Earl of Strafford, in whose death he was chiefly instrumental; and as he was the first man that caused the shedding of the first blood, so his blood was the last shed on account of the "Great Rebellion!"

Death of Lord Say, and of the Speaker, Lenthall. Nor must we omit to mention the deaths of two other popular actors in the tragical events of these times. These were the Lord Say and the Speaker Lenthall. The former lived to repent of his mad folly, and employed all his resources in promoting the restoration. He was favoured by the King, and, died at the age of four-score, at his seat at Broughton, where he had assisted with Hampden and others to lay the foundation of the civil war. The latter, William Lenthall, the great time-server, contrived at the restoration to save both himself and his property, and died in peace,

a sincere penitent, deeply regretting the line of SECTION IV. CHAP. III. conduct he had pursued, and was buried with great obscurity at Barford, in Oxfordshire.

The King rapidly deteriorated in his character. He had formally embraced Romanism for ends of expediency, against his declared judgment, and his most solemn obligations: but, instead of acting up to his new engagements, he was obliged, from political necessity, contrary to his noble disposition, to wear the garb of hypocrisy, and outwardly profess his attachment to the Protestant religion. And although, he might now have preferred, openly, to avow his real convictions, he was irrecoverably fettered by the chains of Popery. In this unhappy condition, his conscience stung with remorse, and his mind tortured, between the fear and the shame of a recantation—he threw off, as might reasonably be expected, all regard whatever to religion; and sought to drown every high and honourable conviction in the vortex of pleasure and dissipation.

Hitherto, everything had been transacted by the advice and counsel of the immortal Clarendon and his two friends; but now a new era commenced under other, and blighting influence. The King's counsels became unsteady and variable. A separate council sat at Somerset House, where the Queen mother had taken up her residence, and her machinations soon began to operate, with deadly effect, upon the affairs of the kingdom.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

The King was induced to publish a declaration in which he was made to assume the power of explaining and dispensing with the enactments of Parliament; and it was exercised with respect to the Act of uniformity. It was a deep laid scheme for the introduction of Popery, under favour of the "Dispensing Power." But the Parliament was not to be duped, and they absolutely refused to assent to any such indefinite and irresponsible claim on the part of the crown, and addressed the King, in the most decisive terms against the power of indulgence; and, whoever reads and examines with attention, the reasons for their refusal transmitted to his Majesty, must admire their firmness and ability, their honesty and patriotism. The Earl of Clarendon also concurred with Parliament in opposition to this dangerous claim of the prerogative. But the plot for the downfall of this great minister was now matured; and the Earl of Bristol was appointed the agent for carrying into execution this difficult and dangerous enterprise. This nobleman, who had sworn fealty to the Church of Rome at the same altar with the King, had been more faithful to his engagements, and had become the zealous adherent of the Romish party. Such indeed, was his devotion to the wishes of that inexorable power, that forgetting the intimate friendship and mutual obligations, of many years standing, he exhibited articles of information against the Earl of Clarendon in

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

the House of Lords. They were dismissed by the Peers on account of their informality. But they answered their purpose. They were intended to shake the power of Clarendon, and to prepare the way for his ultimate ruin.

At this time also, the nation, and humanity itself, lost its brightest ornament in the death of Archbishop Juxon, who had not only been permitted, as a reward for his virtue, honour, and piety, to witness the return of peace and happiness to his country, and behold the church restored to its integrity; but to be still more blessed in being called away before the renewal of those troubles, which, at length, overwhelmed the throne of his beloved master, with disgrace and infamy. He was buried with great honour, at St. John's, Oxford, beside the body of his friend, Archbishop Laud; and, was succeeded in his high office, by Doctor Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London.

Death of the  
Archbishop.

The Parliament on its re-assembling, after repealing the triennial Bill of sixteen hundred and forty-one, brought in another, entitled "an Act for the assembling and holding of Parliament once in three years at least;" and on presenting this important measure to the King, they complained of the injuries inflicted on trade and commerce, by the injurious and arbitrary conduct of the Dutch—a complaint which laid the foundation for the Dutch war.

The Dutch  
war.  
A. D. 1664.

SECTION IV. De Wit, was at that time, at the head of the Louvestein faction, which favoured the French interests, and he was in secret correspondence with the enterprising Monarch of that kingdom. The Dutch people were little inclined to war, but still less to make reparation for the losses which they had occasioned to the English merchants. The King was roused to action, and, on the refusal of the States of Holland to make reparation, he made the most vigorous preparations for war—visited his dock yards, and superintended the work, whilst the Duke of York, attended by Prince Rupert, went on board, as Admirals of the fleet. Such active and resolute conduct created considerable alarm in the states, and, when on the meeting of Parliament, the commons voted the sum of £2,477,500, Europe itself was filled with astonishment at the vast sum which their liberality and patriotism supplied. Nor was it long before the two powers were engaged in mortal combat. On the second of June, the English fleet bore down upon the Dutch squadrons under Admiral Opdam, off the Harwich shores. The encounter was fearful. The English performed prodigies of valour, more than sufficient to sustain their ancient character for naval tactics. Ten thousand of the Dutch perished, and two thousand were taken prisoners. The Duke of York, who discovered such eminent ability in action, acted with the most admirable bravery and coolness, was

A splendid  
victory.

CHAP. III.

overwhelmed with the grateful acknowledgments of his countrymen. Medals were struck in honour of his victory. The Duke was, at this time, in the height of his reputation; and deserved well of his country. But he had hitherto studiously concealed his religion. That religion, however, was destined to prove his ruin, and to destroy such a noble fabric of personal and national happiness as had scarcely ever offered itself to the expectations of an individual, or, a nation; other triumphs followed—vast spoils were taken, and the English navies rode triumphant on every sea.

But the most remarkable event connected with the continuance of this war, was, that it wrought the destruction of the Louvestein faction—rescued Holland from the tyranny of the “Lords of the States,” and called the Prince of Orange to the supreme direction of its affairs—a NECESSARY step to that great event, in our own country, which is denominated “THE REVOLUTION.”

But, although, the Dutch were punished for their pride and injustice by the power of England, God was preparing a dreadful chastisement for the nation, which, forgetting its deliverances and obligations, had thrown off all moral restraint, and given itself up to the most profligate courses. Disgusted with the pretensions and hypocrisy of the late times, instead of cultivating the virtues of sobriety and sincerity, men rushed into the contrary extreme, abandoned religion itself, and be-

The great  
PLAGUE.  
A. D. 1665.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

SECTION came infidels both in doctrine and practice.

IV.

CHAP. III.

Never was a degeneracy in morals and religion more universal, and never was there a visitation prepared, more fearful, than the "Plague," which threatened all with extinction. Death rode in melancholy and terrific procession, through every street and alley of the Metropolis. Coffins could not be found for the dead. They were cast forth "like dung on the face of the earth," or, thrown in countless numbers into large pits, excavated for the purpose. All, who possessed the means, fled from the scene of misery and death. The good were humbled—the wicked exasperated. The religious prayed—and died: the ungodly, blasphemed—and, in the midst of revelling and lewdness, perished.

Conduct of  
the Archbishop

Many of the clergy fled, but others nobly ventured all in the service of humanity and charity. Archbishop Sheldon continued at his post; and, by his benevolence, activity and influence, was a great instrument in alleviating the horrors of that calamitous day. The Duke of Albemarle was appointed Governor of the city; and gave orders for every emergency, with such heroic coolness and judgment, that he appeared as if he had been born to triumph over danger in every form, and to be superior to death itself.

Earl of Albe-  
marle,

The King.

The King, himself, although a chief offender, manifested a paternal regard for his people, and gave £1000 a week for the relief of the destitute.

Nor must we forget to mention the equally mag- SECTION  
nanimous conduct of William Earl of Craven, IV.  
who, in the most patriotic manner, devoted him- CHAP. III.  
self and his fortune, to alleviate the sufferings of The Earl of  
his fellow countrymen. He pursued his danger- Craven.  
ous career with unshaken zeal—visiting the abodes of the dying—in the midst of infection, impurity, and death hazarding his life, and by his christian fortitude, attained a glory superior to that which he acquired, by his martial exploits in Germany, and many other parts of the world.

In the meantime, the enemies of England re- Of the dis-  
joiced in her calamity. The Dutch insisted that senters.  
the direful visitation was sent by God on their behalf: the sectaries and republicans considered it a providential opening for "the good old cause:" and, whilst one would be willing to exculpate the more respectable leaders of the Presbyterians—it is an undoubted fact, that the nonconformists generally symbolized with the Dutch, and even enlisted in their service, whilst the seditious ministers entered into a correspondence with them. For these rebellious acts, the Parliament on its re-assembling, determined to punish them; and, without any countenance from the Court, or, the Church, drew up a most stringent measure, entitled the "Five mile Act," which prohibited all non-conformist preachers from residing within the distance of five miles from any corporate town. This was a dreadful blow to that party; and brought

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. distress and ruin upon hundreds of the ministers and their families. Would that we could say, that their sufferings were undeserved! But their seditious practices were too notorious to be denied; and, for the peace of the country, it was necessary that their power of mischief should be destroyed.

Death of the Earl of Lindsay. At this juncture, died the Earl of Lindsay, whose name has had high and honourable mention in this history—a man of unparalleled patriotism and honour—a true nobleman—whose dignity consisted, not in the splendour of his rank, nor in the extent of his fortune, but in the true elevation of mind, and in deeds of virtue. Nor did he fall alone. Doctor John Carle, Bishop of Salisbury, followed him, who had been tutor to the King, and attended him in his exile. He was distinguished for his great learning, nor less for his humility; and although he lived in times of great excitement, and experienced great changes of fortune, he exemplified under all circumstances, the same pious, peaceable, and primitive temper.

Doctor Cornelius Burgess. At the same time, a very different person, whose name has long been before the reader, ended his career. This was Doctor Cornelius Burgess, who was, certainly, a principal incendiary in the rebellion, furiously active, and scandalously subservient to the “Long Parliament.” During the usurpation, like many others, whose object was plunder, he enriched himself out of the Bishops’ land; but at the restoration he was stripped of his

sacrilegious plunder, died in lingering torment of a cancer in his throat, and in want and poverty.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. To increase the difficulties and danger of this period, France and Denmark entered into an alliance with Holland. But the Parliament and people were unanimous in their resolution to defend the honour of their country, and made prodigious advances of money for carrying on the war. The fleet was early ready for sea, under two of the most determined commanders that certainly ever lived, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle. But, unfortunately, the English fleet was divided by a stratagem. Prince Rupert with his squadron was dispatched in quest of the French fleet, and immediately on his departure the Dutch, who had reported that they should not be ready for sea for six weeks, appeared off the Isle of Wight, with ninety ships of the line, whilst the English fleet amounted to no more than fifty-nine. But the Duke of Albemarle was there; who, like his associate, could never endure the sight of an enemy without engaging in battle. The fight continued, with almost equal success, for three days, when the Dutch being reinforced with sixteen ships, the Duke of Albemarle with matchless skill and bravery, protected the retreat of his ships. But, on the fourth day, Prince Rupert, having heard the roar of their cannon, bore down upon the scene of action. The fight was renewed with determined resolution, and un-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
til both fleets were so dreadfully shattered, that they were obliged to give up the contest, and retire to their own shores.

Another  
splendid vic-  
tory.

The Dutch were as proud of their escape, as if they had obtained a decisive victory; and fondly imagined that the British naval power, was destined to fall before them. The vain-glorious anticipation filled them with the greatest alacrity. They were soon at sea with a formidable fleet, and entered the British channel in expectation of joining the French squadron,—when, to their astonishment, the English fleet appeared, consisting of ninety sail of the line, under the Earl of Albemarle. Another dreadful engagement took place, and, after a hideous confusion of thunder, smoke, and carnage, the English fleet obtained a decisive victory. The Dutch fled with the greatest precipitancy; and, when the English Men of War could no longer follow them, on account of the flats and banks, to the great mortification of the Dutch, a small yacht, or pleasure boat, belonging to Prince Rupert, was despatched against the Admiral's ship, which for an hour, continued playing her broad-sides, of two guns, amidst the shouts and laughter of the English fleet.

But whilst it pleased the God of battles, to grant success to the English navy, and to frustrate every hostile act, whether foreign or domestic, against her government and laws. He, himself, was preparing another chastisement both for the King

and people, only less terrible than the judgment which had preceded it. SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

It was at midnight, on the first of September, that the inhabitants of the Metropolis were roused from their beds by the alarm of fire. The East wind was raging with great fury, and, in a short time, the scene of ruin became terrific. Prodigious flakes of fire were carried on the fury of the blast, threatening destruction to every part of the city. Such was the rapidity with which it spread that it defied opposition. Paleness sat on every face. The furious element, unchecked, prevailed to such an extent, that it mounted up into the air in solid pyramids of fire, triumphing in its destructive career, and mocking all the feeble efforts of the people to extinguish it. Human aid failed: everything was, indeed, attempted, that the skill of man could contrive, or, his labour execute. But it pursued its devastating progress, and the dawning day only served to shew the ruin which it had accomplished. The King, roused from his pleasures, rode twice that day round the circuit of the fire, with a purse of gold in his hand, the contents of which he distributed to the workmen, encouraging them to exertion. But in vain. Returning darkness only served to discover the increasing strength of the conflagration. The whole city was illumined. Fear and anxiety prevailed over the fatigues of the day, and denied to the unhappy citizens, the forgetfulness of sleep. Nor

The great  
Fire.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. did returning day bring them any appearance of relief. The fire advanced with unmitigated fury, as if heaven and earth were alike threatened with destruction, the King was at his post, as on the preceding day: houses, and even streets, were pulled down to deprive the devouring element of the material upon which it fed, but disdaining such precautions, it advanced with greater fierceness, and rolled on in its majestic course of ruin, for three days, and having destroyed eighty-nine churches—a vast multitude of public edifices, and thirteen thousand dwelling houses, and spreading desolation over a space of four hundred and thirty-six acres—when to all human appearance, it had overcome every means of resistance, “BY THE WILL OF HEAVEN it stopped, and was extinguished.”\*

The King.

All men were awakened to reflection by this direful calamity, and acknowledged the immediate hand of Heaven in its infliction. The King, at the meeting of Parliament, said in his opening speech: “You see the dismal ruins the fire has made; and nothing but a miracle of God’s mercy, could have preserved what is left, from the same destruction.”

The Parliament acted with their usual vigour, prudence and liberality, nor, was it long before the devoted city began to rise out of its ashes, in greater beauty and splendour; nor, must we omit,

\* Inscription on the monument.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. the eloquent words of the Speaker of the House of Commons, when submitting to the King, the measures which they had prepared, for the ordering and rebuilding of the city: “We must,” he said, “for ever, with humility, acknowledge the justice of God in punishing this whole nation, by the late dreadful conflagration of London. We know they were not the greatest sinners upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, and all our sins, doubtless, did contribute to the filling up that measure, which being full, drew down the wrath of God upon this city. We hope God will direct your royal heart, and your fortunate hand, in a few days, to lay a foundation-stone in the re-building that royal city—the beauty and praise of which, shall fill the whole earth.”

But, whilst the people were recovering from their late panic, and the Parliament was rejoicing in the prospect of the future prosperity and glory of their country—the whole nation was, again, thrown into consternation, under the most aggravating circumstances, and particularly insulting to the national honour.

For some time, on the mediation of Sweden, a treaty of peace had been entered into by the contending powers; and, was, at length, concluded at Breda, to the satisfaction of both nations. But, whilst the treaty was pending, the Dutch, acting upon a stratagetic policy, in order to obtain more favourable terms, perceiving the English entirely

Another calamity.  
A. D. 1667.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. off their guard, and unprepared for action, fitted out a strong fleet and approached the English coast. Finding no opposition, they sailed up the Medway, made themselves master of the fort of Sheerness; and having the advantage of an easterly wind and a strong tide, they resolutely pressed on, broke through a chain of ships which had been sunk, and moored at the muscle bank, and committing dreadful ravages among the shipping advanced to Upnore Castle, where their career was stopped by the almost single-handed vigour, courage, and prudence, of the Duke of Albemarle, who seemed to be raised up to meet every emergency, and to become the tutelary genius of his country!

Fall of Clarendon.

The whole nation felt themselves disgraced by this insulting aggression of their enemies. Great neglect was attributed by Parliament, to the Commissioners of his Majesty's dock yards:—but the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, was the victim to be sacrificed on this occasion to the popular resentment. It was on the thirty-first of August, that the King demanded the great seal from his old and faithful Minister, and, by this mark of his displeasure, delivered him up to the malice of his enemies. He was shortly after, impeached by the Commons, and, in the end, an act of banishment against him passed both houses of Parliament. He fell, and, with him the dignity, honour, and stability, of the national affairs. Nor was it a

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. trifling addition to the loss of this great statesman, that shortly after, his Majesty's Counsels were deprived, by death, of the great abilities of his friend the Earl of Southampton. Clarendon retired to France, and left behind him a noble apology, which remains a lasting monument of his integrity and patriotism; and though banished by his ungrateful master, and mistaken countrymen, he stands honoured in the annals of his country, not only for his own important and splendid services, in the re-establishment of the Church and Monarchy, but as the grandfather of two Queens of glorious memory!

The treaty of Breda led to the formation of the "Triple League," between England, France, and Holland, as a counterpoise to the encroaching power of France; and, at length, through the incredible labours, high integrity, and consummate prudence of Sir William Temple, who has gained by these transactions, immortal honour as a diplomatist, to the peace of Aix-la-chapelle.

Sir W. Temple.  
A. D. 1668.

But as an honest statesman who deserved well of his country, he stood almost alone. Clarendon was gone, and succeeded in his high office by the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, and, in the King's favour by the Duke of Buckingham, a man so abandoned and so fertile in the invention of criminal pleasures, that, together with his friend and associate, the Earl of Rochester, he was sufficient to corrupt any court in the world. That in which

Profligacy of the court.

SECTION IV. they lived, quickly degenerated into the abodes of venality, profligacy, and infidelity.

CHAP. III.

Design of a toleration frustrated.

A. D. 1669.

In the midst of such Counsellors, no stability in government could be expected, and every latent evil in the commonwealth began straightforth to discover itself. The Popish faction exerted its utmost influence, and to counteract their efforts, a scheme was set on foot, under the direction of the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, and Sir John Baber, to bring the Presbyterians within the pale of the Church, and to grant a general toleration. Dr. Manton, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, were consulted; but the design was frustrated by the "tergiversation and cavils of the Presbyterians." This ineffectual attempt at reconciliation widened the breach; and the Presbyterians in order to secure their further degradation and punishment, moved to a conjunction with the Independents—a circumstance which filled the minds of all men with jealousy and alarm. The House of Commons zealously interfered, and the King, although he secretly favoured them, was obliged to publish a proclamation "for putting in execution the laws against non-conformists, and for suppressing conventicles," and the Duke of Albemarle having reported to the House, that the peace of the city was endangered by the meetings of seditious, and disaffected persons, it was resolved "That the thanks of this House be given to the Lord Gene-

SECTION IV. ral for his care in preserving the peace of the kingdom."

CHAP. III.

But it was the last act of that remarkable man, and he was about to close his long and arduous career. He died, after a short illness, on the second of January, in the sixty-second year of his age, and has left behind him an imperishable name in the annals of his country. If any doubt remained on the minds of men, respecting his honourable intentions at the restoration—it was obliterated by the actions of his subsequent life. Never had a Prince a more humble and obedient subject; nor a State a more useful and patriotic citizen.

The affairs of the country now rapidly progressed. The King was ingulphed in pleasure; and, after discovering the finest talents for government, which, if properly directed, might have secured the honour and prosperity of his country—he became enslaved to his passions; and fell under the secret influence of the enemies of his country. His Ministers, were men of eminent parts; and, to them was committed the whole management of affairs. The government of the country thus fell into the hands of an oligarchy, their grand design, was to humble the power of the Parliament, and to enlarge and strengthen the prerogatives of the crown. This oligarchy has been denominated the "CABAL," not only from the pernicious and intriguing character of their

VOL. II.

ii

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. counsels, but from a singular combination of the initials of their names: Lord Clifford—Ashley Cooper—the Duke of Buckingham—Lord Arlington—and the Earl of Lauderdale—all men of consummate ability, and of great political enterprise. Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, was the most profound, intriguing, and politically profligate—of great genius, fertile in invention, and undaunted in the prosecution of his enterprizes, however dishonourable, or atrocious.

The Duchess  
of Orleans.

The first project of the “Cabal” was to form a strict alliance with France, and to bring the power of that kingdom, to bear, with full effect, against the liberties of their own. In order to accomplish this part of their design, these desperate politicians prepared measures for breaking the “Triple League,” which had been so happily formed between England, Holland, and Sweden. A secret correspondence was entered into with the court of France. The envoy of the French Monarch on this occasion, was none other than the King’s sister, who had been married to the Duke of Orleans.

Her unhappy  
death.

The Duchess was met by the King and all the principal nobility at Dover; and entertained, during a fortnight, with all the splendour and extravagance of royal dissipation; and left behind her the seeds of corruption, which afterwards grew up and produced their legitimate fruits. But the enactment of a dreadful tragedy awaited

her return: In the midst of health and beauty, SECTION IV. CHAP. III. and joyousness, through the jealousy of her husband, respecting her conduct in England, she was hurried to an untimely grave, by poison.

Designs of  
the Cabal.

The whole of this negotiation, which was nothing less than a proposal from the French Monarch “of insuring the King of England an absolute authority over his Parliament, and re-establishing the Catholic religion in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland,” was kept a profound secret, and confined to the members of the Cabal. Even the Lord Keeper, Bridgeman, was unacquainted with it. At the opening of Parliament, the King said little: but the Lord Keeper made a long speech on the necessity of enlarging the naval power, as a protection against the increasing and encroaching power of France. The Parliament with great sincerity, responded to the statements of the unconscious Lord Keeper; and full of zeal and patriotism, voted large supplies, which the Cabal had destined to other purposes, and, with which, they were intending to conspire against the liberties and independence of their country. Monstrous evils were soon to follow. But what is remarkable, at the very moment these infamous transactions were taking place, and treachery and profligacy were uniting their counsels to overthrow the institutions of the country—an overruling Providence, who intended to

SECTION IV. avert the impending evil, indulged the nation with a sight of their future deliverer.

CHAP. III.

Arrival of the Prince of Orange.

A. D. 1670.

The PRINCE OF ORANGE arrived in England on a visit to his royal uncle; and was received with great affection by all the members of the royal family. He was then eighteen years of age, of a commanding aspect, and dignified bearing; and all men were filled with admiration at the vigour of his understanding, and the extent of his practical wisdom. The Lord Arlington, who had no prejudice in favour of the Prince, in a letter to Sir William Godolphin, Ambassador to Spain, writes in the following strain: "The Prince of Orange hath been now these three weeks amongst us, much to the satisfaction of the King and all who have seen him, being a young man of the most extraordinary understanding and parts, besides his quality and birth, which makes him shine the better."

Such was the man, who was designed by God, at no distant period, to be the instrument of consolidating the work of centuries; and settling the British monarchy on the deep foundations and transcendant principles of Protestantism. During his stay in England, he visited the universities and other principal places in the kingdom; and was everywhere received with marked respect and veneration, as if his future destiny had been foreseen and anticipated.

SECTION I. The tide of evil had already set in; for, scarcely had the young Prince departed from our shores, than a desperate attempt was made upon the life of one of the most upright and patriotic noblemen of the day. This was the Duke of Ormond—the last of the three friends, whose united counsels had restored the constitutional integrity of the monarchy. The Earl of Southampton was no more: the Earl of Clarendon was in honourable exile; and now, the third had well nigh fallen a victim to the hands of a bloody assassin. The chief actor in this attempt, was a daring villain of the name of Blhud. His crimes in Ireland had been most flagitious, and rendered him a fitting instrument in the hands of those who were attempting the ruin of their country. The virtue of the Duke of Ormond, was an insurmountable obstacle in their way. His death would remove it, and it was determined upon. As he was returning one night, to his house in Charing Cross, his carriage was furiously attacked by Blhud and his associates, mounted on excellent horses. The Duke's attendants were overpowered; and he himself being seized, was bound and fastened on horseback, behind one of the assassins, who galloped off with the barbarous intention of hanging the Duke on the gallows at Tyburn. But, happily, the noise occasioned by the assault, and the escape of one of the domestics, alarmed the servants of the house, who, immediately, went in pursuit; at

CHAP. III.

Attempt on the life of the Duke of Ormond.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. the same moment the Duke struggling with the man, behind whom he was mounted, by a strong effort brought him to the ground. The Duke's servants were now approaching, and the assassins finding their scheme frustrated, fired two shots at their intended victim as he lay on the ground, but, happily, without effect; and mounting their horses, fled. The atrocious affair filled the nation with perplexity and alarm, and, was, for a long time, involved in the deepest mystery and obscurity.

But it could not long be hidden. The course of events sufficiently indicated the source and origin of those disorders which, now, began to rage in the very bosom of the State.

Patriotism of the Commons. The Parliament itself was in great perplexity. So great was the resort of the Jesuits to England—such the wrath and insolence of the Popish faction—that the House of Commons felt themselves called upon to give the subject the fullest consideration. The King sought to divert their attention by urging the necessity of the supplies: but the danger was too great to admit of delay; and they drew up a well-digested and talented declaration and address, “to his Majesty, on the growth and danger of Popery, and the remedies which ought to be applied.” The King was obliged to yield to the determined spirit of the Commons; and issued a proclamation, ordering all Jesuits to depart the kingdom. The Commons

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. were deceived by this ready compliance on the part of the King, and voted incredible supplies. This answered their purpose, and was the end the Cabal had in view by their dissimulation. No sooner were the supplies granted, than the House was adjourned, and prorogued for one year and nine months!

The Duke of York ensnared. Deeds of blackest night were now transacted, without shame or remorse, in which the Papists were chief actors, and played a deep political game. The King was persuaded to seek a divorce; and, to render it plausible, schemes of treachery were enacted against the Queen. The divorce was conducted and concluded upon at Rome: but it was not the intention of that court that it should ever take place. It was done merely to draw an illustrious convert more fully and openly into the snare. This was the Duke of York. He had embraced the Romish religion at an early age, and was a much more sincere proselyte than his royal brother. In the event of a divorce, the Duke perceived that his succession to the crown, might be endangered; and he was fain to accede to the conditions proposed to him. To be brief—the divorce was put a stop to, on the Duke's consenting to abjure, in a more full and explicit manner—THE PROTESTANT RELIGION—which he did, on this occasion, before father Simons, an English Jesuit.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. It was a refined and deep-laid scheme; and seemed to promise well to its promoters; but like all evil projects, it laid the foundation for their utter discomfiture and overthrow. The Duke's religion, which had hitherto been a secret, and known to few, could no longer be disguised. The nation took the alarm, and the people, filled with astonishment and perplexity, turned their eyes on the Duke of Monmouth—a popular, aspiring, nobleman, possessing some good qualities, and an illegitimate son of the King. But their blind hopes were not to be realized. England was to be saved under more honourable auspices!

Insult to the  
Dutch fleet.

Sir W. Temple, who had done so much for his country, and, for Europe, by the formation of the "Triple Alliance," by which the arbitration of European affairs was placed in the power of England—refusing to become a tool in the hands of the "Cabal," nobly relinquished his embassy. One of the King's yacht's was sent for Lady Temple and her family; and, it was, on this occasion, that the captain had orders, if he saw the Dutch fleet, to fire a shot and require the Dutch Admiral to strike to him. The Captain of the yacht acted up to his orders; but the Dutch Admiral excused himself, on the ground, that it never could be expected that the whole Dutch fleet should strike to a pleasure boat.

Whilst the Cabal were thus seeking to create a breach with Holland, two of the Parliamentary

Generals who had distinguished themselves in the civil wars, terminated their career by death. SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. The first was the Earl of Manchester, who all his life, deplored, with unaffected sorrow, the evils of which he had been the author. At the reformation, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household; and such was his admirable conduct, that he was chosen Lord High Chancellor of the University of Cambridge—affording, in one person a striking instance of the pernicious consequences of deserting, for the sake of an imaginary good, the principles of the constitution; and offering a bright example of the beauty of repentance—and amendment of life. The other, was the Lord Fairfax, whose martial renown had reached the utmost limits of the civilized world. His integrity, was as great as his ability. He was outwitted, indeed, by the subtle Cromwell; but he never ceased to lament, with bitter tears, the murder of the King; and thought himself indescribably happy in having a principal share in the RESTORATION.

Deaths of  
two great  
Leaders.

The King and his ministers became daily more abject and degraded. Blud, whose name has been so lately mentioned in connexion with the attempt upon the life of the Duke of Ormond, was apprehended in an open and daring attempt, to plunder the jewel office in the Tower. On his examination, at which the King was present, he boldly confessed that he was one of the conspi-

Attempt on  
the Jewel office.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

rators against the life of the Duke of Ormond; and, instructed, no doubt, in the part he was to act, declared that he had been previously engaged to take away the life of the King, and, that he had stood prepared, with a carbine in his hand, whilst his Majesty was bathing near Battersea, but that he had relented from an awe of majesty which came over his mind; and intimated, that he had associates who would revenge his death. To the astonishment of all men, the wretch was pardoned; nor, was that all,—he had a pension of £600 a year settled upon him, and was admitted to all the secrets of the Cabal. Such was the unprincipled character of the government at that period.

Project  
the Cabal.

of Such, also, was the extravagant expenditure of the court, that although Parliament had granted supplies to the amount of three millions, and the King of France had remitted more than £700,000, they were still unable to fit out a suitable armament. In this emergency, recourse was had to an ingenious stratagem, invented by Lord Ashley, of shutting up the payments of the exchequer, so that all sums of money lodged there by the bankers, might be retained without interest, for the King's use. The bankers, immediately stopped their payments, and a general clamour and consternation prevailed. The king in person met the bankers in the Treasury, and by his promises prevailed upon them to resume their payments.

Still, many private individuals and families were ruined, by this disgraceful transaction.

SECTION  
IV.

## CHAP. III.

Another important step as a preliminary to the war was suggested by Lord Ashley, now created Earl of Shaftesbury. This was a *general toleration* of religion, which was intended to propitiate the Dissenters, who were warm advocates for the Dutch alliance, as well as to oblige the French by extending to the Roman Catholics, the free exercise of their religion. The measure was introduced to the nation, in a royal proclamation, in which, the King assumed the prerogative, as supreme in ecclesiastical affairs of dispensing with acts of Parliament. It was, however, a most politic measure, and, whatever might have been the motives which dictated it, it was a noble boon to the non-conformists, and Roman Catholics; and, although the manner of carrying it into execution, was an unwarrantable stretch of the prerogative, yet it continued in operation for nine years, nor did the Parliament interfere, till urged to it by new provocations.

A general toleration.

Nothing now remained, but a formal declaration of war, against Holland, which was proclaimed in London on the seventeenth of March, without the sanction of Parliament, and against the inclination of all men. But the "Cabal" was supreme, and whilst they were exulting at the apparent success of their schemes—the Almighty hand which guides the affairs of men, was direct-

War against  
Holland.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. ing their movements to a result exactly contrary to their intentions; and, through a great variety of the most conflicting circumstances and hazardous events, to a termination, at once momentous and grand.

Desperate en-  
gagement.  
A. D. 1671. The Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, embarked on board the English fleet, consisting of one hundred sail. The Earl of Sandwich, Vice Admiral, formed a junction with the French fleet, under D'Estres, Vice Admiral of France. The Dutch fleet was under De Ruyter. On Whitsun-Tuesday, the two fleets came to an engagement. The English and Dutch fought with their usual desperate courage. The Duke of York displaying his natural courage, was soon in dreadful combat with De Ruyter, and defended his ship till his maintop was carried away, when leaving his disabled ship, with great intrepidity he hoisted his flag on board the "London." The Earl of Sandwich was in still hotter battle; for, after having disabled the enemy's wing to which he was opposed, his vessel was singled out, and quickly surrounded with four fire-ships. Every thing which skill and courage could devise, was attempted to rescue his ship from these volcanic engines. By incredible efforts, three of the fire-ships were sunk; but, being grappled by the fourth, he saw that his destruction was inevitable. With labouring breast the Admiral took a last view of the scene; and, when he saw six hundred

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. of his men lying dead upon the deck, and his ship a burning wreck, refusing all means of escape, he retired to his cabin; and, tying a handkerchief round his eyes, awaited in silence, the approaching catastrophe. His body was afterwards found and buried with great honour, at the King's expense, in Westminster Abbey. The fight continued till nine at night, when the Dutch stood off, and were next day pursued by the English to their own coasts.

Whilst these things were transacting at sea, the French monarch had taken the field with one hundred and twenty thousand men, and marked his course by a series of victories, until he reached Utrecht, and seated himself in the heart of the united provinces. The rapid and astonishing advance of the French army, filled the people of Holland with indignation and fury. They imputed all their misfortunes, and the slavery which awaited them, to their Governors, the States General; and, with one voice, demanded the restoration of the Prince of Orange to all the rights of his family. The demand was irresistible: and, the Prince came forth at the call of the people, displaying at the early age of twenty, that profound wisdom, that cool and determined courage, and that patient prudence, which, in other men is the fruit of long experience, and which, at once, marked him out, as a signal instrument of divine Providence, in carrying out his benevolent pur-

Conquest of  
Holland by the  
French.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

poses towards mankind. The very news of his elevation filled the hearts of their conquerors with awe, if not with alarm. They immediately offered him the title of King, and the sovereignty of his native land, if he would hold it under the protection of France. It was a temptation which few men under his circumstances would have had the courage to resist. His country half conquered—a powerful army seated in its very centre—the war conducted by the most skilful Generals of the age, and supported by the united power of France and England. But nothing could shake his resolution and patriotism. To all their solicitations he had but one reply, which was always ready: “that he would never betray a trust which had been committed to him, nor ever sell the liberties of a country which his ancestors had defended.”

Death of De  
Wit, and his  
brother.

Nor was this all: the Louvestein faction, who now saw that their reign was over, shewed even at that desperate moment, what every faction must eventually shew, that it was not their country they valued, but their own interest and ascendancy. Cornelius De Wit, brother of the famous Pensionary, was apprehended for conspiring and attempting the life of the Prince; but, evidence being wanting to his condemnation, he was sentenced to banishment. On the morning he was to leave the prison, his brother the Pensionary, drove up in his coach and four to carry away his banished relative in a sort of triumph. But alas!

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

his triumph was short, and he was about to find a fearful termination to his proud career. The two brothers no sooner made their appearance at the door of the prison, and were proceeding to their carriage, than the infuriated populace, enraged at their past conduct, and, instigated afresh by this open defiance of the laws, rushed on the unhappy men, and tore them in pieces!

In England, the Cabal were busily employed in carrying on their great designs, the principal of which, was their own promotion. Lord Clifford was made Lord High Treasurer, an office which had been in commission since the death of the Earl of Southampton. Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury was made Lord High Chancellor. Lord Arlington was raised to an Earldom, and the Earl of Lauderdale was created a Duke. Thus fortified and enriched, they resolved to await the meeting of Parliament, which was summoned for the fourth of February. But confident as they were in their own resources, they had already reached the height of their power and presumption. The hand of a retributive Providence was already lifted up, and all their lofty projects were about to be dashed, at one blow, to the ground. So may the counsels of all be confounded who “Cabal” against the liberties of their country!

At the opening of Parliament, the King supported the necessity of the war with Holland, with his usual good sense, and conciliating manner.

Promotions  
of the Cabal.  
The Com-  
mons interfere,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
and frustrate  
their designs.

He was supported by the Lord Chancellor, in a speech of surprising depth and eloquence. But Parliament was inflexible. Resolutely loyal, they were determined to support the King; but they were still more resolved to uphold the laws and liberties of the kingdom. They complained of the declaration of indulgence, in which the King had assumed a dispensing power; and maintained in an address to his Majesty, "that PENAL statutes in matters Ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by act of Parliament." This opposition was a serious difficulty. It was a fundamental point with the "Cabal," and the King had set his heart upon it; and, for the first time, he returned the Commons an evasive answer. But they were determined to obtain a full and unequivocal renunciation of the "Dispensing Power." Their prudence, loyalty, and perseverance, on this trying occasion, can never be duly estimated. The King with all his faults, was too patriotic to contend for the prerogative against known laws, and the wishes of Parliament. He relinquished his pretensions.

But his submission was attended with utter discomfiture and ruin to the Cabal. The steady, reasonable, inflexible, opposition of the Commons, discovered to them the impossibility of executing their designs. The Earl of Shaftesbury, in particular, was so convinced of his critical situation, that he determined, at all hazards, to save himself

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

from the resentment of Parliament. Such, indeed, was the danger he apprehended, and so precipitate was his retreat from his former counsels, that the very next day, he appeared in the House of Lords, at the head of the party who were most zealous against the Roman Catholic religion—the Dutch war and the alliance with France. All men were astonished at his conduct. The King and the Duke of York, happened to be present at the debate, in which Lord Clifford, the Treasurer, was to propose the establishment of a permanent revenue for the crown. The Duke of York, enraged at the unexpected opposition of Shaftesbury, who had even assisted to prepare the Lord Treasurer's speech, whispered to the King: "What a rogue have you of a Lord Chancellor." To which the King with great coolness replied: "What a fool have you of a Treasurer."

But mighty events depended upon this sudden change. For by this defection, not only was the power of the "Cabal" broken, but the intrigues and designs of the Court became fully known, and the nation placed upon its guard. The cabal declines.

Lord Clifford retired from office, and died shortly after, of vexation and chagrin. Whilst Shaftesbury deprived of the seals, gave place to Sir Heneage Finch. The Duke of Buckingham, as might be expected from his unprincipled habits, took the alarm; and, being threatened with an impeachment, desired to defend himself before the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
House of Commons, which he did, by implicating the Earl of Arlington, who was obliged to retire, whilst the last remaining member of this famous junto, the Duke of Lauderdale, was shortly after to bear his just share of the public indignation.

Corporation  
and Test Act.

The Commons proceeded, not only with undaunted courage, but with consummate wisdom and prudence. They prepared a measure commonly called the "Corporation and Test Act," demanding of all persons holding office in the state, the oath of allegiance and supremacy; whilst to secure the power of the state, in favour of the religious establishment, of the country, it was made necessary to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act, afterwards, and, very properly, pressed upon Dissenters; but, at that time, the non-conformists made no scruple of holding communion with the Church of England. The Commons even passed a bill for the toleration of Protestant Dissenters; but which had not time to pass the Lords before the recess. This Act proved disastrous to the Popish party. The Duke of York laid down his command as Lord High Admiral. His retirement was certainly a great loss at this conjuncture, but there was one man who could supply his place. This was Prince Rupert. By his courage, patience, and admirable seamanship, in three desperate engagements he sustained inviolate the honour of

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
the British flag, against all the skill and valour of the famous Dutch Admirals De Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert with the aid of superior numbers.

Conduct of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

Whilst the Dutch Admirals were conducting themselves with great bravery at sea, the genius of the Prince of Orange triumphed on land. Having laid his plans with the Emperor, like another Scipio, he resolved to save his country by abandoning it. Accordingly, having left his chief post guarded by a part of his army, with the main body he marched into Germany, joined a portion of the imperial army and besieged "Bonne," which had been given up into the hands of the French, in the beginning of the war. The boldness of the attempt astonished all men, and the success which attended it, established his character for prudence and courage. By the capture of "Bonne," a passage was opened for the German forces to cross the Rhine into Flanders, which gave such a sudden blow to the designs of the French, that they immediately abandoned all their conquests in Holland, with greater celerity than they had made them. The gratitude of his countrymen was unbounded; and so rapidly were the purposes of Providence unfolded, that by a solemn decree of the States, he was confirmed hereditary stadtholder of Holland; and, as if this had been the sole intention of the war, a negotiation for peace immediately followed, and the Commissioners assembled at Cologne.

## SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

Death of Oliver St. John.

In the midst of these transactions, died, that desperate man Oliver St. John, who had borne a principal part in the calamities of the late reign, and arrived at last, at the enviable title of "Oliver Cromwell's dark lantern." Little is known of him after the restoration, except that he retired from public life, and lived in great obscurity, at his estate at Long Thorpe, in Northamptonshire.

The King, as he advanced in years, abandoned himself still more to the soft influence of luxurious pleasure; and, although endued with those great qualities of mind and person, which might have rendered him an honour and a benefactor to his country, through his effeminacy, he lost every opportunity of glory to himself and benefit to his people, and became the easy prey of evil and interested counsellors.

Duke of York takes his resolution.

The Duke of York had now taken his part with great decision; and through his secretary Coleman, entered into a secret negotiation with the King of France. The object of this correspondence was to secure the power of France, for the purpose of re-establishing arbitrary power, and the Roman Catholic religion, in England; and, to prevent if possible, the interference of the English Parliament, in opposition to the ambitious designs of the French Monarch. This negotiation was to prove the ruin of both. But, for the present, through vast and unspeakable evils to their country, they were to prevail. Popery was once more

## SECTION IV.

CHAP. III.

to manifest her intriguing and political character, and to afford another striking example to mankind of the vast power she wields, and the obstinacy with which she pursues her views of aggrandizement and supremacy.

The consequences were immediately apparent. The intrigues of the Romish party, became every day more active and vigorous. The King became a pensioner of France; and vast sums of money were supplied by that country to support his extravagance, and to render him independent of Parliament. France assists him.

The Earl of Danby, Lord High Treasurer, and Finch the Lord Chancellor, were both men of great abilities; but there was no man like the Earl of Clarendon, endued with sufficient courage and integrity to guide the helm of affairs at this critical juncture. That nobleman who had been such a benefactor to his country, had just finished his course at Rouen, in Normandy, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and, nearly at the same time, John Milton, who, by his "Paradise Lost," has acquired an immortal name, although his reputation has suffered from the virulent part he acted in the civil war. He was Latin Secretary to the Long Parliament; and afterwards filled the same office for Cromwell. By his powerful pen he pleaded the cause of the Independents and Regicides, and assisted in the King's murder and the overthrow of the church. But it is, at last, grati- Death of the Earl of Clarendon and John Milton.  
A. D. 1674.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. fying to reflect, that, at length, taught by long and melancholy experience, he returned to the bosom of the Church of England, and ended his days in the admiration and use of that Liturgy which he had assisted to proscribe.

Designs of  
the Romanists.

Whilst the Prince of Orange was conducting the war with great skill and bravery, against the two celebrated Generals, the Prince of Condé and Marshal De Turenne, Sir William Temple was despatched as Ambassador extraordinary to mediate between the contending parties. In England the Popish party had made great progress in their designs. The letters of Coleman, the Duke's secretary, which afterwards came to light, are extraordinary documents, and fully expose to view, the schemes and intentions of the Romanists. One extract will be sufficient to shew their lofty expectations at this time. It is taken from a letter to the French King's confessor, Father Le Chése, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms; and, by that, perhaps, the subduing of a PESTILENT HERESY, which has domineered over a great part of this northern world, a long time. There were never such hopes of success since the death of QUEEN MARY, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become, (may I say a miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so GLORIOUS A WORK. But the opposition we are like to meet with is also likely

to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can. For the harvest is great, and the labourers are few."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

Such were the hopes and prospects of the Romanists; but all their designs were to be baffled, in a manner, which may be justly considered as miraculous. Every step in our history discovers the counteracting power which was to frustrate and "confound" their devices, not framed on any preconcerted plan of human agency, but derived from incidents and arrangements, which sprung up without notice, or were educed, contrary to the expectations of all men, out of the indiscribable confusions and calamities of the times.

Amongst the many preferments of that period, must be mentioned that of Doctor Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, who holds a distinguished place in the history of the civil war. This worthy prelate succeeded Doctor Hinchman, in the Bishopric of London. To him was confided, in a great measure, the education of the two Princesses, Mary and Anne, and to his care and fidelity must be attributed their enlightened judgment, and their inviolable attachment to Protestant principles, which, in after days, had such an extensive influence on the public prosperity and happiness.

During the recess of Parliament, which had been prorogued for a whole year, a general dissatisfaction prevailed, and was expressed by pamphlets

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
and libels, against the conduct of government and the increase of Popery. Proclamations were issued; but nothing could silence the fears and jealousy of the nation.

In the meantime, Sir William Temple had been indefatigable in the business of his mission. The Plenipotentiaries from the states of Europe had assembled at Nimeguen for the establishment of a general peace. The war however, was still continued, and the campaign ended in favour of the French arms, under the Marshal Schomberg.

Before the meeting of the English Parliament, which could no longer be procrastinated, George Digby, Earl of Bristol, ended his busy and adventurous career; having, with all his heroic and chivalrous exertions, performed nothing for his country worthy of record by the Historian.

Death of the  
Earl of Bristol.

On the meeting of Parliament, great heats and dissensions arose between the two Houses on matters of formality, which were speedily silenced by the King's adjourning them to a future period. But the congress of Nimeguen still continued their important sitting, whilst the Prince of Orange, in the conduct of the war, continued to display that foresight, courage, and firmness, which distinguished him above all the Generals of the age. And the destiny of England in connexion with this great Prince, began rapidly to unfold itself. He had hitherto resisted the solicitations of his family and his country, and pleading the dangers

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
and distractions of war, refused to turn his thoughts towards a matrimonial alliance. But at length, after serious deliberation with Sir W. Temple, and anxious enquiries as to her education and religious principles, he fixed his mind upon the Princess Mary of England. And at the end of the campaign, embarked for England, for the purpose of conversing with her, and promoting his suit with the King, and her father, the Duke of York. On this occasion, the Prince discovered that magnanimity and greatness of soul for which he was so remarkable. The King and his ministers perceiving his heart was deeply engaged, endeavoured to detach him from the cause of his allies, and to enter into a negotiation for a separate peace with France. The Prince resolutely refused such dishonourable conditions; and declared, that "he would not sell his honour for a wife." Sir William Temple conveyed to the King, the Prince's dissatisfaction, and his intention of leaving England in two days, unless they agreed to an unfettered alliance. It was on this occasion, that the King said: "I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks,"—of which he gave some examples—"and if I am not deceived in the Prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world. I will trust him and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on." The Duke of York yielded a reluct-

Prince of  
Orange visits  
England.  
A. D. 1677.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. ant consent, and when Sir William Temple acquainted the Prince with the result of his negotiation, he was transported, and embracing him said, "You have made me a very happy man, and, very unexpectedly."

Married to the Princess Mary. When the news of his success reached Holland, it was received with universal joy; and a public edict was passed expressive of their satisfaction. The dispatch which conveyed it did not reach England till late on the fourth of November, the Prince's birth-day, and, at midnight the marriage took place, at St. James Chapel, about the time of the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and by a remarkable coincidence, was celebrated next day, with great rejoicings in London.

After his marriage the Prince entered, with his usual vigour, on the subject of the treaty of peace, and Ambassadors were sent both to France and Spain with the result of their deliberations.

Dean Tillotson. This alliance was so gratifying to the Protestant spirit of the nation, that the city of London determined to make a grand demonstration; and to invite the Prince and Princess to a magnificent banquet. But the court was jealous of such a display, and to prevent it, their departure from London was ordered with great precipitation. It was on this occasion, that the future King of England formed an acquaintance with Doctor Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, which was afterwards attended with important consequences. The Prince

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. arrived at Canterbury without his baggage and attendants; and Monsieur Bentinck, who accompanied them, applied to the mayor and corporation for their plate and a supply of money for their accommodation, which was unmannerly refused. The Dean no sooner heard of this, than he waited upon the Prince with a supply of plate and money, at the same time, inviting them to take up their residence at the Deanery. The frankness and generosity of the Dean was highly pleasing to the Prince, who, from that time entertained a high regard for him, which ripening into friendship, influenced the elevation of one to the Archbishopric, and the other to the Throne.

But many a long and tedious step was yet to be taken. This year concluded with the death of the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eightieth year of his Age. He was no less distinguished by his learning and piety, than by his munificence and charity. His name is immortalized in connexion with that great work, the theatre of Oxford, and it appeared from his book of memorandums, that from the time he was appointed Bishop of London, to his death, he expended in pious and charitable uses the sum of £66,000. He was succeeded in his high station by Doctor William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, who was promoted to that high station by the force of character, without any solicitation or expectation of his own.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

A continuation of the sixteenth Session of the second Parliament, met on the fifteenth of January, which began by a generous act of loyalty, in voting "the sum of £70,000 for a solemn funeral for his late Majesty King Charles I, and to erect a monument for the said Prince of glorious memory," after which, they urged the King to a separate alliance with Holland, and to an immediate declaration of war against France. Whilst these subjects occupied the attention of Parliament, during this and the succeeding session, the congress of Nimeguen brought its labours to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Popish  
Plot.  
A. D. 1678.

After the peace of Christendom had been thus established, the hearts of all men seemed to revive. The jealousies and contentions of the nations appeared to cease. The arts of peace were studied. Riches and prosperity abounded. The court abandoned itself to its usual gaiety and dissipation, and the Popish faction contemplated an uninterrupted and successful prosecution of their designs, when, on a sudden, the political sky was overcast with clouds and darkness, and the minds of all men filled with dismay. This was the discovery, as it was at that time designated by Parliament, of a "hellish Plot," or conspiracy of the Papists, for the purpose of assassinating the King, burning the cities of London and Westminster, and concluding with a general massacre of the Protestants.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Its projectors.

However deep-laid and desperate the designs of the Papists, happily for the honour of human nature, the principal parts of this plot was a fabrication of two individuals of infamous memory. The first was Doctor Tongue, a man of great parts and learning—full of projects—a person of great penetration—acquainted with all the movements of the Popish party, and a strenuous opponent of their designs. The other was Titus Oates, a man of infamous character, who, after abjuring popery, and joining himself to every sect and description of people, fell into great poverty and distress. It was under these circumstances that he sought the charitable assistance of Doctor Tongue, who, finding him a person of quick understanding, and ready for any enterprize, retained him to assist him in his inquiries into the schemes of the papists.

The Doctor by some means had obtained possession of the letters of Coleman, and, very naturally, concluded from their contents, that some plot must be in agitation amongst them. It was therefore agreed, that Oates should reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, enter himself of the society of the Jesuits, visit their foreign seminaries and places of resort, acquaint himself with their projects, and make himself familiar with the names of their chief leaders. The industrious agent soon returned, laden with the necessary information, and such as he knew would be pleasing to his employer. Out of those materials, true, exaggerated

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

and false, a regular plot was framed, consisting of forty-three articles and implicating many noble individuals in the conspiracy with all the circumstances of time and place. Such was the art with which these articles were drawn up, and, such the desperate resolution with which Oates adhered to the statements contained in them, that the Lord Treasurer, Danby, was impressed with the truth of his narrative. The King was altogether incredulous, from a full conviction that the papists would not conspire against the life of one, whom they knew to be their friend in all sincerity. Not so, the public, when they became acquainted with it through the depositions of Titus Oates, which were sworn before Sir E. Godfrey. Many persons implicated in these depositions were immediately arrested—the principal of whom were Sir George Wakeman, physician to the Queen, and Mr. Edward Coleman, Secretary to the Duke of York. The work of falsehood had now commenced in earnest, but what would have been the result, it is impossible to say, had not an incident occurred which threw the whole nation into an ecstasy of resentment and fury. This was the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, which was immediately imputed to the papists, as a proof both of their guilt and cruelty.

Parliament  
believes the  
Plot.

In the midst of these transactions, Parliament met, and took up the subject with an enthusiasm, worthy of a better substantiated cause. Every

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.

thing sworn to by Titus Oates, was received as solemn truth; and, an address was voted to the King, in a strain of unbounded loyalty and affection. Such was their implicit belief of the existence of a horrid Plot, and such the vehemence of wrath, that the King was obliged to yield to their will, and affected to believe their representations. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of this enormous tragedy. The original contrivers of it acted their parts, so effectually, that the unhappy Coleman, whose letters had given a foundation for the invention of the Plot, was tried, condemned and executed as a principal Conspirator—a fate indeed which he merited upon the testimony of his own correspondence, as a conspirator against the religion and liberties of his country, although, no doubt, he abhorred the wicked designs imputed to him by Titus Oates, and his companions. The Queen's physician escaped; but three others soon fell the victims of their perjury.

Coleman is  
executed.

For a time the fury of the people and the Parliament, was diverted by the excitement of a court intrigue, in which the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Essex, and the Duchess of Portsmouth were the principal actors. This was the intended ruin of the Earl of Danby, who had made himself obnoxious to the French party, by his determined opposition to all foreign counsels, and by his truly British and patriotic conduct. They resolved to effect their purpose,

A court in-  
trigue.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. by the exposure of certain official letters which he had written to the English Ambassador in France, containing stipulations respecting French money; and, although confirmed by the King's signature, they were produced before the House, and filled the members with great resentment. The Earl was forthwith impeached at the bar of the Lords; but the whole proceeding was checked by the sudden prorogation of Parliament.

The Earl of Shaftesbury patronizes the Plot.

A. D. 1679.

During the prorogation, the vacillating and unprincipled Earl of Shaftesbury, who, all along, had taken such an active and prominent part in political affairs, had now made up his mind and taken his resolution, to resist the Court and the Popish faction, and to throw all his force into the opposite scale.

It was soon evident that the plot was now taken up by a virulent party in the state, at the head of which, was this restless and vindictive nobleman. During the recess of Parliament, he became the powerful abettor of the plot, examined witnesses, and by threats and promises, endeavoured to extort from them, the confession of things of which they were ignorant. Nothing could be more outrageous and arbitrary, than his conduct. But he was not to succeed. His actions were not approved of by that just power who will not permit even the best ends to be sought by wicked means. His design was to secure the Protestant interest, and the liberties of his country, by the exclusion

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. of the Duke of York from the throne. He acted upon the law of expediency, but his conduct was flagrant and unjustifiable; and produced results just the reverse of what he intended. Other leading Politicians united with him in all his designs, and such was the outcry raised against the measures of the court, that the King was roused to a sense of the danger to which his crown and dignity were exposed; and conducted himself, at this trying juncture, with a prudence and energy which were never surpassed by any Monarch of any age or kingdom. The unexpected and vigorous resistance of the Sovereign power was successful. The turbulence of the popular leaders was subdued, their machinations turned upon their own heads, the dangers which threatened their country were averted, and the constitution saved, in a most signal manner, by the manifest Providence of God.

These are now the grand subjects before us. In order, if possible, to put a final stop to the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, which would have led to discoveries highly prejudicial to the royal character, the King determined on the dissolution of Parliament; and, the more effectually, to secure his servant, granted him a pardon under the great seal, which on the hesitation of the Lord Chancellor, he affixed with his own hand.

Thus ended the most famous Parliament that ever sat in England:—having passed more im-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. by the exposure of certain official letters which he had written to the English Ambassador in France, containing stipulations respecting French money; and, although confirmed by the King's signature, they were produced before the House, and filled the members with great resentment. The Earl was forthwith impeached at the bar of the Lords; but the whole proceeding was checked by the sudden prorogation of Parliament.

The Earl of Shaftesbury patronizes the Plot.  
A. D. 1679. During the prorogation, the vacillating and unprincipled Earl of Shaftesbury, who, all along, had taken such an active and prominent part in political affairs, had now made up his mind and taken his resolution, to resist the Court and the Popish faction, and to throw all his force into the opposite scale.

It was soon evident that the plot was now taken up by a virulent party in the state, at the head of which, was this restless and vindictive nobleman. During the recess of Parliament, he became the powerful abettor of the plot, examined witnesses, and by threats and promises, endeavoured to extort from them, the confession of things of which they were ignorant. Nothing could be more outrageous and arbitrary, than his conduct. But he was not to succeed. His actions were not approved of by that just power who will not permit even the best ends to be sought by wicked means. His design was to secure the Protestant interest, and the liberties of his country, by the exclusion

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. of the Duke of York from the throne. He acted upon the law of expediency, but his conduct was flagrant and unjustifiable; and produced results just the reverse of what he intended. Other leading Politicians united with him in all his designs, and such was the outcry raised against the measures of the court, that the King was roused to a sense of the danger to which his crown and dignity were exposed; and conducted himself, at this trying juncture, with a prudence and energy which were never surpassed by any Monarch of any age or kingdom. The unexpected and vigorous resistance of the Sovereign power was successful. The turbulence of the popular leaders was subdued, their machinations turned upon their own heads, the dangers which threatened their country were averted, and the constitution saved, in a most signal manner, by the manifest Providence of God.

These are now the grand subjects before us. The King In order, if possible, to put a final stop to the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, which would have led to discoveries highly prejudicial to the royal character, the King determined on the dissolution of Parliament; and, the more effectually, to secure his servant, granted him a pardon under the great seal, which on the hesitation of the Lord Chancellor, he affixed with his own hand.

Thus ended the most famous Parliament that ever sat in England:—having passed more im-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. portant acts, and continued, by eighteen prorogations and several adjournments, for seventeen years, eight months, and seventeen days.

Scarcely had the elections ceased, which had been carried on under the excitement of the "Popish plot" and the horrors of a Popish succession, and every thing prognosticated that the succeeding Parliament would be more inveterate than the last. But the King, by a bold stroke, determined to disarm the overflowing zeal of the country party, and banished his brother the Duke of York from the kingdom. The King's wish was conveyed to him in a kind and affectionate letter, desiring him for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, to leave the country till a more happy period should arrive.

Duke of York banished.  
Case of the Earl of Danby. But in vain. The Commons were gratified, but not appeased. They pursued a more violent course than even their predecessors; which they discovered in nothing more, than in their determined persecution of the Earl of Danby. They took up his impeachment from the last Parliament. He pleaded the King's pardon. They declared it null and void. The House of Lords appointed a day for the purpose of his pleading the validity of his pardon; but the Commons passed a resolution, that if any person should attempt to appear as counsel, in his behalf, he should be considered a "Traitor and betrayer of the liberties of his country." This was cruel, vindic-

tive, and arbitrary. Nor can their conduct be attributed to any patriotic motive; for whatever might have been the faults of that nobleman, his further persecution could be of no advantage to their country.

By the removal of the Earl of Danby, the King was plunged into the greatest difficulty and perplexity. He was roused to exertion by the danger to which he saw the Government and country were exposed; and, in this emergency he had recourse to the wisdom and advice of Sir W. Temple, one of the many great patriots England has produced. His advice was an oracle. He was possessed of a capacious understanding, an extensive knowledge of men and things, and an invincible integrity. He saw the influence which had been acquired by the Duke of Monmouth, the Earls of Essex and Sunderland, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, and that they were striking for the crown. To extricate the King from his difficulties, and save the country from anarchy and blood-shed, he recommended the formation of a Council, which should be of a grand and comprehensive character, and include the most talented and powerful of the nobility and Commons. It was to consist of thirty persons, half of whom were to be the present chief officers of the crown and household, who being in his Majesty's known trust as well as choice, would be sure to keep the rest of the Council steady to the interest of the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III.  
Crisis of the Government.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. Monarchy. One chief regard which he had in the constitution of this Council, was the personal state and riches of its members, which is said to have amounted to £300,000 a year, whilst the revenue of the Commons did not exceed £400,000. This scheme which introduced a new power into the constitution was approved of by the King, and, when it became known, filled the minds of all men with astonishment. The Lord Chancellor Finch, when he heard of it, said: "It looked like a thing from Heaven fallen into the King's breast." The Earls of Essex and Sunderland, and the Lord Halifax, one of the most talented men of the day, were the chief of this Council in concert with Sir W. Temple; and the Earl of Shaftesbury, at the wish of the King, was appointed Lord President.

Wise counsel  
of  
Sir W. Temple

The establishment of the new Council was received with universal demonstrations of joy. In Holland, on receiving the news, the stocks of the East India Company immediately rose; and the States despatched an extraordinary Ambassador into England on the occasion. France, alone, was dissatisfied with it; and their Ambassador, Barillon said: "It was making STATES, not COUNCILS."

Patriotism of the King. The great subject of debate, both in the nation and Parliament, was the succession to the crown in the person of the Duke of York, and the minds of all men were filled with anxiety and apprehen-

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. sion. The King foregoing all his prejudices and predilections, with a patriotism without a parallel in the history of Kings, agreed to the suggestions of his Council; and assisted them to solve the difficulty of this grand political problem—to render it possible, for a Popish King to rule over a Protestant nation. In short the King gave up every thing but the "hereditary succession," which was agreed by all parties to be a fundamental principle of the government, and the great land-mark of the Monarchy. He proposed to the House of Commons, through the Lord Chancellor, to prepare a Bill for the purpose of placing all Ecclesiastical, naval and military appointment, in the hands of Commissioners; and to enact that no Lords or others of the Privy Council, no Judges of the common law or in chancery, should at any time, during the reign of a Popish successor, be put in, or displaced, but by the authority of Parliament; and, to give the strongest proof of his sincerity, he concluded by saying: "If any thing else can occur to the wisdom of Parliament which may further secure religion and liberty against a Popish successor, without defeating the right of succession itself, his Majesty will most readily assent to it."

Limitations of  
the Monarchy.

It was impossible, under the circumstances of the case, to have devised any thing more satisfactory, than these limitations of the Sovereign power; and the rejection of these reasonable propo-

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

sals, through the opposition of the Earl of Shaftesbury, must be considered as one of those extraordinary events which lead to the most important results, by means utterly beyond the design or controul of human agency: and it would be unpardonable blindness, if we did not perceive the hand of Heaven, which can take advantage both of the mistakes and crimes of mortals, controuling the events of the time, and working out a signal deliverance for us, without endangering the Monarchy, or, undermining the liberties of the nation.

The Commons  
reject them.

The Commons rejected the limitations, and after addressing the King on the dangers to be apprehended from the growth and insolence of Popery, they brought in a Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, and were proceeding with another for his banishment, when they were suddenly prorogued. Such an interruption to their debates, filled both Houses with resentment, and such was the ungovernable rage of the Earl of Shaftesbury, that he cried out in the House, that he would have the heads of those who advised it. Nor were his menaces confined to words, nor his machinations limited to England. He fostered and encouraged the old fanatical spirit in Scotland, which had been restrained by the strong hand of power. Through his instrumentality, the visionary impulse again spread with incredible rapidity, and kindled every

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

where the fire of rebellion. They began at their conventicles, openly to display their colours, which they called the banner of JESUS CHRIST. Their preachers animated them to the glorious struggle. They told their excited audience: "That it was the time of their deliverance, when God would take vengeance on their enemies, only they must repent and be strong, and of great courage, and fight the battles of the Lord, manfully."

Nor did these vain delusions expend themselves in empty declamations. Their threatenings were loud and vehement, and they prepared lists of those marked out for destruction, at the head of which, was the name of the "perjured apostate" Bishop Sharpe, as they termed the Archbishop of St. Andrews.—Nor was it long before the bloody tragedy was enacted.

On the second of May, the Archbishop who had been assisting at the Privy Council at Edinburgh, passed over into Fifeshire, and lodged that night, at a village between Burns' Head and St. Andrews. His movements were watched; and, about midnight, two men well mounted and armed, were observed entering the village, and having ascertained, that the Archbishop was there, presently rode away. The next morning, the venerable Prelate, not suspecting any danger, entered his carriage with his only Daughter, attended by three servants. For sometime they pursued their journey without interruption, and they had now

Murder of  
Archbishop  
Sharpe  
A. D. 1679.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. arrived within two miles of Saint Andrews, when they perceived behind them a number of horsemen in pursuit. They perceived their danger, and the coachman drove with full speed; and would have escaped, but for one of the ruffians named Balfour, who, riding an extremely fleet horse came up with the carriage, and shot one of the horses dead, wounded the postilion, and with savage fury hamstringed the rest. Their victim was now in their power. The rest of the murderers soon came up, and one of them more vehement than the rest, shot his pistol into the coach, but without effect. The blood-thirsty gang now crowded around, covering him with execrations, and calling him "Dog," "Apostate," "Betrayer of the godly," "Persecutor of Christ's Church,"—bidding him come out, and receive the due reward of his wickedness against the Kirk of Scotland. The door being opened, his daughter rushing out, fell on her knees, and implored the life of her father; but they were deaf to her entreaties, trampled upon her, and wounded her. By this time the Bishop had also alighted, and with a firm and composed air, said; "He was not conscious that he had offended them; but if he had, he was ready to make reparation. He implored them to consider before they brought the guilt of innocent blood upon their heads, and besought them to spare his life, giving them his word, that no inquiry should be made after this violence." During this expos-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. tulation, there was a moment for recollection; and the assassins, struck with the reverence of his appearance, and the composure of his carriage, in some measure relented; and one of them cried out, "spare his grey hairs," but others replied; "He must die: the traitorous Judas, enemy to God's people, must now receive the reward of his apostasy."

The Archbishop perceiving the ruffians were bent upon his destruction, requested a few moments for prayer, saying, "*he would pray for them*," but they reviled him, and scornfully said. "They cared not for his prayers; they were sure God would not hear so base a dog as he was." Thus insulted, he turned to one of his assassins who appeared somewhat superior in his carriage, and said: "Sir, you are a gentlemen, I ask my last favour of you.—Since you are resolved to take my life, I intreat you to have pity upon my poor child, and take her under your protection; and, as a pledge, give me your hand," at the same moment extending his own, which the inhuman wretch almost cut off with his broad-sword, and with another blow gave him a deep wound over his eye, which brought him upon his knees. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is enough, you have done your work." Then lifting up his bleeding hands as well as he was able, he prayed "Lord Jesus have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit." During which time, they ceased not to strike the venerable sup-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. pliant, who fell on the earth with his head resting upon his arm, and expired with these words: "God forgive you: I forgive you all." Thus perished Sharpe, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, —a victim to fanatical fury, and to the violence, not of christian zeal, but demoniacal influence.

After the murder of such an illustrious person, and in such a public and daring manner, the perpetrators saw that nothing was left them but open rebellion, a course, which was to bring upon them the punishment which their crimes deserved. They were soon in arms, and at their first encounter, repulsed a body of horse under Lord Dundee, which so much encouraged the whole body of the "Covenanters," that in a short time they amounted to seventeen thousand men.

His Death is  
avenged.

The Duke of Monmouth was despatched from London, with such forces as could be spared, and joining with the Scotch forces, came up with the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, and entirely defeated them. A thousand of these deluded men perished in the field, twelve hundred were taken prisoners and the murderers of Archbishop Sharpe were executed.

Whilst the sword was inflicting these ravages in Scotland, in England the tribunal of justice was made the instrument of promoting the purposes of falsehood and perjury. The five Jesuits who had been implicated in the "Popish plot," were now brought to trial; and on the evidence

of Oates and his accomplices, condemned and SECTION IV.  
executed. CHAP. III.

These executions troubled the spirit of the King; but he had other troubles which pressed more heavily upon him. The time appointed for the meeting of Parliament, approached; and such was the favour in which the Duke of Monmouth was held at that time, and such the influence of the Earl of Shaftesbury with the leaders of the Commons, that it was thought adviseable by the intimate advisers of the Crown to dissolve the Parliament.

Scarcely had this been done, when the Almighty ruler interfered, and a sudden change took place in the posture of public affairs. The King fell suddenly ill of the ague. The three Lords, Sunderland, Essex and Halifax were then at Windsor, and the two last perceiving the peril to be apprehended to their own persons, from the Duke of Monmouth, then in the meridian of his power, sent a secret express to Holland for the Duke of York.

The King recovered, but the Duke of York on his arrival, being fully assured of the ambitious designs of the Duke of Monmouth, made such representations to his Majesty, that he was immediately dismissed from his office of Captain General, and banished into Holland, whilst the Duke of York had leave to retire into Scotland. This extraordinary change in public affairs, which took

## SECTION

## IV.

CHAP. III.

Other great  
changes.

place contrary to the political wishes of its promoters, was the first step which secured the succession of James II. Nor was this all: as if to render the circumstance more remarkable, the Earls of Essex and Halifax, who, instigated by their fears, had promoted the return of the Duke of York, lost their places. For, not daring to meet the Parliament, they prevailed upon the King peremptorily to prorogue it, contrary to the advice of his council. Great changes immediately followed. These two Lords were obliged to retire from office. The Earl of Shaftesbury in a rage resigned his place. The Lords Russel and Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel and Mr. Pool followed his example. Mr. Laurence Hyde and Mr. Sydney Godolphin were united with the Earl of Sunderland, and formed the Ministry.

Popish coun-  
ter Plot.

Scarcely had these changes in the Council been effected, than a discovery was made of a counter-plot by the Papists, to implicate the nonconformists in a design upon the life of the King. The Earl of Castlemain, the Lords in the Tower, and the Lady Powys, were the contrivers of this Plot, which was discovered before it was ripe for execution. The plan of it was found concealed in a meal-tub, from which circumstance it has derived its name. This dark and guilty intrigue gave new life and vigour to the grand plot, which, it was intended by its framers to subvert.

## SECTION

## IV.

CHAP. III.

Unexpected  
Return of the  
Duke of Mon-  
mouth.

In the midst of the prevailing confusions, and whilst the people were deeply agitated with the late attempt of the Papists, suddenly the Duke of Monmouth returned to England; and, although it was midnight when he entered the City, the tidings soon spread, the bells rung, bonfires were lighted, and the people testified their joy in the most exulting manner. Every thing seemed to prognosticate violent measures, and the country appeared on the eve of a convulsion. Tumultuous petitions were resorted to, and presented to the King in multitudes, requesting him to call a Parliament for the redress of grievances, and the safety of the country. The King issued Proclamation after Proclamation for putting them down. But in vain. They still flowed in from every quarter, and seemed to menace the liberty of the executive, and the stability of the Throne. The confusion still increased, and the violence of the people seemed as if it would bear down all before it. But necessity found a remedy more effectual than the sword, and more lasting than Acts of Parliament. Men of wisdom and reflection saw whither the vessel of the state was driving, and came forward to her rescue. The old Cavalier party again returned to the struggle. Their services had been overlooked during this whole reign; but, when they saw the Monarchy in danger, by a violent exclusion of the rightful heir, and the designed election of a successor by the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. House of Commons, they generously forgot their own wrongs and came forward to the relief of the Constitution. But the greatest support of the throne, at this period, was the Church of England. The Ecclesiastical leaders and their adherents saw the reign of Fanaticism once more about to commence, which could not fail to lay both the national Altar and the constitutional Throne in the dust; and they rallied round the standard of freedom and the constitution.

The Conser-  
vative Spirit  
roused.

The sober and monarchical portion of the community now awakened to the true interest of their country. They determined if possible, to prevent the recurrence of those bloody and anarchical scenes, which had so lately been enacted. They forwarded counter petitions, more weighty and powerful than those of the Exclusionists. The day was now won. The spirit of the English nation was evidently with the Prince, and, it was irresistible. From this moment a new and powerful principle was established in our constitutional policy, which has never ceased to exercise a powerful and controuling influence in the national counsels.—I mean, PUBLIC OPINION; and, it is to this period, and these circumstances, that we are to trace the origin of Whig and Tory.

The "Tories" firm to the Monarchy, although they were willing to accept, and, even, proposed serious limitations on a Popish successor, yet, they would not hear of an entire exclusion.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. Such a remedy they said was worse than the disease, and would admit such an irregularity into the constitution as might never be remedied. Nor did they think it just to visit with such heavy punishment a Prince who had never offended. The "Whigs" on the other hand, less affected to the Monarchical principle, were for securing their religion and liberties by any means. They pursued the law of expediency, which is always a dangerous and delusive guide. Nothing would satisfy them but the exclusion of the Duke of York. Providentially, both parties were overruled. The limitations were rejected, and the exclusionists were disappointed. Had these prevailed, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate Son of the King's would have been placed upon the Throne,—which would have been a disgrace to the British nation, and the source of interminable jealousies, contentions, and blood-shed. Had the limitations been carried, the essential dignity and authority of the Crown would have been destroyed.

Character of  
the Whigs and  
Tories.

But Heaven determined otherwise for the happiness and welfare of this country, and, for the display of a more signal vengeance on the head of that false and arbitrary power, which has usurped a dictatorial power over the rights and liberties of mankind; and scorning to regulate its acts by the ordinary rules of morality and religion, assumes a high and divine prerogative, which can, at its pleasure, dispense with the ordinary laws,

The designs  
of God unfold  
themselves.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. and reasonable arrangements of society. This unearthly power was destined to receive the most signal overthrow that it had ever experienced. The policy of the Tories was proved by the events that followed, to be correct, because founded on principle and justice. Perhaps, their views at this period, respecting "passive obedience and non-resistance" were carried to an unwarrantable extreme. But the history of that time has placed that rule, and its exception, in its proper light. It has discovered that the rule is safe, but that it has an exception—OVERPOWERING NECESSITY—when not a doubt remains, that the Sovereign power has a design to overthrow the Laws, and, with them, the constitutional rights and liberties of the subject. The "Revolution" which is now the grand object before us, and, to which every event was tending, has settled that point. The rights of Kings and subjects are held by the same tenure. Under divine sanction, the rights of both are guarded by Law. But if the Law be violated with a *design*, of subverting the legal rights of either party—Reason, religion, and, the constitution provide for a steady and dignified resistance, founded on LAW and directed by JUSTICE.

Conduct of  
the Duke of  
Monmouth.  
A. D. 1680.

The Duke of Monmouth having ventured upon such a bold step as to return from Holland without permission, had not yet appeared at Court, but visited the principal nobility attached to his party, and was every where received with dis-

tinguished marks of favour. This conduct was sufficiently bold; but it was far out-done by his friend and associate the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, with many other gentlemen of rank and influence appeared at the bar of the King's Bench, and with all legal formality, presented the Duke of York as a popish recusant. This bold and surprising act produced a great effect upon the public mind; and, though the presentment was overruled by the Judge, the Duke thought proper once more to retire into Scotland, from whence he had lately returned.

The fourth Parliament of the reign was opened on the twenty-first of October, by the King, in a speech of great wisdom and moderation, in which he yielded every thing which could be expected from a good and patriotic Prince. But such was the excitement of the period, and such the horrors of Popery and its designs, that the House directed all its time and attention to the subject. Hosts of informers appeared to second their wishes. Many were supplied from Ireland; and Doctor Plunket, the *Titular* Primate of Ireland, was brought over to be tried for High Treason. The King was obliged to yield to their vehemence. But nothing could satisfy them, and they proceeded, once more, to the Bill of exclusion. The debate was carried on with great warmth and eloquence on both sides; but the Bill, although opposed by the King in the most unequi-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. vocal yet conciliating manner, passed the Commons and was carried to the Lords by Lord William Russel, where after a long and masterly debate it was thrown out by a large majority.

They become  
arbitrary,

The Commons were perfectly enraged at the miscarriage of their great measure. They persecuted with all their authority, those who had forwarded counter petitions to the King. The liberty of the subject was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. Their fury raged. And such was the terror inspired by their proceedings, that the Judges did not dare to allow the benefit of the "Habeas Corpus" to the delinquents. Nor would this satisfy. The aged Lord Stafford, one of the five Popish Lords confined in the Tower, on the accusation of Oates and other informers, was now brought forth, tried, condemned and executed. This was the last blood that was shed on account of the "Popish Plot." Nor was the day of retribution far distant. The perpetrators of these perjuries were not to escape.

and are dis-  
solved.

But the Commons were still unappeased: and the King after trying every conciliatory measure, perceiving there was no end to their violence, prorogued and dissolved them. A new Parliament assembled at Oxford, where the King appeared with his royal consort, in great magnificence and state. His opening speech was marked with great moderation, and he advanced one step fur-

ther in his attempts to conciliate his Parliament, which was, to offer, in case of a Popish successor  
SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. —A PROTESTANT REGENCY.

But the Commons were deaf to every proposition except their own. They began their debates where the last Parliament ended; and although they condescended to appoint a Committee, to take into consideration the King's suggestion, they proceeded as violently as ever with the Bill of Exclusion, and with complaints and impeachments against all who opposed their measures.

Never did a Monarch discover more moral courage than King Charles at this eventful crisis. Whilst the House of Commons were in the midst of their debates, the King suddenly appeared in the House of Lords and dissolved the Parliament.

The King's  
vigorous con-  
duct.  
A. D. 1681.

The abrupt dissolution of the Parliament was followed by a royal declaration in that vigorous style, which characterized the State productions of this period. It enumerated all the unreasonable acts of the two last Parliaments, and shewed the necessity of dissolving them, in order to save the fundamental principles of the constitution. It was read in all the Churches, and was received with the greatest satisfaction by the nation. The counter statements were published by the Exclusionists and the adherents of Parliament. But they did not prevail. The people of England declared for the King. Addresses poured in from all quarters, from cities, counties, and corpora-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. tions, offering "their lives and fortunes in defence of his Majesty's government in Church and State." The nation seemed almost unanimous in their opinion; and the Exclusion party found themselves unable to resist it. A new power was created, and the press, from this moment, began to exercise a systematic influence upon the public mind. Regular papers were established. The "Domestic Intelligence" advocated the views of the Whigs, or, Exclusion Party. Mr. L'Estrange in his "Observer" upheld the principles of the Tories, or Cavalier Party. But Mr. Dryden's satirical poem entitled "Absalom and Ahitophel" in which he exposed the designs of the Earl of Shaftesbury, exercised the greatest influence and produced a strong impression on the minds of both parties.

Character of  
the Duke of  
Ormond.

Nor was the King wanting in gratitude to his friends. Lawrence Hyde, first Commissioner of the Treasury was appointed a Viscount; and Heneage Finch, Lord High Chancellor, was made Earl of Nottingham. Nor was the Duke of Ormond overlooked, who, from the time of the famous "Cabal" had been in disgrace. He was, undoubtedly, one of the most upright and patriotic men, whose name adorns the page of English history. Indeed, such was the integrity and dignity of his character, that, during the time his enemies had the ascendancy, whenever he appeared at Court, the King, whose manners were

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. fashioned for every emergency, found himself at a loss how to demean himself,—afraid to shew him any civility, and ashamed altogether to neglect him. This hesitation of manner was perceived by the Duke of Buckingham, who, one day observed to the King: "Sir, I wish to know whether it be the Duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your Majesty, or, your Majesty, with the Duke of Ormond? for, of the two you seem most out of countenance." This anecdote is a splendid eulogium on the Duke of Ormond's character, who was now appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In this arduous appointment he conducted himself with the strictest impartiality; and, with such vigour, that Ireland was never in a more tranquil and happy state. It was during this part of his career that he was attacked with great virulence by the Earl of Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, and was nobly defended by his son, the generous Earl of Ossory, who having justified many points of his father's administration, proceeded in the following keen and eloquent strain: "Having spoken of what the Lord Lieutenant has done, I presume, with the same truth, to tell your Lordships what he has not done; he never advised the breaking of the "Triple League;" he never advised the shutting up of the Exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and the joining with the French; he was not the

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. author of that most excellent proposition "Delenda est Carthago," that Holland, a Protestant country, should, contrary to the true interests of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your Lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and all men, according to their actions and conduct."

We are told that these few sentences had a surprising effect upon the House, and totally confounded the Earl of Shaftesbury who, with all his wit and eloquence was unable to reply. Nay, the Prince of Orange, wrote a letter to the Earl of Ossory, whom he highly esteemed as a brave and excellent soldier, to congratulate him on this new species of victory which he had obtained.

Great disorders prevail. The King's character, at this time received a strong and marked impression from the circumstances of his situation. He became more determined in his opposition to the popular leaders, more vigorous and more severe. And now many of them had well-nigh become the victims of their own imprudence and ambition. Great efforts were made to bring them to trial, especially the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been committed to prison on a charge of High Treason. But his time was not yet come, and he escaped, through the peculiar circumstances of the times. Every thing was decided by party interest, and the Exclusionists had such a commanding influence in the city, that the Juries refused to convict, and the Sheriffs to act, and, however guilty the criminals, of their

party, they were allowed to escape. The government, supported by the mind of the country, tried every expedient to break the power of this combination against law and justice. But, for a long time, their efforts were vain.

At length, however the disease became too desperate to be permitted to exist: and as these evils flowed from the Sheriffs, the Tory party determined, if possible, to restore the ancient mode of electing them. The ancient custom had been for the Lord Mayor, who was now in the Tory interest, to elect one Sheriff by drinking his health at an annual dinner, and to leave the other to the election of the several Companies; whereas, at present, both were elected by the suffrages of the Companies. It was difficult to rectify the innovation, and the struggle was conducted with a vehemence such as might be expected from men, who were contending for Empire. The King and his Council were not indifferent spectators, but exerted all the influence they could command, and the Tories triumphed, two Sheriffs were elected, one by the nomination of the Lord Mayor, and the other, by their own suffrages.

Nor was this all. The Tories triumphed also in the election of Lord Mayor at the ensuing Michaelmas, when Sir W. Pritchard was raised to the civic chair. The Whig or exclusion party were entirely broken and dispirited by these vigorous measures; and, their great leader, the

Struggle of Parties.  
A. D. 1682.

The Tories prevail.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. Earl of Shaftesbury, disappointed and overruled in all his projects, determined upon more desperate measures and hastened his own ruin. Finding that he could no longer be shielded from the forms of law by the connivance of the Sheriffs and Jurors, having concerted with the other factious leaders, the most guilty and treasonable measures, he retired to Holland.

Punishment  
of the Cove-  
nanters.

In the mean time Scotland was suffering a signal retribution. Such were the severities exercised under the administration of the Earl of Aberdeen and the Earl of Queensbury, that great numbers prepared to leave their native country. Two thousand people were outlawed under the pretence of having intercourse with traitorous persons. Courts were established, and agents sent forth to trepan the innocent and peaceable inhabitants. A signal vengeance overtook the false and perjured Covenanters—the abettors of rebellion, and the subverters of the Christian Religion. They were hunted out by the Soldiers and agents of arbitrary power, and ensnared with such questions as the following: “Will you renounce the Covenant?” “Was the killing of Archbishop Sharpe, murder?” and when the deluded victims of a deluded spirit, refused to answer, they were secured, and, in many cases, suffered capital punishment. Even women, steeped with the spirit of fanatical obstinacy, which was mistaken for Christian firmness, were consigned to the gibbet,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. whilst, to increase the evil, and to draw down still heavier punishment, many of them, made frantic by persecution, published a declaration in which they renounced their allegiance to Charles Stuart. Soldiers were dispersed every where, in quest of the unhappy people, and all commissioned Officers, even to the lowest grade, were empowered to compel their renunciation of the “Declaration,” or, upon refusal, to shoot the delinquents! Enormous cruelties were enacted by these legalized murderers, and, although manifestly the inflictions of a just Providence, for the profaneness of acts and sentiments which they falsely attributed to the influence of Christianity, yet the abettors of these enormities, in which the Duke of York had a great share, were, at no distant period, subjected to a retributory chastisement.

In England every thing tended to a crisis. The reins of Government were held with a much stricter hand than at any former period of the reign. The clubs and conventicles of the disaffected, were suppressed, so that they were driven to more secret counsels and contrivances. The Government was judiciously strengthened by great preferments and conferring of titles of honour. The profound Earl of Sunderland, by the King’s command, was again re-appointed principal Secretary of State. Halifax was made a Marquis, and Colonel John Churchill afterwards so great and celebrated in English History, was created Lord Churchill.

Strengthening  
of the  
Government.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

Death of  
Prince Rupert,

But whilst some were thus raised to distinction, and preparing to enter upon the busy stage of human affairs, others disappeared, and were gathered to their immortal destiny. Amongst these, was Prince Rupert, Son of the Queen of Bohemia, and grandson of James I. whose name will survive to the latest posterity in the records of England. This intrepid Prince, having spent the early part of his life in the most arduous and dangerous enterprises, which he conducted with a courage and magnanimity almost beyond example, dedicated the last portion of his valuable life to the studies of philosophy and science, and died in the midst of honour and reputation in the sixty third year of his age.

Nor must we omit the mention of another name of high title, of great activity and considerable parts, whose name is also essentially connected with English history, but not to his honour—the Duke of Lauderdale. He will be remembered for the share he took in the great Rebellion—as a traitor against his Sovereign—as a vehement supporter of the “Covenant,” and in the present reign, as a persecutor of the Presbyterians—a promoter of arbitrary Government, an underminer of Episcopacy, and the dislike of all men.

of the Duke  
of Lauderdale,

The Nation also suffered a great loss in the death of the Lord Chancellor Finch, Earl of Nottingham, whose abilities and character well fitted him for his high station, whose eulogium is given

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

in few words by Burnet: “His great parts and greater virtues were so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption to say any thing in his commendation.”

Sir Philip Warwick now also ended a useful and virtuous career. He was first selected by Bishop Juxon, to assist him in his duties when he was Lord High Treasurer. He afterwards accompanied the King in his exile. He was esteemed a man of great public spirit, of high honour and integrity, and superior to all the temptations of riches and preferment, and to his memoirs of Charles I. this History is much indebted.

of  
Sir P. Warwick

And the last to be mentioned in intimate connexion with the history, is the death of Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the most extraordinary men of his day, formed by God with a capacity for mighty actions, which, indeed, he accomplished, not so much by design, as accident. But he was too unstable to excel. He was too subtle and wicked to arrive at honourable distinction. He was the author, or, occasion of most of the unjustifiable acts of this reign. He was selfish, temporizing and vindictive. When in power, the greatest tyrant; when out, the greatest incendiary. Arbitrary in the one case, and seditious in the other; affording in his conduct a striking illustration of his own observation: “That wisdom lay in the heart, and not in the head, and that it was not the want of knowledge,

and the Earl  
of Shaftesbury.

SECTION but the perverseness of the will, that filled mens  
 IV. minds with folly, and their lives with disorder.”  
 CHAP. III. Notwithstanding this wise saying, which is wor-  
 thy of a place in history, he lived without honour  
 and died in voluntary exile, under a cloud of in-  
 famy. He fled his native soil to avoid the arm of  
 justice; but he had scarcely reached the shores of  
 Holland, when he was arrested by the hand of  
 death, in the sixty-second year of his age; but  
 the particulars attending it are unknown.

A formidable  
 Conspiracy.  
 A. D. 1683. But although he was gone, yet the seeds of  
 treason which he had scattered with such industry  
 before his departure, now sprung up and produced  
 a fatal harvest to many. The deep and desperate  
 measures of this unprincipled man, were over-  
 ruled, in order that the stability and glory of the  
 British Monarchy might ultimately rest on deep  
 and lasting foundations, yet many noble and  
 distinguished persons fell a sacrifice to his treason-  
 able projects. During the short period which  
 elapsed between his arrival in Holland and his  
 death, he was incessantly employed in encouraging  
 his fellow conspirators to immediate action, and  
 they were fatally attentive to his counsels. During  
 his absence, and immediately after his death  
 the Duke of Monmouth forgetting his high  
 duty and the debt of gratitude he owed the  
 King took charge of the hazardous and guilty  
 enterprise. His associates were the Lord Grey

SECTION of Wark, who for some years, had been warmly  
 IV. engaged in the designs of the party, and, espe-  
 CHAP. III. cially, since he found that his private crimes were  
 not likely to pass unnoticed. Next, the Earl of  
 Essex, whose high spirit and secret ambition had  
 betrayed him into many dark designs, contrary to  
 the advice and injunctions of his dying father.  
 Next, the Lord Howard of Escrick, who had  
 always been a busy promoter of republican pro-  
 jects and innovations, in Church and State: and,  
 one regrets to add the name of the Lord Russel, a  
 person eminent for his integrity and piety, but  
 led astray from the path of duty by associating  
 with men of unfixed principles, who, deluded him  
 into the dangerous doctrine, “that resistance was  
 lawful upon the lesser as well as the greater in-  
 vasions of the constitution.” Another, was Colonel  
 Algernon Sydney, who had been deeply involved  
 in the guilt of the late confusions, and had so far  
 signalized himself in the “good old cause” that  
 he was actually nominated one of the King’s  
 Judges, though he refused to act. And, lastly,  
 John Hampden, who inherited the restless and  
 innovating temper of the family, affording striking  
 evidence of the truth of the maxim: “That the  
 violent defence of the best things, is, generally,  
 productive of pernicious consequences.”

These were the principal promoters of the con-  
 spiracy. It would be tedious to mention the  
 names of the inferior actors who were, generally,

Names of the  
 Conspirators.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. braveos and men of low and flagrant characters. The design of the conspirators was two-fold. The grand subject of their deliberations was a general insurrection, the thirty-first of March, was the day determined upon for a general rising. But the most atrocious part of the plot was the assassination of the King, a project lately resolved upon by the inferior agents, without the concurrence of their leaders.

Every thing was now arranged. The King Their Project, was at Newmarket. The house of one of the conspirators, between Newmarket and London, which the King must pass on his return, was fixed upon as the rendezvous of the assassins. This place was called the *Rye House*, within two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, a place of some natural strength, and well suited to their purpose. They were already assembled, a barricade was to be placed across the road as soon as the King's approach was known. Forty of the boldest were selected to attack the King's guard, whilst the best marksmen were to direct their attention to the King and the Duke of York, and keep up a deadly fire upon the carriage.

frustrated, All things were thus in a state of preparation, and the conspirators were anxiously awaiting the fatal hour,—when the whole design was frustrated by a remarkable interposition of Providence. It is one of those peculiar cases of divine interference, which carries its own evi-

dence along with it: and puts it out of the power of any reasonable being to dispute it. SECTION IV. CHAP. III.

The King was at Newmarket unconsciously enjoying the diversions of the race course, and leading the way in mirth and dissipation, when a sudden and alarming fire broke out, which in the space of a few hours destroyed one half of the town. by a providential Interposition. The King was obliged to leave his palace, and retire to a house so situated, as to be entirely out of the reach, not only of the flames but even of the dust and ashes. Finding himself so comfortably located, he determined to remain, and conclude the diversions of the week. But he had no sooner declared his resolution, than the wind, as if conducted by an invisible power, suddenly whirled round and blew the smoke and cinders directly on his new lodgings, and, in a moment, rendered them as untenable as the other. No other place could be found for his accommodation, and he immediately prepared for his departure to London, and with his royal brother passing the ambush of the conspirators without observation, arrived at Whitehall in safety.

Many of the inferior agents suffered for this daring plot; but nobler victims were sacrificed. The unfortunate Earl of Essex, soon after he had received a visit from the King and the Duke of York, stung with remorse and despair, put an end to his existence, in the very place, where he had taken his last leave of his admirable father the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. Lord Capel, and, where he had received from him a solemn injunction to adhere to the royal cause.

Trial of Lord  
Russel.

But a still nobler victim, because a much better man, was now brought to trial and execution—the amiable Lord Russel, who persisted to the last in justifying the share he had taken in the conspiracy. He insisted on the lawfulness of resistance to constituted authority, on the invasion of the subjects rights; but of which he certainly had not formed any precise or definite views. On such vague grounds, his defence was unjustifiable; because it leaves every man, at his own discretion, not only to pass an opinion on such invasions, but to act as an avenger. A position with the establishment of which, society could not subsist. Dr. Burnet and Dean Tillotson attended him in prison, and used all their powers to convince him of his mistake. At that time, the most extravagant and unwarrantable views of “passive obedience and non-resistance,” obtained amongst all ranks of men. A circumstance which saved the country from anarchy, and which shews it to be a much safer doctrine than any undefined views of resistance. Dean Tillotson was deeply interested in the fate of the noble prisoner, and wrote an earnest letter to him on the subject, which lays down the doctrine of “non-resistance” in general terms, and declares the contrary principle to be inconsistent with the principles of

Christianity—contrary to the expressed doctrine of the Church of England, which declares “that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c.”—and inconsistent with the general doctrine of the Protestant Churches. But this was attempting to convince, more by authority than argument; and it failed to convey to the mind of this conscientious nobleman, a solution of the difficulty under which he laboured. The Dean’s letter so far influenced him, as to lead him to declare, “that he was now satisfied that nothing but a case of a very extraordinary nature could justify subjects in taking up arms against their Prince: that he was fully of opinion that no such cause had been given by the King; but still he thought such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful for them to resist.” Being asked by the Dean what those cases were, he answered. “He had not considered the matter so far and fully; and, he had other things more proper to be thought on at that time.”

On the scaffold he behaved himself with great resignation and piety. “He had forgiven,” he said, “all the world, heartily, and thanked God that he died in charity with all men. He wished all the Protestants might love one another, and not make way for Popery by their animosities.”

After his death, Dean Tillotson was sent for by the King, and in his presence, strictly examined by the privy council respecting Lord Russel’s be-

SECTION haviour. The King, particularly commended the  
 IV. Dean's own letter, and "wondered what could be  
 CHAP. III. said to it." The Dean gave them Lord Russel's  
 opinion, and intimated that such was also his own,  
 adding: "That it was not impossible to find out  
 a case of exception, though he would not then  
 pretend to specify it. The Duke of York, who  
 was willing to believe there was no exception, with  
 some warmth, urged him to *name the case*. But  
 he was interrupted by the King, who said:  
 "Brother, the Dean speaks like an honest man."  
 Nor was it long before the Duke afforded in his  
 own conduct, ample data for arriving at a correct  
 opinion on this important subject.

Algernon  
 Sydney.

Another victim of noble descent, but of a very  
 different character, next fell under the axe of the  
 executioner. This was Algernon Sydney, a man  
 of the Cromwellian school, labouring under the  
 delusion of a fanatical spirit. He pronounced  
 sentence on his judges, and appealed to God and  
 the world, against the injustice of his sentence.  
 He desired to be admitted to the presence of the  
 King, in order to convince him that the design of  
 the insurrection, was "to deliver him from oppres-  
 sion," and undertaken for his "interest and hon-  
 our." His prayer on the scaffold, was an extra-  
 ordinary performance, exhibiting sentiments of  
 exalted piety, mingled with the "strange fire" of  
 enthusiasm and the delusions of a disordered mind,  
 concluding his thanks to God, in these words:

"That thou hast permitted me to be singled out SECTION  
 as a witness of thy truth and for that OLD IV.  
 CAUSE in which I was engaged from my youth, CHAP. III.  
 and for which thou hast wonderfully declared  
 thyself."

The King, supported by the Tories, who com- Crisis of the  
 prized the strength and mind of the nation, tri- Reign.  
 umphed over all opposition, and arrived at the  
 height of his prosperity and glory. And, as if to  
 reward the nation for its justice, consistency and  
 submission, the hearts of the people were filled  
 with joy and satisfaction at the celebration of the  
 nuptials of the Princess Anne, second daughter  
 of the Duke of York, with George, brother to  
 the King of Denmark, a Protestant Prince of  
 great promise. The people testified their joy on  
 this occasion, with every species of rejoicing, as  
 if they had foreseen their future happiness under  
 the auspices of the "good Queen Anne!"

In the meantime, the unhappy Duke of Mon-  
 mouth who had hitherto contrived to conceal him-  
 self from the pursuit of justice, now wrote a sub-  
 missive letter to the King, in which he lamented  
 the share he had taken in the conspiracy, but dis-  
 avowed, as the rest of the nobles had done, having  
 any knowledge of that part of it which related to  
 the King's assassination.

The indulgent Monarch not only pardoned him, Conduct of  
 but admitted him to his favour, on the condition the Duke of  
 that he should subscribe a paper drawn up in Monmouth.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

terms, agreeable to the confession contained in his letter. He might now have been happy: but his wavering soul torn with pride and ambition, could not withstand the importunities of his friends and companions, and unmindful of the calls of duty and honour, he desired the King to restore to him the paper which he had subscribed. The King saw the danger of his fatal request, and expostulated with his infatuated son: on the "evil consequences which would follow his obstinacy." But in vain. The King gave him till next day to consider, when still persisting in his request, he put the paper into his hands, and from that moment, banished him from his court and presence. He retired to Holland, and never saw his offended Sovereign again.

Duke of  
York supreme.

The Duke of York was now established in his authority and influence, which he exercised to the utmost against those persons, who had hitherto assailed his character with impunity; and, amongst the first, he brought an action of "scandalum magnatum" against the notorious Titus Oates, for calling him "Traitor," and applying to him other scandalous and opprobrious epithets; but his trial did not come on till the following reign, when he received the just reward of all his perjuries.

It would have been well, if the triumph which the high and "Conservative" party had enabled the government to achieve, had been used with

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. III.

The Charters  
examined.  
A. D. 1684.

moderation, but the Duke's influence was paramount; and, measures of a strange, and arbitrary character were resorted to.

An action of "Quo warranto" was directed against the Corporation of the city of London, to inquire upon what authority and title their privileges were exercised. The matter was pleaded at the bar of the King's Bench, and argued on both sides with great ability. But many acts of the Corporation were alleged as illegal and inconsistent with the terms of their charter; and it was, therefore, pronounced "that it be seized into the King's hands." The charter, however, was returned, but with such alterations as placed the election of the city magistrates, virtually, in the power of the Crown. A general panic seized the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom, and they voluntarily delivered up their charters to the will of the Sovereign, who graciously returned them; and to the great satisfaction of the people, many of them, with greater privileges than before.

The reign was now drawing to a close; but even at such an eventful crisis, we cannot refrain from noticing the death of Bishop Morley, who now finished a useful and benevolent career. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards appointed chaplain to Charles I. He accompanied the present King in his exile; and, after the restoration, he was promoted to the Bishoprick of Worcester, and afterwards to that

Death of  
Bishop Morley.

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. of Winchester; the King telling him that "he knew he would never be the richer for it,"—a prophecy which he fulfilled to the letter. He spent great sums of money in repairing and rebuilding his episcopal residences, and still greater sums in his benefactions and donations. He was munificent in his charities—calvinistic in his theology, and primitive in his life, and died full of years and honour, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

The King crowned with prosperity. A calm now succeeded, such as had not been experienced since the commencement of the reign. The dissenters, even, ceasing from their opposition, became peaceable subjects, and, in most instances conformed to the established church; so that if this state of things had continued a little longer, the whole kingdom would have become united in "one faith." The King through the peculiar favour of Heaven, was promoted to great honour, and advanced to the height of regal felicity. His revenues were increasing. His debts diminishing. His enemies decaying, and his friends flourishing, and he had now the finest opportunity of promoting the welfare and happiness of his subjects. But the hour of his triumph was brief. His earthly career was about to terminate, and his summons to appear before the Judge of all, was even now impending; and it is pleasing to reflect, that the summons found him contemplating the foundation of Chelsea Hospital. Nor was this all. He published a "declaration"

SECTION IV. CHAP. III. in which he acknowledges with the utmost gratitude, "the invaluable mercy of God to him and his subjects; and, that in so dangerous a juncture of public affairs, he had met with so many unfeigned testimonies of love to his person, and zeal to his Government from all degrees of men in the nation." He was so convinced, indeed, that his throne had been established, by the spontaneous and patriotic exertions of the nation, that he let fall expressions which intimated a change of policy, as if he should not be dealing justly with a people so generous and loyal, if he delivered them up into the hands of his brother, of whose vindictive temper he had lately had such manifest proofs.

But whatever might have been his intentions, his purposes were arrested by the hand of death. He was seized on Monday the second of February with apoplexy. But, being immediately bled by a physician who happened to be present, he revived. But it was only for a short season, and only a few days were now allotted to the King of England to prepare for his solemn account before the judgment-seat of Him, in whose presence, Kings and people are alike. The report of this alarming illness filled the nation with grief and consternation. Prayers were offered up in all the churches: and if the fervency and sincerity of prayer could always prevail, the King had been reprieved. But Heaven saw otherwise. The

His illness.

SECTION fitting moment for the nation's great deliverance  
IV. was arrived; but for his father's sake, it was per-  
CHAP. III. mitted the King to go down to the grave in peace  
and honour.

Bishop Kenn  
waits upon  
him.

In the meantime, Bishop Kenn, one of the most humble and pious of men, having been lately promoted to the Bishoprick of Bath, was permitted to wait upon the King—a duty which he performed with such devotion, that for three days and nights he never left the couch of the royal sufferer—watching, at proper intervals, to suggest topics of pious thought suited to the solemn occasion—to offer seasonable hints as the ground of repentance, and to direct the King's mind to the great sacrifice of the gospel, as the sole ground of acceptance with God.

His faithful  
conduct.

Whilst engaged in these pious labours, the Duchess of Portsmouth, the King's favourite mistress, entered the apartment, when the worthy prelate, lamenting such an interruption, with a prompt fidelity, which nothing but upright principle can furnish—desired the King that she might be requested to retire. He prevailed; and embracing the opportunity which the circumstance afforded him, represented to his Majesty “the great injury and injustice” which had been done by her, and others of the same character, to the Queen. His representations in this respect also prevailed. The Queen was summoned to the apartment of her dying consort, who now, with

great humility desired her pardon, which she SECTION  
tenderly and generously granted. After this, the IV.  
Bishop devoted himself to his important charge, CHAP. III.  
and never left his bed-side for three days and nights together. He forcibly urged upon the royal mind, the necessity of a full and sincere repentance; and, observing, as he thought, the most favourable symptoms, he proposed to the King, the celebration of the holy sacrament. But in this, the desire of the Bishop was not to be granted. Whilst he was contemplating, with rising hopes, the state of the King's mind, and perceiving the awakening of a still deeper repentance, about to be sealed in the participation of the Lord's supper—his attendance upon the Sovereign was suddenly interrupted, and he was removed from his presence. He is suddenly dismissed.

It was eight o'Clock in the evening of Thursday the fifth of February, when all hopes of the King's recovery were given up, that the Duke of York, attended by Father Huddleston, a benedictine, the Marquis of Bath, and Lord Feversham, Captain of the Guard, entered the King's apartment. The King perfectly understood the intention of their visit, and readily accepted the services of the cowled Priest, who immediately went through, what may justly be entitled, the legerdmain of religion, or, the incantations of Popery, in which the sublime and simple truths of Christianity have been corrupted by the accumulated The King dies a Papist.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

superstitions of ages. Fearful apostasy! which refuses to be corrected by establishing the impassable barrier of infallibility. But this is not the place for observation. Reason, religion and common sense, having been ejected with the unpretending Bishop—the King received the sacrament of penance, or absolution from sins, and “Extreme unction,” or, in other words, a passport to purgatory; and, to complete the FATAL mystery, the Eucharist, or, the idolatry of the wafer was enacted. Thus without any attempt at that MORAL preparation, which had been so successfully commenced by Bishop Kenn, the unhappy Monarch, was dismissed into eternity by the cold formalities and false pretensions of Popery, which, if they produced any effect at all upon their deluded votary, on their own shewing, sunk him amidst the dark shades of a profound night, to expiate, or, to purge the remaining feculencies of his nature, in the depths of a purgatorial abyss. If it were lawful or availing to pray for the dead, who would not pray for the soul of Charles II, who was thus surreptitiously plunged into the fires of purgatory?

His character.

Thus died Charles II, in the bonds of the Popish Faith, to which he had “sold himself” during his exile, on terms, the fulfilment of which were never realized; and, it is remarkable, that with this reservation in favour of the church of Rome, to whose spiritual authority he had submitted, he should have conducted himself with

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. III.

such impartiality and fidelity towards the reformed faith of the Church of England. It is evident that his submission to the Romish faith, was not the result of conviction, but imagined expediency. Nor had he time to acquire any great prejudices in its favour. His prepossessions, therefore, were strongly English; and, from the moment of his Restoration, he seemed determined not to allow his submission to the Church of Rome, to interfere with the institutions of his country. He ruled the church with a steady and impartial hand, and, at one period, to prevent the importunities of some, placed his church patronage in the hands of Commissioners, who filled their trust with satisfaction to the nation.

His understanding was of the highest order, and although abandoned to licentious pleasures, he was capable of achieving the greatest enterprises, as he discovered, in many instances, during this period of history. His genius inclined him to naval affairs, in which he most delighted, and had the forms of government permitted him to command his own fleet, he would undoubtedly have signalized himself.

Upon the whole, he was a most indulgent Monarch, holding the reins of Government with mercy and clemency: under his sway, the nation flourished, and, learning without being directly patronized, enlarged its boundaries to an unprecedented extent. The just mention of the names

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. III. of the learned men of this period, would, of itself, require a volume. The resources of the country were increased. "The Protestant principle" became firmly established. The Church of England was grounded and settled on the surest foundations, which enabled it, successfully, to withstand the shock which was even then preparing. The country, under the peculiar interposition of Providence, had been saved from a premature explosion, until the principles which were destined to carry it on in its future distinguished career, were fully established and confirmed in the minds of the people. The moment for the important struggle was now approaching, and the Almighty Governor, selecting England for his honoured instrument, was about once more, to display his power in checking the insolency of that usurping power which had so long debased the minds of the Kings and Princes of the Earth, "and made them drunk with the wine of her fornications."

## CHAPTER IV.

JAMES II.—THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION EVOLVED. PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY. THE MONARCHICAL POWER, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF TOLERATION, ARE SOLEMNLY RECOGNISED AND ESTABLISHED.

SUCH was the generosity of the English nation, that whilst they lamented, with deep affliction, their late beloved Sovereign, they not only discovered no opposition to the succession of his Brother, but received him for their King with acclamations. All their former animosities against the Duke of York were forgotten, and he mounted the throne of his ancestors as free and unshackled as any Monarch that had ever swayed the English sceptre.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.  
James II.  
succeeds.  
A. D. 1685.  
N. S.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

But there was one splendid feature in his character which inspired their confidence. He was an inviolable observer of his word. The truth and honour of the Duke of York were proverbial. Nor were they unmindful of the courage he had manifested, and the heroic deeds which he had performed in defence of his country. And, although, as King, he afterwards departed from the high principles which had adorned the Prince, and became the deceiver of his people and the betrayer of their liberties, yet their integrity and uprightness, under the divine favour, secured them a bloodless and glorious triumph!

His solemn  
Promises.

Indeed, every thing in the King's conduct seemed to justify their confidence. He did not allow them time to hesitate in forming an opinion in his favour. But on the very first opportunity in the presence of his Privy Council, he made a solemn Declaration, in which he abjured all notions of "Arbitrary Power" and expressed his intention of *preserving the Government both in CHURCH and STATE as by LAW ESTABLISHED*. "I know" he said, "the principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and, the members of that Church have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore, I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know too, that the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish, and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often, heretofore, ventured my life in defence of the nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

This declaration was printed and circulated throughout the kingdom, and produced the liveliest demonstration of loyal affection and devotion from all ranks of people; and, although their bright anticipations of the future were, in some measure, overcast by the King's attending He attends Mass. **MASS** in the most public manner, in St. James' Chapel, with all the insignia of royalty, on the following Sunday,—still they depended upon his royal word. Addresses flowed in from all parts of his dominions, from Counties, Corporations, Universities and Inns of Law. These addresses were filled with the most loyal and patriotic sentiments, and discovered a people, not more just and generous, than sensible of their high privileges, and ready when necessary, to defend them.

The Scottish Parliament met on the twenty-eighth of March, and followed in the same strain—offering their dutiful submission, and expressing their high sense and admiration of their happy constitution, and expressing their unshaken confidence in his truth and wisdom.

Whilst the elections for the English Parliament were proceeding with great calmness and unanimity—the prosecution of Titus The perjurer Oates tried. was com-

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV.   
 His cruel sentence.   
 pleted. He was indicted at the bar of the King's Bench for perjury, and though he defended himself with much acuteness and great presence of mind, he was found guilty on several indictments; and, whatever may have been the demerits of this wretched informer, his sentence was of the most barbarous description, and was executed with monstrous severity. He was not only fined one thousand marks on each indictment; but he was to stand twice in the pillory, to be whipped one day from Aldgate to Newgate, and the other from Newgate to Tyburn; and, during his whole life, as a memorial of his villainy to stand four times a year in the pillory. Dangerfield was tried and treated in a similar manner, and Fitzharris shared the same fate. But there was another culprit of a different character arraigned before the same inhuman Jeffries—not for perjury, but as the head of the Dissenting party, which had fallen into disgrace with the new Parliament. This was the famous Presbyterian Divine, Richard Baxter, a voluminous polemical writer. Some of his former productions were brought before the public and severely animated upon by the "Observer," a political writer of that day, especially his "holy Commonwealth," and his "Saints everlasting rest." In this last work, he had in effect, placed *Pymm*, *Hampden* and the *Lord Brook*, who died in actual rebellion, amongst the Saints in Heaven; which was inter-

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV.   
 preted either as a serious defect in his judgment, or a strong inclination to their cause. His accusation, however, was founded on several passages taken from his late work, entitled "A Paraphrase on the New Testament," which it was alleged, reflected upon the prelates of the church of England. The venerable Presbyter was treated with great scurrility by the Chief Justice, who threatened him with the pillory. He was found guilty by the Jury, and sentenced to be fined five hundred marks. Certainly, this trial of Richard Baxter is a remarkable circumstance; and, whatever might be the intention of Providence in permitting such a visitation on one so eminent for christian piety, yet we cannot but remember his obstinacy and vanity, by which, in a great measure, he frustrated the hopes of union in the church Catholic, at the commencement of the late reign. Still his prosecution discovers too manifestly, the violent and vindictive temper of the government, and the absurdity of the attempt to fasten treason on the works of Baxter.

The Parliament assembled on the nineteenth of May: and was certainly the most noble assembly in rank, wealth, and ability, that had ever met at Westminster. It was, indeed, a just representation of the mind and property of the kingdom. The King in the fullest manner repeated what he had asserted in his declaration before the Privy Council, and even quoted the very words; and,   
 VOL. II. O O

Parliament,   
 A. D. 1685.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. to leave no doubt upon the minds of men respecting his sincerity, he added, alluding to the words of his declaration: "I spoke them not by *chance*, and, consequently, you may firmly rely upon a PROMISE so solemnly made."

Invasion of England,

It will be remembered that in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-one, the Earl of Argyle was tried and condemned for high treason, but, although his sentence was respited, and even a pardon was promised, yet he fled from his native country; nor was the place of his concealment known, till, on the death of the late King, he was found at Amsterdam, in correspondence with the Duke of Monmouth and other English malecontents. These fiery and ambitious spirits were meditating deep designs against their country, which were to end in their own discomfiture and ruin. Their rashness and imprudence now hastened the catastrophe.

First, by the Earl of Argyle.

Having concerted their measures for invading England, the Earl of Argyle, impatient to satisfy his revenge, without waiting for the Duke of Monmouth, set sail from Holland with three small vessels, and, after encountering some difficulties by sea, landed on the West of Scotland, near *Dunstaffnage*. But he was soon defeated and taken prisoner; and sent to Glasgow. Within a few days, like the vilest malefactor, he was conducted into Edinburgh with his hands tied behind him, and bare-headed, with the hangman carrying

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. an axe before him; and, without any ceremony or even speech, he was beheaded in the market-cross. His head was fixed on the Toll-booth, affording an eminent example of the righteous judgment of God, when "he maketh inquisition for blood." On his unhappy head was visited the cruel and ignominious death of the Marquis of Montrose, and, under circumstances of such striking similarity, that it was remarked at the time—"That the late Earl of Argyle was taken in the same month of the year, in the same week of the month, in the same day of the week, and in the same hour of the day, (to say nothing that he passed through the same gate) as that Marquis of Montrose, whose murder, perhaps, was one of the foulest blots in the history of that nation."\*

His death.

Whilst these things were transacting in Scotland, the Duke of Monmouth had landed his forces at Lyme, in Dorsetshire; and, however formidable such an expedition might have been under such a leader, whose courage and conduct had been tried, whose sentiments were highly popular with the nation, and whose person was greatly beloved—the whole enterprise was frustrated, by the inconceivable rashness of the Earl of Argyle; and, although it proved fatal to the leaders themselves, it was a fortunate thing for their country that the measures of the confederates were not better concerted, and their strength

By the Duke of Monmouth.

\* Echard.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Conduct of  
Parliament.

duly concentrated. As it was, the people flocked to the Duke of Monmouth in great numbers, but he had neither arms, horses, nor ammunition with which to supply them, and many were obliged to return home. Such, however, was his success, that in a few days he advanced to Taunton, where he was welcomed with acclamations of joy, and was proclaimed King of England.

But he had to contend single-handed against a united kingdom. Never had a Parliament a more difficult task to perform; and never were moderation and high principle more nobly displayed in the conduct of any assembly. In this conjuncture they acted with great resolution. They voted an address to the King in which they assured him of their unshaken loyalty—settled upon him, for life, the ample revenue enjoyed by his brother at his demise; and whilst they voted large supplies for his Majesty's service, they did not detract from their generosity by any attempt to invade or limit the royal prerogatives; but merely stated that they relied entirely on his Majesty's royal word, to support the religion of the Church of England, which they added "WAS DEARER TO THEM THAN THEIR LIVES."

Battle of  
Sedgemore.

The Duke, meanwhile, had advanced to Bridgewater, at the head of five thousand men, whilst the King's forces under the Earl of Feversham, hastening to oppose him, were encamped within a few miles of Sedgemore. On that very night,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

the Duke having received intelligence that the King's troops were very remiss, resolved to attack them in their camp, which he did with great gallantry and effect. But having lost his guide in the darkness, a large body of his men, were entangled for some time in a morass, which afforded time to the King's forces to rally. The battle was sharply contested for some time, but, at last, ended in the total defeat of the Duke, who fled from the field in disguise. But the hour of his retribution was at hand.—And his ambition, ingratitude, and treason, were about to receive their just chastisement. He wrote a submissive letter to the King, and the Queen Dowager interceded for his life. But in vain. His fate was no longer in the hands of the indulgent Charles. About ten o'clock in the morning, on the fifteenth of July, he was led forth to execution, attended by a strong guard, who had orders to take his life if any rescue were attempted. He was not without strong religious impressions, but they were tinctured with enthusiasm, which led him into error both in doctrine and practice. He laid his head on the block with calm fortitude. The executioner in vain reiterated his strokes, and, at length, threw down the axe in horror. He endured these tortures with meek submission and patient firmness. And at length, in fulfilment of his sentence his head was severed from his body, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Prodigious  
cruelties.

The King had now an opportunity of displaying his mercy and benignity in the pardon of the numerous offenders; but such noble sentiments were incompatible with his inclinations and future designs. Fear and terror were the order of the day. Judge Jefferies was the instrument of his vengeance. Accompanied with four other Judges and a party of soldiers commanded by Colonel Kirke, he proceeded on his commission; and concluded his bloody circuit at Exeter, in which he had condemned more than five hundred persons, of which numbers two hundred and thirty were executed; and the wicked Judge was heard to boast, that "he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England, since the time of William the Conqueror." Nor was his avarice less abhorrent than his cruelty. His pardons were as ready for those who could purchase them, as his executions were certain for those who could not. On one occasion he received £14,000. It is impossible to describe the horrors that followed in the train of this commission. Law, and justice, and even decency, were outraged; and the Judge and his inhuman ally, Colonel Kirke, returned in triumph to London; and, lest it should be possible to ascribe these enormities to the Judge and his accomplices, Jefferies was created a Peer of the realm and Lord High Chancellor of England!

The King's  
affairs.

The King's affairs were now firmly established, and seemed to promise a long and settled felicity;

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

and, had he stood firm to his engagements with Parliament, he would have reigned happy and beloved at home, and might even have effected what he declared to be his intention: "To carry the kingdom's reputation yet higher in the world, than ever it had been in the time of his ancestors." But deaf to all faithful counsel, and unmindful of his most solemn promises, this infatuated Prince was persuaded by his Romish flatterers and adherents, to believe that he had "the fairest opportunity," with a Parliament of undoubted loyalty and a church which upheld the doctrine of non-resistance—to secure the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church.

In defiance of all the lessons which he might have received during the last reign from the wise and conciliatory conduct of his brother—he had now taken his resolution, and was about to afford to the English nation, the most convincing and infallible proofs of the false and pernicious principles of that arbitrary power, which, under the name of religion, arrogates to itself universal secular domination.

On the meeting of Parliament, the King seemed to bid defiance to all conciliation, and, even prudence. He intimated that the militia in which they had so much confided, was insufficient for the safety of the country. He plainly told them that, he must have supplies to support a standing army, which he had increased to fifteen thousand

His bold conduct.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. men. Without circumlocution, he told them he had employed many Popish officers in the late rebellion, in whose persons he had *dispensed* with the Test required by law; and declared his resolution, neither "to expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their services."

Moderation  
of Parliament  
in England.

This bold declaration of the King's intention to wield the power of dispensing with the law, could not be allowed to pass without notice in the assembly of the conservators of liberty. They remonstrated with great respect and submission. But their remonstrance received from the King a brief and positive rejection. Such however, was the moderation of the Parliament, and such their fear of the consequences of a breach with the sovereign power, that they determined to preserve their temper, and conduct their opposition with wisdom and prudence. They voted the necessary supplies, amounting to £100,000, and even went so far, as to offer the King to capacitate, by law, as many Roman Catholic officers as he should be pleased to nominate.

But the ill-fated Monarch, urged on by the vehement impulses of false religious impressions, was determined to pursue his course. He rejected the conciliatory offers of the Commons; and when he found the House of Lords, led on by the Marquis of Halifax and the Bishop of London, disposed to follow the same firm and dignified line of conduct, he prorogued the Parliament.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. The King had now advanced to the height of his power. Having dismissed his Parliament—increased his army—and possessed himself of an ample revenue, he began to manifest more openly, his design of aggrandising and establishing his religion on the ruins of the Protestant liberties of his country.

His first attempt to raise the superstructure of arbitrary power was in Scotland. To this he was tempted by the strong expressions of submission, which the Parliament of that kingdom had made, immediately on his accession. By his Commissioner the Earl of Murray, he signified to them his anxious wish, that they should abolish all the penal statutes, and repeal all laws and tests which had been levelled against "his innocent Roman Catholic subjects." The subject was calmly debated by the Parliament, and it was, at length, resolved that, the Roman Catholics should be allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, in private. This was far from satisfactory to the royal mind, who soon after prorogued the Assembly.

In Scotland.  
A. D. 1686.

His measures in Ireland were carried on with less disguise. The Duke of Ormond, the friend of Charles I, of Clarendon, of Southampton and Albemarle, was Lord Lieutenant—a nobleman who had run the most distinguished career—maintained an unblemished reputation—discovered the most inviolable fidelity to the Protestant

SECTION IV. religion, and was the friend of the English as well as the Irish nation. Such was the justice and impartiality of his administration that he gave satisfaction to all parties. But a man of his character was utterly unsuited to the designs of the King, and, he was recalled. The Irish Privy Council was immediately dissolved, and, soon after, filled with a majority of Papists. The next step was to disarm the Protestants; which was done in the most subtle manner, by the clamour of pretended false plots; and, to secure their victory, they proceeded to remodel the army, which was entirely Protestant, and consisted of five thousand men.

Conduct of  
the Earl of  
Tyrconnel.

Indeed, the counsel of the Popish Cabal at Court, with the King and Queen at its head, became drunk with furious zeal, insomuch that they were restrained by the more prudent of the Popish nobility; and, to satisfy in some measure, the rising jealousies of the English nation, the Earl of Clarendon, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But, at the same time, under the cover of his name, the Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed military Lieutenant, a man, who for the blindness of his prejudices and the fury of his temper had no equal. He placed no boundary to his arbitrary conduct, displacing officers and discharging the common soldiers at his will and pleasure, treating them with contempt and insult, and supplying their places with the most virulent Papists.

SECTION IV. When Tyrconnel had accomplished his design, he went over into England to consult with the faction, by whom he had been commissioned, and to solicit for himself the government of Ireland. The Queen, Father Petre, and the Earl of Sunderland seconded his request; but the King still hearkened to the more prudent advice of the Popish Lords, and sent an assurance to the Earl of Clarendon, that he had no design or inclination to remove him; but before the end of the year, the restless party obtained their object, and Tyrconnel was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Protestants filled with terror, and apprehensive at the prospect of another massacre, deserted their country in vast numbers—a circumstance which tended to rouse the public mind in England, and to prepare the way for the great catastrophe of the reign.

Whilst the minds of the people were thus agitated, an event occurred which tended still more to kindle the flame of discontent, and to increase, to the utmost, the animosity of the public against the Romish communion. This was the revocation of the edict of Nantz by the French Monarch, and the cruel and bloody massacre of the Protestants of that kingdom. It is said that half a million of the most skilful and industrious inhabitants of France deserted their country. Fifty thousand landed on our own shores and spread such reports of the tyranny of their oppressors, as roused the

Massacre in  
France.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV. indignation of the people, and brought back the remembrance of "the bloody and persecuting spirit of Popery."

The nation now saw with alarm, the gulph prepared for themselves; and every measure pursued by the Government, tended to increase and confirm it. The King, goaded on by the counsels of his Queen and Father Petre, his confessor, whom he had made a Privy Counsellor, hastened and precipitated every measure for the re-establishment of Popery.

Ireland having been secured, it was now determined to attempt England, but with more caution and under the specious appearances of law. Popery was allowed once more to display its real character, and to shew that no moral restraints can afford any barrier against its stretches after power. The King's honour was forgotten; his word falsified, and his reputation given up to reproach, for the purpose of serving their religion. He had been taught that the sacred cause of Holy Catholic Church, and the furtherance of its interests, were paramount to every human obligation.

The King corrupts the Judges. The King's first attack on the liberties of the nation was in Westminster Hall—the ancient seat of Justice,—and he determined if possible, to fill those venerable seats with Judges who should assert his "dispensing power," or in other words, should execute or break the Laws at his com-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV. mand. Nor was it long. He commenced a new system of policy, which, at that time, was called "closeting," and consisted of private conferences with the Judges and leading Members of Parliament. The first person on whom he tried his power of persuasion, was Sir T. Jones, Lord Chief Justice, who had, on more than one occasion, shewed himself sufficiently obsequious to his wishes, but to his immortal honour he now steadily resisted the King's solicitations and plainly told him: "He could not do it." To which the King replied, "He would have twelve Judges of his own opinion." To which Sir Thomas answered, "Probably his Majesty might find *twelve Judges* of his own opinion, but he would scarcely find *twelve Lawyers* of that mind." The result of this, and other "closetings" was, that the refractory Judges received their "quietus;" and others who would comply with the King's wishes, were nominated in their room. In the same manner the King remodelled his Privy council, and four influential and zealous Papists were sworn into that important office and honourable distinction.

Every thing was now prepared for a vigorous attack upon the constitutional and religious principles of the nation. The Judges corrupted,—the Privy Council secured, and the army increased.

The "dispensing power" of the King was openly avowed and set up, and, to give it some-  
Their unjust decree.

SECTION IV. thing of a legal sanction, eleven, out of the twelve Judges, gave it as their solemn and deliberate opinion that, it was an ancient and "inseparable" right and prerogative of the Kings of England, to dispense with the laws on great and "necessary occasions," of which he himself was the sole Judge.

Patriotic conduct of the Clergy.

These bold advances of the Sovereign power filled the minds of all men with astonishment and alarm, and laid the deep foundations of a determined and successful resistance; and in this trying juncture, the English church is once more destined to be the Saviour of the liberties of the country. The Houses of Parliament were silenced. The Bench of the Judges was seduced: but the guardians of the national faith were on their guard—and faithful to their trust. The pulpits every where resounded with polemical discourses against Popery, whilst the press daily sent forth compositions distinguished for their depth of learning—the power of their eloquence, and the extent of their erudition.

To check and overawe the Clergy, who from their peculiar position in society, were now the great champions of the liberties and religion of their country, through the advice of his Popish counsellors, ever fruitful in invention, a court of inquisition was established, entitled an "Ecclesiastical Commission." This Commission was a violent infraction of all law, and to render it

the more virulent, even Roman Catholics were appointed Commissioners. The Lord Chancellor Jefferies was at the head of it, and the authority of the Court extended to all Ecclesiastical causes and persons, to deprive or suspend, at their will and pleasure.

Nor was it long before the Commissioners shewed the extent of their jurisdiction in the suspension of Doctor Compton, the Bishop of London. This active prelate, by a conduct worthy of his noble birth, and his high station in the church, had acquired the love and esteem of the Protestant Church at home and abroad; and, was, on that account, more eminently, the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish party at Court; and an occasion now offered, at once to ennoble the "Ecclesiastical Commission" and to humble their formidable opponent. But they succeeded not. Heaven had designed this man as the principal agent in the salvation of the country from that "popish and arbitrary power" which was then in the ascendant, and was intent upon overwhelming the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

The first step of this political act, was a letter sent by the King to the Bishop, expressly requiring and commanding him, "forthwith to suspend Doctor Sharp, from further preaching in any parish church or chapel, until he had given him

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV.

The Clergy receive a check.

SECTION IV. satisfaction, and his further pleasure be known herein."

CHAP. IV.  
Conduct of  
the Bishop of  
London.

Doctor Sharp was at that time Rector of St. Giles and Dean of Norwich, and was, afterwards, Archbishop of York, and was much admired for his talents in the pulpit. He had made himself particularly obnoxious to the Court party, by the eloquence and learning with which he vindicated the church of England against the errors of Popery. This was his only offence, and the Bishop perceived that the design was to forbid all preaching against Popery, and the result of it would be to suspend all the eminent preachers in England. He endeavoured to divert the storm that threatened the church and clergy, and wrote a submissive letter to the King, assuring him of his loyalty and his readiness to obey his Majesty in whatsoever commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe conscience. But in this he continued, he was to proceed according to law, and that no judge could condemn a man before he had knowledge of the cause and had "cited the party." The Bishop despatched this letter by Doctor Sharp himself, assuring the King, that he was ready to make any satisfaction to him that he could desire. But the Doctor could not gain access to the royal presence, and no answer was returned to the Bishop's communication, until he was summoned to appear before the "Ecclesiastical Commission." The Bishop conducted

himself during the whole proceedings, which lasted through a whole month with great wisdom, prudence and firmness. The case was argued by the Bishop and his counsel with great skill and learning. But law and reason prevailed not. The King's command was pronounced from the Bench to be superior to both; and the Bishop was sentenced to be suspended "from all Episcopal and other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV.

In the meantime, the King urged by the counsel of the Jesuits who surrounded him, to expedite his purposes after the example of the French King, by the "short arguments of military missionaries," and fully determined on the establishment of his religion, he assembled his forces to the number of fifteen thousand men on Hounslow Heath. A regular camp was formed under the command of the Earl of Feversham, and a chapel was erected at head quarters for the daily celebration of mass, and to give greater eclat and splendour to the encampment, the King himself was in the habit of visiting it, a circumstance which drew great multitudes of people to view and admire this military array. But it was not witnessed without great jealousy, by a people who had never been accustomed to see encampments in time of peace. Yet there was only one man at this alarming juncture, who had the courage and patriotism to declare against it—and he, too, was a Clergyman. His name was Samuel

A novel  
Spectacle.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Mr. Johnson's  
case.

Johnson; and he drew up a short but powerful address, "to the English Protestants in King James' army," which might well deserve a place in this history, inasmuch as it contains sentiments, which can never admit of change, whilst Popery continues the same, usurping, intolerant power.

The tendency of this bold address was too fatal to the King's designs, to be left unpunished. Mr. Johnson, the writer, was tried at the King's Bench, and was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred marks—to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to stand in the pillory at three different places, Westminster, Charing Cross, and the Royal Exchange. And, preparatory to this vindictive sentence, out of pretended respect to the gown, he was degraded and despoiled of his Ecclesiastical character before the Bishops of Durham, Rochester and Peterborough, who had been appointed Commissioners of the See of London. This cruel punishment produced a deep impression on the minds of the people, and the seeds sown in his address to the soldiers took deeper root, and no doubt promoted in a great measure, that defection which afterwards discovered itself.

The King now undertook the "closeting" of his courtiers and ministers, whom he warmly solicited to be reconciled to the church of Rome. He first undertook to manage the Earl of Sunderland, who was considered already too obsequious to the royal wishes. The tenor of their discourse

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

has not transpired; but the Earl was not refractory, although his acquiescence, whether real or pretended, at last proved fatal to the interests of his master.

The King next tried his eloquence on the Earl of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer, for whom he entertained the highest esteem. The Earl, at last, wearied with his solicitations, proposed to have the points at issue between the two churches argued by divines on both sides. The King assented. The Protestant champions were Doctor Simon Patrick, a person of a clear head and great reading, and Doctor William Jane, a man of equal learning and famous for his knowledge of polemic divinity. On the Popish side were one Gifford, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Doctor Godden. The conference was long: and, at last, the Romish Doctors were pressed with so much strength of argument and Catholic authority that they were forced to quit the field to their opponents. The King was greatly disconcerted, and, going off abruptly, was heard to say: "He never saw a bad cause so well, or, a good one so ill maintained." But it proved no cause of triumph to the Earl of Rochester; for the Jesuits were so exasperated, that they lost all bounds, and, within a few days, he was deposed from his high office and dignity.

Such indeed, were the high expectations of the Romanists at this period, that the Earl of Castle-

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Extraordinary  
declaration.

main was despatched as Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Rome, to reconcile the three kingdoms to the Apostolic see. But Pope Innocent was too clever a politician to be deceived by appearances. The King received nothing but mortification from this embassy, and to make up for this disappointment, he had recourse to a most consummate piece of policy which took the nation by surprise, and produced an indelible sensation through all ranks of people. He published a declaration, proclaiming liberty of conscience throughout his dominions. The declaration was drawn up in strains of the purest Protestantism, and would have deserved to have been ranked amongst the most enlightened monuments of human wisdom, had not its projectors been engaged at that very moment, in a conspiracy to overthrow the laws of their country, and to destroy every vestige of civil and religious liberty.

Conduct of  
Dissenters

On the appearance of this declaration the whole kingdom was filled with astonishment. The Dissenters were ensnared with the golden bait, and received the boon with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction. They presented addresses of thanks to the King, filled with such extravagant and fulsome compliments, as to be offensive to the very ears of Majesty itself.

and Church-  
men.

But the churchmen stood firm to their principles, and drew back from the seductive influence which they saw would be fatal to their religion

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

and laws. They refused, therefore, to yoke themselves to the chariot of arbitrary power, or, to unite in those laudatory addresses which daily flowed into the Court from all parts of the kingdom. "The loyal Church of England," to use the words of a writer of that day, which had not only preached but practiced obedience in all things lawful, was now condemned as disloyal and disobedient, because she could not exceed those limits; and the Dissenters who were always rebels in speculation, and, in practice, whenever they had an opportunity, were, in an instant become the only "good subjects." This determined and dignified conduct of the churchmen gave great offence to the Court party, and they made it their chief endeavour to widen the former breaches, and to revive the animosities between the Church of England and the Dissenters. But nothing could divert the church from its proper course. Her champions refused to betray their trust, and to be a willing party in the destruction of their country. There were, however, some exceptions: Crew the Bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, and Watson of St. David's, prevailed upon some of their clergy to sign addresses of thanks to the King. But these addresses were so jejune and insipid, that they seemed more like the forced thanks given by a corrected child to a severe parent, than the free and hearty acknowledgments

SECTION which flow from a grateful sense of real favour.

IV. Parker Bishop of Oxford, who, although he displayed extraordinary zeal on this occasion, was not so successful as these Court prelates. His clergy could not be prevailed upon to sign an address, which might prove of such dangerous consequence to their religion, but to assure the world that they were not actuated in their refusal, by any sullen humour or disloyalty, they drew up their reasons in writing, which they submitted to their Bishop.

University of  
Cambridge in-  
vaded,

Whilst the rights and privileges of the nation were invaded on every side, whilst the Dissenters adored the hands that were fastening the chains about their necks; and whilst the corrupted Bishops endeavoured to decoy their flocks into the same compliance, the true sons of the church felt the full weight of the storm which now began to discharge its fury. It was first directed against the Universities, those noble seats of learning and piety, which in the most difficult times, had distinguished themselves for their loyalty and affection to the crown. Cambridge was first attacked. A mandate was sent by the King to the Vice Chancellor, requiring him to admit Father Francis a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Master of Arts, without administering to him the oaths required by law. The University proceeded with great firmness and moderation, and refused compliance on the ground of a conscientious adherence

to their solemn oaths, and their obligation to obey the laws,—But in vain. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and although they pleaded several explicit statutes and Acts of Parliament, which prohibited the admission of an unqualified person, and urged their own oaths to be faithful to their trust, the sentence of the court was given against them—the Vice Chancellor was deposed from his office, and, the University obliged to submit not only in this, but to many succeeding mandates for fellowships, to the great discouragement of learning and the disgust of its friends.

The attack against the University of Oxford was still more formidable. A vacancy having occurred in the presidentship of St. Mary Magdalene College, the King directed a mandate to the fellows, to elect a person of the name of Farmer, a man of bad reputation, on the promise of his becoming a Papist. This was the boldest stretch of arbitrary power that ever was attempted. Magdalene college was the most noble and munificent foundation in the university, and, from repeated grants of Kings ratified in Parliament, and contained in their statutes, possessed an uninterrupted and incontestible right of electing their own President. They nobly resisted the regal invasion. But not with impunity. The Ecclesiastical Commission was once more set in motion. The fellows put in their own plea, and elected Doctor

## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

Hough for their President. This was highly displeasing to the King; and Commissioners were sent to Oxford for the purpose of executing his commands. Doctor Hough was deposed, and Doctor Parker, Bishop of Oxford, instead of Farmer, installed into the dignity of President; and when the Fellows resisted this gross violation of their privileges, by petition to the King, they were deprived of their fellowships, and forcibly ejected from their college.

"Whilst the church was thus harrassed," to use the words of the writer quoted above, the Dissenters lay lurking at their ease in the sunshine of a Court which had thawed all their rigid humour, and melted them down into a perfect compliance with their friends the Papists. They who were formerly refractory and disobedient to the laws, now carried their obedience beyond the laws, and became the champions of the "DISPENSING POWER.\*"

But at this very moment, when the King's arbitrary measures seemed to promise him an easy triumph—the ground was failing beneath his feet, and he was about to be precipitated into the gulf of unavailing remorse and despair.

Parliament  
prorogued.

The Parliament, which according to the terms of its prorogation ought to have assembled on the twenty-eighth of April, was again prorogued to the twenty-second of November; and the King

\* Echard's History, p. 1085.

## SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

endeavoured by "closeting" the members, to win them over by expostulations or promises; but, whatever effect he produced upon individuals, he found it impossible to prevail on the majority, and on the second of July he dissolved it by proclamation.

The whole summer was employed by the Romanists in laying the sure foundation of their future ascendancy. The Dissenters were fairly won.—Popish Judges and Lord Lieutenants appointed.—The old Royalists turned out of their offices, and Dissenters placed in their room; and, to secure the steadiness of the army, an old statute was revived, making it death for a soldier to desert his colours; and, to influence the elections, the Justices of the peace were dismissed, and Dissenters raised to the bench. Their grand design was to gain the Parliament, without which all their labours would be in vain. Nothing could exceed the devotion of the Dissenters to the will of their royal master. They daily multiplied their addresses and "many of them expressly promised to choose such representatives as should be ready to answer and obey the King's desire."

Dissenters in  
the ascendant.

It was to forward this great cause that the King took a long progress, for the purpose, as it was alleged, of taking a view of his ports and harbours, but in reality for the purpose of influencing the elections; nor, should it be omitted that, in this progress, he was attended by the cele-

William Penn.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV. brated William Penn, who with great industry promoted the King's designs. He was taken into the King's counsels, and even wrote a most Jesuitical letter to the Fellows of Magdalene College, "to persuade them to a compliance with his Majesty's letter." "Every mechanic," adds Penn, "knows the temper of his present Majesty, who never will receive a baffle in anything that he nearly espouses; and that he does this, yourselves have had too late and manifest an instance to doubt of his zeal in the affair."

The Pope's  
nuncio,

The Romish plot still continued to advance, and the established laws of the realm were every day violated in the most public manner. Signor Ferdinando D'Adda, domestic prelate and assistant to the Pope, was declared apostolical nuncio, and made his entry into London, as a foreign ambassador with great pomp and solemnity. Vast multitudes of people were attracted by a spectacle which had not been enacted in England for one hundred and fifty years. We are assured that this ceremony occasioned the disgrace of that celebrated patriot, the Duke of Somerset, who being Lord in waiting, the King desired him to attend the nuncio to his audience. The Duke requested his Majesty, "to excuse him from an office which the LAWS made criminal." The King reiterated his commands: but the Duke persisting, the King with great wrath, dismissed him from his presence and official dignity.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV. In the midst of these exciting transactions, we are called to regard a scene of a less public but of a more solemn character—the death-bed of the Duke of Buckingham, the last of the "CABAL." He had for some time retired from court to his only Castle, at Helmby in Yorkshire; but he carried with him into his retreat, the same dissolute mind and profligate habits, and his hour of reckoning was at hand. He had lived in the disregard of religion and morality, and his end was without honour. He had left home for the purpose of hunting in the neighbourhood of Kirby Moorside, and being seized with sickness, he was conveyed to a wretched Public House in that village. His relative, the Lord Irwin, prevailed upon him to send for a Clergyman, who approaching the Duke asked him, *of what religion he was?* The Duke answered "It is of little consequence: I have been a shame and a disgrace to all religions: if you can do me any good, do." Thus died in the sixtieth year of his age, unregretted and, without hope, the profligate son of a profligate father, and with him were extinguished a noble family and noble estate in the second generation, verifying the declaration of holy scripture. "He shall neither have son nor nephew among his people, nor any remaining in his dwelling.\*"

Death of  
Buckingham.

Whilst the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham was expiring, the hopes of the Popish party were

\* Book of Job xviii 19.

SECTION suddenly invigorated with new life. A Proclamation appeared in the Gazette announcing a day of thanksgiving, "because it had pleased Almighty God to give his Majesty apparent hopes and good assurance of having issue by his royal consort the Queen." It was proclaimed by the Jesuits as a miraculous interposition. They asserted that it was either the effect of a solemn petition which the late Duchess of Modena had put up in heaven to the Virgin Mary, or, of a vow that the Queen had made to our Lady of Loretto, with the present of a golden Image enriched with precious stones. These stories, not without reason, increased the jealousy and suspicion of the Protestant party, who now remembered their former cheats and impostures, and could not help considering this as a "pious fraud" intended to assist them in their present designs.

Heroes of the  
Church.

The Romanists continued, however, to make the best use of such a fortunate adventure; and taking advantage of the fears and consternation of the Protestants, procured addresses of congratulations from several Counties. The Jesuits also gathered visible strength, and were daily publishing books and treatises on their religion. But the champions of the Church of England were at hand, and drew their pens with such vigour in defence of the Protestant religion, that the Jesuits were overmatched. These christian heroes were Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Tonnison, Wake, Sherlock

IV.  
CHAP. IV.

and other distinguished names, who not only SECTION vanquished their opponents by the intrinsic goodness of their cause, but by a deeper stock of learning and a stronger force of sound reasoning which had a powerful influence upon the people. Their learning and piety, their humility and pastoral care, their courage and boldness attracted the love and veneration of all men. The Clergyman's gown was so nobly adorned by the vigorous discharge of their high functions, that every body was ready to pay respect to it; and, it was at this period that the London Divines may be said to have been the ornament of the reformed Churches and the glory of the christian world.

But the triumph of the press was short. A proclamation appeared in the month of February, prohibiting "the printing and selling of all unlicensed books," which placed the whole controversy in the hands of the court. Many works were suppressed; but the whole proceeding added still greater lustre to the Divines whose names we have just enumerated.

The Romish party were now in the ascendant. The King's religion became fashionable, and every day men of weak minds and strong ambition, of wicked morals and of sordid tempers, apostatized from their religion, and abandoned the faith of the gospel. But a sudden ruin was even now impending over their heads; and when all hope seemed about to expire in the breasts of the Pro-

Popery prevails.  
A. D. 1688.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.

SECTION IV. testants, the overruling providence of God in his benevolent purposes, was opening a way for their deliverance.

CHAP. IV.

The King  
applies to Hol-  
land.

The first dawn of this auspicious day, appeared at this juncture and was brought on by the King himself, who had recourse under the pressure of circumstances, to the weakest and most infatuated policy. Although he had hitherto met with unvarying success in all his designs against the constitutional rights of his country, yet he felt there were yet formidable difficulties in his way, which he could not overcome without the concurrence of Parliament. To facilitate his project for abrogating the "test and penal laws," he came to the resolution of trying the inclination of the Prince and Princess of Orange. His Majesty, no doubt, flattered himself, that their Highnesses who were known to entertain the most liberal opinions on the subject of toleration, would not contradict his intentions, and he was aware that their decision would produce a great effect on the minds of the people, who regarded them as their future sovereigns.

The Prince  
of Orange  
answers.

But happily their Highnesses were strangers to dissimulation, and as presumptive heirs to the Crown of England, they determined not to yield to any solicitations which might prove fatal to those Laws which the English nation regarded as the bulwark of the Protestant religion. The Prince and Princess were averse to meddle with

such a nice affair, and for some time the King could obtain no answer to his communications.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. IV.

At length, under their direction, the pensionary Fagel, wrote to Mr. Stuart the Kings agent, to the following effect: "That no Christian ought to be punished for his conscience, or, be ill used because he differed from the public and established religion: and that their Highnesses were ready to concur with his Majesty in the settling and confirming full "liberty of conscience:" and that if his Majesty wished for their concurrence in the repeal of the Penal Laws, they were prepared to give it, provided those Laws still remained in their full vigour by which the Roman Catholics are shut out of all public employments both civil and military. That neither the test nor penal laws could be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman Catholics with regard to their consciences, being only provisions to qualify men for official trusts, and which proceeded on a principle recognized by all christian states, who admitted none to a share in the Government, or public employments, who were not friendly to their institutions necessary for the security of the Protestant religion. And that, therefore, they could not concur with his Majesty in those matters, for they believed they should have much to answer if the consideration of any present advantage should induce them to consent to things which would not

SECTION IV. only be prejudicial but dangerous to the Protestant religion."

CHAP. IV.

The King's  
Character  
inks.

This memorable letter was printed and published in great numbers throughout the kingdom, and revived the sinking spirit of the nation, and enabled them to bear up under the daily mortifications to which they were exposed. But the King, finding himself baffled in his application to the Prince and Princess of Orange, redoubled his efforts to accomplish his purpose. He dispatched his emissaries into all the Counties, to secure, if possible, the elections in his favour: and, to fortify himself against any sudden surprise, recalled six English and Scotch Regiments that were in the service of the united provinces. He became every day more and more entangled in the artifices and policy of the Court of Rome. His character sunk. He lost the vigour and manliness of his understanding. He became a bigot. The man, the statesman, the soldier, the King was forgotten, and he sacrificed his honour, his word and his country at the shrine of a "bewitching" superstition, which by a perversion of all reason and sense, assumes to itself the title of an exclusive christianity, to every tenet of which, both in doctrine and practice, it is fundamentally opposed.

Father Petre the King's confessor was now prime minister, and supreme at the council board, but he was no statesman and of a vain and imperious temper, and although he had all the advan-

tages of favouritism, the Earl of Sunderland continued, by the superiority of his genius, to preserve an ascendancy in the King's counsels.

A second declaration was now issued for securing "Liberty of conscience," in which the most reasonable and christian principles were set forth, with a view of influencing the elections, and providing such a House of Commons as would not only pass a Bill of Toleration, but abrogate all tests and penal statutes which prevented Roman Catholics from holding office in the state. The Dissenters, as we have shewn, were already ensnared and taken. But the Bishops and Clergy were entirely adverse to it, both on account of its illegality, and, of the fatal consequences which must attend it.

To humble their "mortal enemies," as they termed the champions of the church, it was determined that this *illegal* declaration should be read by the clergy in all the churches of the kingdom; in order, as the haughty Father Petre termed it, (let all Protestant Bishops and statesmen for ever remember it)—that they might "eat their own dung." An "order by his Majesty in Council" was immediately issued and strange to say, that order which was intended by them to mortify the clergy, became the foundation of their own overthrow. "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall;" and, from this moment, every thing hastened their downfall.

VOL. II.

99

SECTION IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

Insolence of  
the Popish  
party.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Declaration  
of the Bishops.

The Bishops and Clergy of England were astonished at the imperious mandate, which rendered it impossible for them to remain longer silent or inactive. A grand consultation was held in the Palace of the Archbishop, to consider how they ought to conduct themselves in such a critical conjuncture. This important meeting was opened with solemn prayer, and a declaration was agreed upon, expounding the principles upon which they intended to conduct their opposition to such an arbitrary "Order." In this declaration they answer the objection which might be urged against their conduct, as inconsistent with the great principles of loyalty and submission maintained by the Church of England: "That loyalty being obedience according to law, they were the loyal men who acted not contrary thereto. That the best friends to the crown are those who support the law, and that they still maintained the principle of suffering without any unchristian opposition." And, to another objection, lest their conduct should be represented as imperious to the Dissenters, they observe, "That Dissenters could not but see, that this refusal was not to hinder any favours towards them, but to withstand the "dispensing power;" which if it took place, they could not but discern, that a new Magna Charta for liberty of conscience would be of no validity to them, for a new declaration might dispense with it at pleasure. And that the wisest and best

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

of them would look upon their refusal as a testimony of their sincerity to the Protestant religion, and not of any disaffection to them."

Nor was the conduct of the Bishops less noble and dignified than their sentiments were just and christian. They saw that a great storm was ready to fall on the whole body of the clergy; and they resolved to shelter them by offering themselves to the full indignation of the Monarch, and, at once, refused to send the "Declaration" to the Clergy. History scarcely affords a nobler example of christian courage and integrity.

On the eighteenth of May, six of the Bishops waited upon the King, and being introduced by the Earl of Sunderland, delivered their petition into his Majesty's hand. The King startled and appeared much incensed at the contents of it, and in a very angry tone said: "I have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of England. If I change my mind you shall hear from me, if not, I expect my command shall be obeyed." The Bishops with all reverence replied: "We resign ourselves to the will of God."

This opposition of the Bishops created an extraordinary sensation throughout the kingdom; and the minds of men were filled with a variety of conjectures as to what would follow. But the Popish party had methods of their own, upon which they resolved. The Archbishop of Canter-

The King enraged at their conduct.

Summoned before the Council.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

Their Admirable conduct.

bury and the other Bishops were summoned before the Privy Counsel, where they appeared on the thirteenth of June; and, being asked "whether they owned the petition?" After a short consultation the Archbishop acknowledged "that it was written with his own hand and signed by the rest, and added, that they had done nothing but what they were ready to justify." The Lord Chancellor, somewhat staggered at their constancy, asked them, "whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to answer this high misdemeanour?" This they all refused, "insisting on the privileges of their Peerage, which they were resolved to maintain as well as the rights of the Church, being bound by their callings, to oppose all innovations both in government and religion." This brave answer threw the whole council into astonishment. But Jeffries gathering courage from despair, threatened to send them to the Tower, if they did not immediately recant and withdraw their petition. They immediately answered: "That they were ready to go wherever his Majesty would send them; that they hoped the "King of Kings" would be their protector and judge: that they feared nothing from men; and that having acted according to law and their own conscience, no punishment should ever be able to shake their resolution."

Finding them thus immoveable, a warrant was

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688,

immediately drawn out by the council to commit them close prisoners to the Tower; and the Attorney and Solicitor General were ordered to prosecute them, "for making and publishing a seditious libel against the King and his Government.

*That* warrant was the great turning point by which God intended to rouse the spirit of the nation, nor can words express the deep state of feeling excited on this occasion through all ranks of the community.

Every precaution was taken by the ruling powers to avoid any demonstration in favour of these venerable Prelates. They were ordered to be conveyed to the Tower by water, and in the most private manner. But this policy was defeated. The people flocked in multitudes to the river side, and with loud acclamations testified their admiration of their constancy and firmness. The Bishops with that composed serenity in their looks, which is inspired by a consciousness of integrity, received these testimonies of their affection with meek submission. The intensity of the popular feeling was increased by the arrival of some companies of soldiers. A death-like silence ensued, only broken by their sighs and tears—the deep felt testimonies of their attachment to their spiritual leaders, which they further testified by falling down upon their knees to crave their benediction. Nay the very soldiers were moved by their primitive deportment, and, on their landing at the

Feeling of the multitude.

SECTION IV. Tower the officers and men fell on their knees to beg their blessing. It was, perhaps, the most extraordinary demonstration of feeling that was ever manifested by the people of England, and from the moment of the incarceration of the Bishops, the Tower became the citadel of their strongest affections and liveliest hopes. That place, as a contemporary author observes, "which had been polluted by the residence of so many traitorous criminals, was, in a manner, sanctified by the presence of the tutelar ANGELS of the church of England, and, of the liberties of the Nation."\*

An important event. The affairs of the nation now rapidly advanced to a new order of things, and the great catastrophe of the reign was nigh at hand. But the thick and impenetrable veil of futurity yet concealed it from the eyes of the nation. The Popish party, especially, instead of apprehending any danger, grew still more confident, and an event now occurred which seemed to establish their hopes beyond the possibility of failure. This was the birth of a Prince. The tidings were announced on Trinity Sunday, the day after the Bishops were committed to the Tower. The triumph seemed now complete, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed on the following sunday. But every thing about this unfortunate birth was suspicious, and notwithstanding all the assurances and proofs

\* Echard 1102.

which could be advanced, it was universally believed to be an imposter.

And now came on the momentous trial of the Bishops, as guardians of the Church, contending for "the faith once delivered to the Saints;" and, as Peers of parliament, maintaining the liberties of their country. Their counsel pleaded their privilege. The trial was postponed for a fortnight, and they were liberated on bail. The people again shewed their satisfaction, by every demonstration of joy. The City was illuminated, and the whole population seemed to be animated with one mind and one object of rejoicing; and the contrast was remarkably striking, when, two days after, the conduits running with wine, and extraordinary bonfires blazing for the birth of the Prince of Wales, scarcely a hat was thrown up, or, an acclamation heard.

On the nineteenth of June, the day appointed for the trial, a vast concourse of the nobility, gentry, and people, were assembled at Westminster. The illegality of the "dispensing power" was argued with great force and eloquence by the Bishops Counsel, and the accurate Mr. Somers closed their defence: he stated from the opinion of all the Judges given in the Exchequer Chamber,\* "That the king had no power to suspend any law," and contended, that by the law of all civilized nations, if the Prince does require some-

\* Case of *Thomas Sorrel*.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. thing to be done, which the person who is to do it, takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, "Rescribere Principi," which was all the Bishops had done, and that in the most humble manner. "The Judges having delivered their opinions, the Jury withdrew, and, sat up all night to consider of their verdict."

Their acquittal.

Never was Westminster hall so crowded as on the following morning, to hear the result, of their deliberations, and, never, did its walls resound with louder acclamations than when the words "NOT GUILTY" were pronounced. The listening throng caught the words from the *foreman* and received it with acclamations. Nor were their shouts confined to the Cities of London and Westminster. Like the noise of "many waters" it spread through the adjoining country and to the Camp at Hounslow. The whole Army joined in the loud huzza, so that the King who was that day entertained in the tent of the Earl of Feversham, was startled at such an unusual demonstration, and desired his companion to inquire the meaning of it. The Earl returned and with affected coolness said—"It was nothing but the Soldiers shouting upon the news of the Bishops being acquitted." The King much discomposed, replied: "And do you call that nothing?" "But so much the worse for them."

The infatuated Monarch, unwarned by these manifestations of public feeling and goaded on by

his Popish Advisers, resolved upon the most desperate measures. For this purpose he determined to make trial of the fidelity of his army, and proposed to them a paper writing by which they were to engage, as far as in them lay, to contribute towards the repeal of the "Test and Penal Laws." The experiment was made, in his own presence, and the Major of Lord Lichfield's Regiment opened his Majesty's desire to the Battalion, directing all such as would not comply with it, to *lay down* their arms. To his astonishment, the whole regiment, with two or three exceptions, obeyed the latter part of the command. The king was speechless; but after a short pause, recovering his self-possession he commanded them *to take up their arms again*, adding with a discontented look, "that he would not, for the future, do them the honour to ask their advice."

The "Popish Cabal" thus warned, so far from desisting, or, even hearkening to prudent counsels, pushed their advantages with "ungovernable zeal and fury," and the total subversion of the constitution appeared inevitable. But in the midst of the gloom and darkness which threatened an impending storm, and filled the minds of the people with dreadful apprehensions, a sudden light appeared which promised a brighter day, and was, indeed, the dawn of a "MIGHTY DELIVERANCE." The benevolence of the Divine Being was about to manifest itself, in a manner which

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. A. D. 1688.

Trial of the Army.

The Crisis approaches.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. could not be disputed, and was intending, by a concurrence of surprising events, without convulsion or bloodshed, to establish England as an EXEMPLAR STATE amongst the nations of the earth. Nor was it long. The nobility, and gentry instructed by the conduct and measures of the Court, perceiving the imminency of the danger which threatened the constitution in Church and State, entered into a strict correspondence with the Prince of Orange, in the management of which Dr. Burnet, who resided in the Hague, was a principal instrument. The Lord Wharton though advanced in years, proceeded through Holland to Germany. Colonel Sidney, Uncle to the Earl of Sunderland visited the Spaw under pretence of drinking the waters. The Lord Dumblain, son to the Earl of Danby, a brave seaman who commanded an independent frigate, was of important service in carrying their despatches. The Earl of Shrewsbury, leaving the command of his Regiment and mortgaging his estate for 40,000 pounds, went over to the Prince and made him an offer of his sword and his purse. And at length, Herbert, the English Admiral threw up his Commission and retired to the Hague. In short the hearts of all men, were alienated from their infatuated Sovereign, and all parties united against him. Indeed, every man was at his post, and ready to act to the best of his ability in the hour of danger, and the moment had now arrived

The leading actors appear.

when the Law of "passive obedience and non-resistance" was to be expounded by the acts of a great nation, directed by moderation, justice and prudence. SECTION IV. CHAP. IV.

The preparations of the Prince of Orange were carried on with great ability and secrecy. But they could not be concealed from the agents of the French Monarch. He warned the English King; but the announcement seemed incredible. The King's Envoy extraordinary at Paris, wrote letter after letter on the same subject, but with no better success. The French King sincerely anxious to save him, sent him more pressing information and offered him a supply of thirty thousand men for his protection. But on the advice of the Earl of Sunderland the offer was rejected. Still the French King would not desert him; and being fully convinced of his danger, ventured in his own name to remonstrate with the states of Holland, on their warlike preparations. But this act of extreme friendship was disowned by the English Government and their Ambassador at Paris was recalled and committed to the Tower.

The King is infatuated.

But on the twenty-third of September, the eyes of the deluded Monarch were opened by a communication which he received from the Marquis of Abbyville at the Hague, informing him that the Pensionary Fagel had frankly told him the design of the Prince of Orange, and many of the English

His surprise

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. Nobility had arrived in Holland, for the purpose of accompanying the Prince to England. On reading this news, the King turned pale, the letter dropped from his hand and he remained some time speechless with astonishment. The effects of his rash Counsels were now apparent. He found himself on the brink of a precipice, whilst his jesuitical flatterers stood thunder-struck at a distance, without daring to offer any consolation. One voice alone was heard, suggesting "that the Prince of Orange might yet be diverted from his design, or defeated in the attempt." To which the half stupified Monarch answered—"I know my Son-in-law's character so well, that if he undertakes any design, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and very hardly defeated."

and consternation.

He appeals to the Bishops.

It is remarkable that in this extremity, the sinking Monarch turned his eyes to the Bishops of the Church of England, as the faithful and enlightened supporters of the constitutional Monarchy; and perhaps no age of the Church affords such a striking example of christian submission, courage, kindness, and charity. At his first summons the men whom he had so recently persecuted were at his side, assuring him of their unshaken loyalty, and of their readiness to afford him every proof of their attachment and duty.

The King received them with extraordinary marks of favour and kindness, and told them,

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. "That he desired the assistance of their Counsels in the present exigency" assuring them, "that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the protestant religion, and of the peoples rights, without derogating from his prerogative."

A. D. 1688.

Nor was the King himself idle; he issued a "Declaration" for the purpose of softening the minds of the people and exasperating them against the Prince of Orange. The suspension of the Bishop of London was taken off. A churchman was nominated as Lord Mayor, and the charter of the City of London was restored.

Retraces his steps.

On the third of October the Archbishop of Canterbury attended with the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, again waited upon his Majesty. The Archbishop opened the proceedings with a brief address, and then proceeded to propound the heads of advice which they had prepared for his Majesty's consideration.

I. To put the whole management of his Government in the several counties, into the hands of such as were legally qualified for it.

II. To annul his commission for Ecclesiastical affairs.

III. That no dispensation might be granted or continued, by which any person not duly qualified by law, had been or might be put into any place, office, or preferment in Church or State, or

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. in the Universities. That he would restore the President and fellows of St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxford.

IV. To set aside all licenses or faculties, by which any person of the Romish Communion, might pretend to be enabled to teach public schools.

V. To desist from the exercise of his dispensing power, and to permit that point to be freely and calmly debated, and finally settled in Parliament.

VI. To inhibit the four foreign Bishops who styled themselves Vicars Apostolic, from farther invading the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which by law was vested in the Bishops of the Church of England.

VII. To fill the vacant Bishoprics and other Ecclesiastical promotions within his gift in England and Ireland, with men of learning and piety.

VIII. To suspend all farther prosecutions of "Quo Warranto," intended otherwise to have made one of the principal requests.

IX. That writs might be issued out, with convenient speed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament, in which the Church of England might be secured according to the acts of Uniformity, provision might be made for a due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all his subjects, and a mutual con-

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. fidence might be established between his Majesty and all his people.

X. Above all, that his Majesty would be pleased to permit his Bishops to offer such motives and arguments as they trusted might by God's grace be effectual, to persuade his Majesty to return to the communion of the Church of England, into which most Holy Catholic faith he was baptised, in which he was educated, and to which it was their daily earnest prayer to God, that he might be re-united. This last point we are assured the Archbishop afterwards reinforced in a private conference with the King, by a discourse full of convincing arguments, and which "savoured of all the free breathings of the primitive times of Christianity," \*

The Priests were enraged beyond measure at this bold and constitutional advice of the Bishops. The King however, on this occasion not only concealed his discontent, but immediately began to redress the grievances complained of. He retracted most of those arbitrary measures which we have recorded; and promised, once more, to govern by law. Many of the nobility offered their services, and preparations were made on a scale sufficient to crush any invasion that could be made from the shores of Holland. The loyalty of the Church was unshaken, and the Archbishop of Canterbury composed a particular form of prayer to be added

The King pretends compliance.

\* Echard, 1114.

SECTION to the usual liturgy "during the time of public  
IV. apprehension from the danger of invasion."

CHAP. IV.

In the mean time, on the tenth of October, N. S. the Prince of Orange published a solemn declaration, which though much longer, embraced the same articles of complaint as those recommended for redress by the Bishops; and, on the sixteenth, having concluded his preparations for this great expedition, he entered the assembly of the States General to take leave of them. The whole assembly were moved to tears and invoked the blessing of God upon his magnanimous enterprise.

The Prince  
of Orange sails  
for England.

On the nineteenth of October the Dutch Fleet set sail from the Flats, near the Briel, with a south westerly wind. The armament consisted of fifty-four sail of the line with several frigates and transports, containing forty thousand horse and ten thousand foot. The Prince was attended with a splendid train of the English nobility, the Count of Nassau and the famous Marshal Schomberg. The Prince embarked in a frigate with English colours, embroidered with his arms, and surrounded with this motto. "The Protestant religion and the liberties of England."

Admiral Herbert led the van, the whole fleet was under sail, and every thing seemed to promise a prosperous voyage, when, on a sudden, the wind becoming westerly, blew a dreadful storm and continued with such fury for two days, that the whole

fleet was scattered and driven back upon their own coast. SECTION

IV.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

Transports  
of the Popish  
party.

Exaggerated accounts of the disaster were transmitted to England. Nor could the Popish party conceal their exultation. They boasted; "that God Almighty had now recompensed them for the loss of the Spanish Armada, which a hundred years ago had been designed to conquer the English Heretics." Nor was this all. The event shewed the real mind of the King, and discovered to the Nation that the PROMISES of their King were not to be relied upon. "I was present," says a French author, "when King James received the news at dinner, he used but one hand, holding the most welcome letter in the other." Amongst other things he said to M. Barillon, the French Ambassador, laughing. "At last, then, the wind has declared itself a Papist," then resuming his serious air and softening his voice, he said: "you know, for these three days I have ordered the Holy Sacrament to go in procession."

The respite, however, was short, yet sufficiently long to shew that the once high-minded and honourable Duke of York, whose word was inviolable, had become a weak, vacillating, promise-breaking Bigot. He lost no time in recalling his concessions and putting a stop to all redress of grievances, and importuned the Bishops to publish a counter-declaration, expressive of their abhorrence of the intended invasion. The Archbishop and most of

VOL. II.

R R

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. his brethren waited upon the King, and declared their innocence with respect to the invitation of the Prince—but declined, as Ministers of peace, any such particular declaration as he requested, alleging also that, as Peers of Parliament, such an act might well be resented by the temporal Lords, urging his Majesty immediately to call Parliament together for the purpose of taking their united counsel. When the King reminded them of the pressing exigency of the times, they offered to meet as many temporal Lords for consultation, as could be immediately summoned. Every step was thus taken with prudence, wisdom, and strict regard to constitutional principles. Not so the Scotch Bishops. They rushed immediately into the snare—published a declaration, abhorring the invasion of the Prince and renouncing the principles on which it was founded—a line of conduct ruinous to themselves and their country—for after the Revolution, they could not, in honour, sit in Parliament; and thus deprived their Church and Country of their services, the management of which, of necessity, devolved upon the Presbyters. The English Bishops acted more consistently with the principles of “Passive obedience and Non-resistance.” The conduct of the Scotch Bishops, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, was interference which cannot be justified. It was an open abandonment of the Constitution and of the principles on which the British Church was

Conduct of the  
English and

Scotch Bishops.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. founded, nor can we wonder at the retribution that has followed, in their rejection from the Government of the national Church.

But whilst the King was thus engaged in endeavouring to obtain the countenance of the Bishops, the Prince of Orange was making the most active preparations for a second embarkment. Nor was the King idle. A strong detachment of the army was despatched into the north, where it was expected the Prince would attempt to land. The army was reinforced from Ireland, and the fleet which consisted of sixty-one ships under the Earl of Dartmouth, was stationed at Gunfleet to watch the motions of the invading fleet.

On the first of November, in the afternoon, the Prince again embarked and the whole fleet weighed anchor. On the third of November they discerned the coasts of Essex and Kent, and as they were making for the English Channel, some of the transport ships passed within sight of the English fleet.

The Dutch fleet having passed the Straits of Dover to the westward, steered on, intending to make either for Dartmouth or Torbay. But in the night a strong gale carried them beyond both these harbours, and at day break, they saw the inconvenience and danger of their situation. But at this moment of alarm, the wind providentially changed to the south, and with a gentle gale carried them directly into Torbay,—the most conve-

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. The King's preparations.

The Prince of Orange sails, and

lands at Torbay.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

nient place, for landing a body of horse, that could perhaps be found in the island; and what is remarkable, this auspicious day which commenced a second deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power, was Monday, the fifth of November!

In three hours, above seven thousand horses were landed, and, shortly after, the wind changed to the west, and blew that night such a storm that the King's fleet, which had come in sight of the Dutch armament, was driven back and so shattered that the Earl of Dartmouth could no longer keep at sea but retired to Portsmouth!

Dismay of  
the King.

The whole country was now in a state of commotion. The King deceived, was bewildered and irresolute. His flatterers alarmed, distracted and angry. The natural energy of the Monarch was lost, and he appeared incapable of rousing himself to the sudden action which the exigency required. He ordered his troops to rendezvous on Salisbury Plain—despatched another part of it to Portsmouth, and ordered five thousand men to remain in London to check the expected insurrections of the citizens.

Progress of  
the Prince,

In the mean time the Prince of Orange, proceeded towards Exeter. Newton Abbot, was the first place where his "Declaration" was read by a Clergyman. At Exeter he was received by the overjoyed multitudes with every demonstration of joy. He entered the City with solemn pomp, and proceeded to the Cathedral, where the "Te Deum"

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

Doubtful of  
Success.

was sung for his happy arrival. After the reading of the collects, Dr. Burnet, who accompanied the Prince in his expedition, read the "declaration."

Notwithstanding these marks of hearty welcome, the Prince had sufficient reason to be discouraged. He had reason to expect that all the gentry of the west would have joined him on his first landing, whereas he had now been nine days on shore, and scarce one person of eminence had joined his standard. Indeed, he began so far to doubt the success of his expedition, that he suffered it to be proposed to him in a council of war, whether he should re-embark his forces! But the very next day, the aspect of affairs changed, a considerable number of the neighbouring gentry appeared in the Prince's camp, fully prepared and resolved to second his efforts for their country.—The Prince received them with the greatest courtesy, and an "Association" was immediately formed for "the defence of the Protestant Religion, and maintaining the ancient government, laws, and liberties of England."

From the moment this Association was formed, the tide of success set in upon the Prince's enterprise. Many eminent persons declared for him. The Lord Cornbury, son to the Earl of Clarendon, Colonel of Dragoons; Lord Colchester and the Earl of Abingdon, went over to the Prince's army. These defections roused the Monarch, and he made instant preparations for leaving Whitehall

Strengthened  
in his purpose.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. to try his fortune in the field. But he was deserted by Him, who ruleth in the affairs of men, and "giveth victory in battle." At this moment Father Petre, his Confessor and Prime Minister, terrified at the alarming prospect, fled from the scene of action, and, like a base coward and betrayer, took refuge in France. Many other of the same Jesuitical stamp followed his example. The deserted King reached his army at Salisbury, on the night of the nineteenth of November, fatigued and dispirited, and troubled with bleeding at the nose. This was a grievous inconvenience to him at that juncture, and prevented him next day from visiting the outposts of his army. His Officers received him with great devotion, but declared to the General the Earl of Feversham, that although on any other occasion, they would spill the last drop of blood in his service, yet, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange, who had come with no other design than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the security of their religion and liberties.

Leaves his Army. The unfortunate King at once saw his desperate condition, and still more, when he received a letter from Lord Churchill, explaining his motives for deserting a standard which, under any other circumstances, he would have defended with his life. At the same moment he was alarmed with the false tidings that Marshal Schomberg, whose name had been distinguished in the military annals of

The King  
weakened and  
deserted,

every European nation, was approaching to give him battle, and he fled from Salisbury with precipitation. But at Andover, he was deserted by his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others, who left behind them an explanation of their conduct, similar to that of Lord Churchill.

But a still greater affliction awaited the King on his arrival in London. On the preceding night, his second daughter, the Princess Anne, consort to the Prince of Denmark, accompanied by the Lord Churchill, and under the protection of the Bishop of London, retired from Whitehall for the rendezvous of the northern Nobility at Nottingham. The news of her flight sensibly affected the distracted Monarch; and, entering his Palace in a flood of tears he cried out—"God help me! my own children have forsaken me!"

All seemed now to be lost. But far from it. Such was the deep attachment of the people to their natural and hereditary Monarch, that if any expedient could have been found for the future security of their religion and laws, he might still have reigned in peace. The Bishops and several of the temporal Peers had again assembled, and, in a loyal address, besought the Monarch to call a free Parliament for the purpose of settling the affairs of the nation, promising him every assistance in their power.

The King took that night to consider of their

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. IV.

The King  
deeply afflicted.

Noble conduct of the Bishops.

SECTION IV. advice, and the next day declared in Council, his resolution to adopt it. Writs were immediately issued for a free Parliament. The Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Godolphin, were despatched as Commissioners to treat with the Prince, and nothing could be more satisfactory than the result of their negotiations.

IV.  
CHAP. IV.

The King's  
infatuation.

The proposals which were considered by all men as reasonable and moderate, were immediately despatched to the King, who on reading them said: "They are better than I expected." And now, was the critical moment. His compliance, humanly speaking, would have fixed the house of Stuart on the Throne of England. But that "House" was rejected by God, and its apostasy from the "true faith of the Gospel" was made the instrument of its overthrow. Instead of confiding himself to his indulgent and faithful subjects he abandoned himself to aliens in religion and interests. He held an extraordinary consultation that night with his Popish friends, who had reduced him to these extremities. These perfidious men clearly saw that, in a free Parliament, nothing could serve the King unless he would consent to relinquish his Popish counsels, which would be followed by their total suppression and extinction. Nor were they long in deciding upon the line of policy which they should pursue. They resolved to sacrifice their King and every thing else, rather than see their designs blasted and their hopes for

ever extinguished. They impressed upon the King's mind, the dishonour which would attach to him by accepting such hard terms. They represented to him the power and zeal of the French Monarch, who would never desert their cause, and proposed to him an immediate flight into that Country. They prevailed, and the King resolved to abandon his subjects and throw himself into the arms of the French King.

SECTION  
IV.  
CHAP. IV.  
A. D. 1688.

The first step was to secure the flight of the Queen, who left the Palace in disguise, with the young Prince, under the conduct of Count de Lauzan. The night was dark, rainy and tempestuous, but they succeeded in reaching Gravesend, where they sailed for France, and safely landed at Calais.

The King immediately prepared to follow his royal consort; and, before his departure, wrote a letter to the Earl of Feversham, to acquaint him with his designs, who immediately disbanded the army. The City mobs assembled in great multitudes, and turned their fury against the Popish Chapels and the known residences of Papists. But there was no want of an Administration. The Bishops and Lords resident in the Metropolis and neighbourhood, assembled and took measures for the proper government of the nation, and for addressing the Prince of Orange. Their example was followed by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen and common Council, so that the peace and

Attempted  
flight of the  
King.

SECTION IV. order of a regular government were vigorously maintained.

CHAP. IV.

Death of  
Jefferies.

It was at this juncture that the Lord Chancellor Jefferies attempted to make his escape in the disguise of a sailor, and took up his abode in Wapping, waiting for an opportunity to sail for Ham-  
burgh. But a fearful retribution awaited the infamous Judge. His dress and manners as a sea-  
man were so well managed, that he entertained no fears of detection. But strange to say, hap-  
pening to look out of the window, he was recog-  
nized by a clerk in Chancery who happened to be passing at the moment. He was immediately  
apprehended and seized by the mob, by whom he would have been torn in pieces had he not been  
rescued out of their hands. He was committed to the Tower: and, after lingering a few months  
in confinement, died in ignominy and disgrace.

The King's  
return.

Nor was the King much more fortunate in his attempted escape. After crossing the Thames at Whitehall, attended by Sir Edward Hales, he pro-  
ceeded to a place near Feversham; and whilst the vessel was taking in ballast, Sir Edward sent  
his footman to the Post Office, when a drummer that had been cashiered by Sir Edward, knew the  
livery, and followed him to the river side. Sir Edward was well known, and as much hated in  
that neighbourhood, and the vessel was boarded in hopes of finding Popish Priests and plunder.  
The King was dressed in plain clothes and a bob-wig

and him they took for Sir Edward's Chaplain, SECTION IV. and, at once, searched his person, finding his  
jewels and 400 Guineas in money. At this mo-  
ment a constable boarded the vessel, who recog-  
nizing his Majesty, fell at his knees, begging his  
pardon for the rudeness of the mob, commanding  
them to restore what they had taken. At the  
King's request, the Earl of Winchelsea, governor  
of Dover Castle, waited upon him, and on his ad-  
vice, the King once more returned to London,  
which he entered in triumph, attended by a retinue  
of Lords and Gentlemen, and amidst the acclama-  
tions of the multitudes; and the night concluded  
with the ringing of bells, illuminations, bonfires  
and other demonstrations of popular joy.

Loyalty of  
the people.

This is one of the most remarkable events in history, and discovers such a depth of loyalty and affection as appears incredible. The King had now another opportunity afforded him, of retracing his steps and securing the Crown upon his head. But he was infatuated. The Jesuits and Romish  
Priests immediately flocked to Whitehall; and  
one, more insolent than the rest, conveyed a mes-  
sage to the Lord Chamberlain, to send some new  
furniture to his apartments as he intended to stay  
there; and the King, in order to complete his over-  
throw, as his first act, published an order in  
Council for the protection of his Popish subjects.  
Still, however, the most dignified moderation  
prevailed. It was indeed, proposed to the Prince

Insolence of  
the Papists.

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. of Orange to send the King as a prisoner to Holland, till the affairs of the nation could be settled. But he rejected the suggestion with indignation, and for the present, the King was requested to retire to Ham, the seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale. But the King chose rather to retire to Rochester, which was granted, attended by his own servants and yeomen of the guard.

The King  
returns to  
France.

The same day, the Prince entered London, and was attended by the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, and what would have been the result of their consultations, it is impossible to say. The King's conduct directed the nation in its course. He retired privately from Rochester without communicating his designs to any person, and, with two attendants, proceeded on horseback to the river where a small frigate waited his arrival; and, having immediately put to sea, with a favourable wind he landed at Ambleteuse in France.

The second desertion of the Kingdom, was considered as a deliberate and voluntary abdication of the sovereign power. He rejected the Crown on the condition of governing the nation by law, the only tenure on which it was ever held, and resolved, in opposition to all the principles of the constitution, to establish Popery and arbitrary power on the ruins of the national religion.

Never did a Monarch make a more deliberate choice, or more fully vacate his throne. The nation could do no more, unless they willingly sub-

SECTION IV. CHAP. IV. A. D. 1688. mitted their necks to the iron yoke of slavery and superstition. Thus fell the House of the Stuarts, in the person of one of the bravest, most patriotic, and most vigorous of their race. James II. possessed every virtue that could have adorned a throne and rendered a Sovereign great and illustrious. He was steady and unwavering in his Counsels, sincere and open in his transactions, economical in his arrangements, and ambitious of serving his country. But, with all these eminent qualifications, he was rejected by God and banished for ever from the throne of his ancestors. Like Mary, his whole character was changed by the blighting influence of the religion which he adopted. He embraced the principles of the Church of Rome, not from any conviction of their superior excellency, for he was an ardent admirer of the doctrines and practice of the Church of England; but seduced by the specious and plausible arguments of the "Apostolic succession," he was led to entertain doubts of the authority of the reformed Church; and, at length to consider it schismatic. To a mind of his stamp and character, the result of such an impression was inevitable. He submitted himself immediately to the Church, with which he considered the Apostolic authority to rest. Without further inquiry, he received all its high pretensions as solemn truth, and became as devoted a subject of the Pope, as any Monarch in the darkest ages of christendom.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

His sole object was the advancement of his religion. For this he sacrificed every noble principle of his nature, and abandoned the interests of his country. He became harsh, severe, tyrannical and PROMISE BREAKING, and it is evident that there is no act of cruelty and oppression, that he would not have resorted to, for the purpose of accomplishing his design, and establishing the supremacy of the Romish hierarchy.

By nature, he was a brave and magnanimous Prince; by his religion, he was a vindictive and cruel oppressor. Hume, is astonished at this perversion of the noblest faculties, and lays it to the charge of bigotry in religion; a convenient method of disposing of a subject which he did not understand. Whatever credit one may be disposed to grant to this writer, for his knowledge of "men and things," most certainly he was an inadequate judge of man as a religious being. Of the great science of religion, as an historical, doctrinal, polemical study, he was profoundly ignorant. There is no bigotry in true religion. The pure and holy principles of Christianity, enlarge the understanding, exalt the mind, and ameliorate the disposition. The obstinate and prejudiced attachment of James II., to the high pretensions of Popery, was certainly bigotry. It was the blind zeal of a devotee for a fatal and intolerant system, which, under the profession of the Christian name, has accumulated to itself the superstition of ages;

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1688.

and, whilst it has annihilated the principles of Christianity, pretends to its sole administration, and fortifies itself in the strong-holds of the Apostolical authority. It was to support these arrogant claims, and to establish this intolerable usurpation, that King James II. resolved to hazard his personal honour, his ancestral inheritance, and his country's good; and, in the attempt, he utterly failed. He was abandoned by God and man, and stood alone amidst a group of cowed Priests, a miserable and isolated being, agitated by fear, and shame and grief; and, at length, driven by his remorse for the past, and his apprehensions of the future, reffed his native land and abandoned his throne.

In consequence, of the King's sudden departure, the supreme power devolved upon the Peers spiritual and temporal, who from the most ancient times had, in all cases of emergency, been the "Standing Council" of the nation. They found themselves invested with an original right of applying to the nearest relations of the Crown, and of summoning the remaining part of the Legislature to re-establish the fundamental principles of the British Constitution.

The "Council of Peers" having elected the Marquis of Halifax as their Chairman, gave it as their advice in the present emergency, that a solemn convention should be called, of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons, in the persons of such as had served in former Parliaments.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

The Convention met on the twenty-second of January, and never did a nation proceed with greater dignity and moderation, to the settlement of the most important and difficult subject that could engage the attention of mortal men. The Commons after a long and anxious discussion, resolved,—“That, King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between King and people; and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the FUNDAMENTAL LAWS and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant.”

The Lords concluded a long and arduous debate on the terms of this resolution by offering to the Commons the following amendments: instead of “abdicated” they would have “deserted” and that these words “that the throne is thereby become vacant” be omitted.

Decision of  
the convention.

These suggestions gave birth to a conference between the two Houses, and to the most memorable debate that ever took place in England; which ended in the concurrence of the Lords: so that this vote became the basis and foundation upon which the re-construction of the English Constitution, was to stand sure to future ages.

Their next step was to fill the deserted throne; and it is remarkable, that amongst men who discerned such anxiety to preserve the principles of

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. IV.

the Monarchy, that no mention should be made of the Prince of Wales. But it must be remembered that “POPERY” by this settlement of the throne, was for ever to be excluded, so that the rejection of the Prince followed in the train of his Father, unless the nation could have been entrusted with his education. To such an arrangement, however, had it been proposed, the nation would not have assented, inasmuch as the Prince was universally believed to be SUPPOSITITIOUS. The testimony of evidence is in favour of his legitimacy, but, it is remarkable that, the nation would not believe it; and the King was justly punished for his own falsehood, by the incredulity of the people, in a matter which affected his honour, and which ended in the utter rejection of his posterity.

In the mean time, the unhappy King wrote the most pathetic letters to the Convention, reflecting upon the conduct of the Prince of Orange, which had induced him to leave his country, and promising once more, to be faithful to his engagements. But his promises were unavailing, and it was resolved to abolish, for ever, that religion which had taught and enabled him to break them.

On the eleventh of February, the nation was thrown into transports of joy, by the arrival of the King's daughter, the Princess of Orange. She was received at Greenwich by the Prince and Princess of Denmark; and as they passed up the

Arrival of  
the Princess of  
Orange.

SECTION IV. river to Whitehall, they were received with the lofty shouts of huzzaing multitudes.

CHAP. IV.

William and  
Mary crowned,  
A. D. 1688.

On the next day, seated with her royal husband under a canopy of state in the Banqueting Hall, at Whitehall, they received the offer of the Crown from the two houses of Convention, and on the conclusion of the august ceremony, they were solemnly proclaimed King and Queen of England.

This extraordinary revolution unexampled in the records of any age or nation, established the PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE of the Constitution, in connexion with that important, and fully recognized right, of universal toleration in religion. The Church of England, at the Reformation, had proceeded to act on the principles which the Church had always pursued, expecting those baptized within her Pale, to submit to her ordinances, when such ordinances were not opposed to the word of God. This was reasonable. But it was not reasonable to enforce submission by the arm of the civil power. The State can have no power within the Church. It may protect the national Establishment, and may impose civil disabilities on its citizens, if it appear necessary for the public security and welfare. But to enforce church censures, it can have no authority. This is yet to be understood. The principle of Toleration seems manifest and simple to us. But it was not so to our forefathers. The Puritans and Presbyterians were the most intolerant of all, and carried the

principle of non-toleration to an extreme never adopted by the Church, and which, on their harsh and arbitrary assumptions, never could have led to toleration under any form. The Divines of the Church of England, were the first writers on this subject, and its greatest champions.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. IV.

To establish this great truth, and to lay the foundation for the stability, unity and prosperity of the British Empire, all the calamities of the civil war—the degradations of the Cromwellian era, and the arbitrary invasions of James II. were endured. It was the experience which mankind acquired during this long and trying period, which led them to perceive the necessity of adopting it in the social system, where it shines conspicuous as another ray of the divine benevolence, “shedding sweet influence,” and rendering harmonious all the other elements of the social system.

From this period the nation has proceeded without interruption in its mighty career, till it has gained an eminence never attained by any other nation, and acquired a dominion so extensive in both hemispheres, that the sun, as it traverses its course, never sets on its possessions, nor can it be doubted that in its political Institutions, Religion, and Laws, it stands forth by the will of the Divine Ruler, an EXEMPLAR STATE, amongst the nations of the world.

## CHAPTER V.

---

RAPID EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE.

---

No sooner was William III. firmly seated on the throne, by the total reduction of Ireland, and the dispersion or extermination of the Highland Chieftains who had favoured the cause of James, than he turned his eager attention to the general politics of Europe. His great object was to humble the power of France, and check the progress of its ambitious Monarch. His political foresight and sagacity, soared far beyond the capacity of his English statesmen; and there was a manifest reluctance in the nation, to follow him in his great enterprise, of securing the *balance of power* amongst the nations of the European Continent.

SECTION  
IV.

CHAP. V.  
William III.  
A. D. 1688

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

William III.  
A D. 1692.

Although discouraged and baffled, nothing could daunt him in the execution of his designs. The naval victory obtained over the French fleet, by Admiral Russel, off Cape-la-Hogue, May the twenty-first, sixteen hundred and ninety-two, put a final period to the hopes of James; and the peace of Ryswick gave a temporary repose to the contending powers; and, soon after, the rejected Monarch of England ended his life. He had become a religious ascetic, and his vigorous and athletic constitution, had, for some time, began to yield to the infirmities of age, and at length sunk under that melancholy which superstition generally impresses on the mind.

The peace of Ryswick could not restrain the ardent mind of William, and he laboured still more incessantly, to rouse the powers of Europe to a just sense of their interests: and he used frequently to visit his paternal seat at Loo, in Holland, for the purpose of meeting his political friends and allies, and forming schemes for future operations.

He had just formed a powerful confederacy against France, in which he had induced his English subjects cordially to unite, when he was overtaken by death. This event was occasioned by a fall from his horse, which fractured his collar-bone, and ended in fever and diarrhœa. His last act was a conference on foreign affairs, with the Earl of Albemarle, who had just returned from Holland.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Queen Anne.  
A. D. 1702.

This great Prince died in the fifty-second year of his age; and, his biographer observes: "that no man could die, either better prepared, or, with greater constancy and piety; of whose just praises no tongue shall be silent, and no time unmindful."

But, though King William was dead, the great Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was alive; and on the accession of Queen Anne, this celebrated General was employed to conduct the war, which had been framed by her illustrious predecessor. This first campaign, at the head of the allied forces, commenced in July, 1702, and, a series of brilliant exploits followed his victorious career, in which the names of Blenheim and Ramillies, and Oudenarde, will ever be remembered in the annals of England.

In the mean time the British Empire rapidly advanced. The town of Gibraltar was taken by the Prince of Hesse, and Sir George Rooke, their defence of which, afterwards, against the combined fleets of France and Spain, is considered one of the most splendid achievements in arms.

Nor was the union between England and Scotland a less glorious achievement, by strengthening and consolidating the internal power of the nation. It was strongly and blindly opposed by the Scottish nation; but it was the greatest boon that Kingdom ever received from the bounty of an overruling Providence, in which, He appeared to put an end to their unparalleled sufferings; and

SECTION IV. stay the hand of his vengeance which had reduced them to the lowest stage of degradation and misery.

CHAP. V.  
Queen Anne.  
A. D. 1711.

The last campaign of the Duke of Marlborough was A. D. 1711, in which he had accomplished every thing which the mind of William III. could have contemplated. He had never besieged a city which he did not take, nor engaged in a battle in which he was not victorious. During the nine years of the war, he had gained from France a prodigious track of country—the whole of Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, and had he been permitted to return the following year, he would have entered Paris in triumph. But he was not permitted. On his return to England, he was accused of taking a bribe of £6,000 from a Jew, and stripped of all his employments, in which he was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond.

The treaty of Utrecht concluded this grand military movement, which entirely checked the ambitious designs of France, secured all the barriers of Holland, ever contended for by King William, whilst the British Empire received considerable additions of important territory—Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's bay. In the following year, in the month of July, died the "good Queen Anne," after a reign of unexampled prosperity; leaving her country, and, Europe, in a state of profound tranquillity.

SECTION IV. According to the terms of the "Protestant succession," the Elector of Hanover, descended from Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Brunswick and the Princess Sophia, was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Whigs, whose power had been shaken during the latter part of the late reign, once more gained the ascendancy, by representing to the King, the dislike of the Tories to his succession. They assumed the names of "Hanoverians;" whilst the Tories, as if they favoured the pretensions of James, were termed "Jacobites." The King was a man of great qualities. "My maxim is, he used to say, never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." But unfortunately, he was only the King of a faction. The Tories were entirely excluded from all offices of dignity and trust; and the Whigs, whilst they pretended to secure the crown for the King, were using all their arts to strengthen their own interests, extend their connections, and give law to their Sovereign. Their rule was oppressive and tyrannical. They bound the lower orders of people by severe laws, kept them at a distance by degrading distinctions, and amused them by the unmeaning cry of *Liberty*!

The highest discontents were raised throughout the Kingdom. The people murmured, became indignant and discontented, and began to sigh for the line of their ancient Monarchs, and had it not been for his AVOWED Popish prin-

CHAP. V.  
George I.  
A. D. 1714.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George I.  
A. D. 1717.

ciples, nothing could have prevented the return of the Son of James II. to the throne of his ancestors. But although the nation was goaded to madness, by the tyranny and oppression of the Whigs, they would not consent to the return of "Popery," which they had repudiated for ever.

As it was, attempts were made to establish his claims, both in Scotland and the west of England. But in vain. Every attempt was defeated, and all who joined in any enterprise which had this for its object, brought upon themselves instant destruction.

Amidst the cries and sufferings of the wretched adherents of the "Pretender," who were treated with the greatest rigour, the Whig Parliament made the danger of the State, a pretext for extending the duration of Parliament, from three to seven years; whilst bribery and political profligacy were the order of the day.

Still the military glory of the country advanced. In consequence of a treaty with Austria, France, and Holland, which bore hard upon the kingdom of Spain, a war with the latter power became unavoidable; and Sir George Byng, distinguished himself in a naval engagement with the Spanish fleet, off Cape Faro. The King wrote him a letter with his own hand, expressive of the high sense he entertained of his conduct.

Notwithstanding, another attempt was made from the Spanish shores in favour of the Preten-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George I.  
A. D. 1720.

der; and the Duke of Ormond took the Command of the expedition. But it was encountered by storms, and dispersed without a blow.

The corrupt expenditure of the public money at this period, led to the imposition of new taxes, and to the regular formation of the national debt, which amounted to £30,000,000. This was a corrupt age, and many of the Ministers of Government, and Members of Parliament, were engaged in a most infamous transaction, called the "South Sea scheme," which was intended to enrich themselves, under the pretence of funding under one company the claims of all the national creditors. It was thought such an advantageous speculation, that all who held government security, gladly exchanged it for South Sea stock. The delusion prevailed, and the stock increased in value, to a surprising degree. The directors amassed great fortunes. But when the community found that all the promised advantages were imaginary, they awoke from their delusion, only to reap disappointment and despair.

Parliament interfered: many of the delinquents were punished and made to refund their ill-acquired booty. Still, however, many hundred families were involved in ruin. But this check to the public prosperity was not of long duration, and whilst matters were returning to their usual tranquillity, George I. died, on his way to Hano-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George II.  
A. D. 1727.

ver, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

On the accession of George II, the Whigs still continued in power, but a strong opposition was gathering strength against them; and the disputes and altercations in Parliament, were most vehement. Sir Robert Walpole made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a general Excise. The "Country Party," acquired sufficient strength to attempt the repeal of the Septennial Act, but the Ministry, exerting all their influence, were victorious. The same contentions were carried on in the ensuing Parliament. The Ministry were called to account for their gross mismanagement in the Convention with Spain. But the Ministry were triumphant in every division, and the Country Party finding themselves outvoted in every debate, resolved to withdraw, for ever, from a Parliament where they considered every thing, corrupt and venal.

But the fall of Sir Robert Walpole was at hand. A quarrel arose with Spain, originating in injuries which they had inflicted upon the English, who had a right of cutting Logwood in the Bay of Campeachy. One remonstrance followed another to the Court of Madrid, in vain; and at length, war was formally declared.

Expensive preparations were made, and formidable expeditions sent out against the wide spread dominions of Spain, under Admirals Anson, Vernon

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George II.  
A. D. 1737.

and Norris, but failure and disgrace attended the measures of Government, and although their Admirals displayed great courage and intrepidity, a fatality seemed to attend the Ministry; and the only reward for all these costly preparations, was the taking of a Spanish Galleon, valued at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds.

The discontents of the nation rose high against the falling Minister—a majority in Parliament was formed against him. The House adjourned for a few days—he was created Earl of Oxford, and resigned all his employments, to the universal satisfaction of the nation.

After the death of Louis XIV, France enjoyed a season of repose and prosperity, under the wise dominion of Cardinal Fleury, Regent of France. But on the death of the Emperor, Charles VI. A. D. 1740, France was, once more, seduced by her ambition, to take up arms, and to involve the Continent in the flames of war. The defenceless Queen of Hungary, daughter of the deceased Emperor, whose dominions had been invaded by the King of Prussia, was the great object of attack, and the partition of her territory seemed inevitable. But the policy established by William III, would not suffer England to be an indifferent spectator. England, accordingly, launched into the tumult of war; and immediately the desperate affairs of the Queen of Hungary were retrieved. The French were driven out of Bohemia,

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George II.  
A. D. 1746.

and the British and Hanoverians gained a decisive victory at the battle of Dettingen. But the French were not so easily to be repulsed. They had prepared vast armaments both by sea and land. Prince Charles, the General of the Queen of Hungary, was opposed by Count Saxe, son of the late King of Poland, at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men. England was threatened with invasion by a formidable fleet, under the young pretender, Charles Edward, grandson of James II.

He landed in Scotland A. D. 1746 and having met with success in his first engagement at Preston Pans, he resolved upon an irruption into England. He took Carlisle—established his head quarters at Manchester, and pursued his march to Derby. The Metropolis was astonished, and even alarmed, on hearing of such an army within one hundred miles of its walls. But the counsels of the Pretender were divided; and the Highland Chieftains, averse to subordination, or terrified at finding themselves in the heart of their enemy's country, unanimously resolved to retire into Scotland. Their retreat was continued with little intermission to Inverness, where they resolved to await the arrival of the English forces under the Duke of Cumberland. An engagement ensued at Culloden, where the rebels were defeated, with great slaughter; and, a final period was put to all the designs of the descendants of a rejected race.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
George II.  
A. D. 1756.

Meantime, the King of France, through the bad success of his Admirals at sea, and the discomfiture of his armies by land, was desirous of a general peace. The British readily acceded to his wishes, and a treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. But it was of short duration. In the year seventeen hundred and fifty-one, the Prince of Wales, the great favourite of the people, died of a pleurisy; and, at that period, the English and French possessions were in a state of the utmost confusion. Negotiations, mutual accusations and hostilities took place between the two powers; which were to end in calling forth the energies of the English nation, and, of establishing, on a broad and solid basis, the vast and unrivalled power of the British Empire.

Mr. William Pitt was called to the helm of state. A new combination of the European Powers took place. Great Britain and Prussia had to sustain the combined assaults of France, Austria, Sweden and Russia. The whole world was involved in the fury of war. The King of Prussia, who was reinforced from England, performed exploits, perhaps, unmatched in the records of modern ages.

The British arms, in the east, now began to experience that success which had laid the foundation of our Indian Empire, whilst their victories in the Western part of the world were still more splendid. Cape Breton, defended by the almost

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
impregnable fortress of Louisbourg, was taken by Admiral Amherst and Boscawen, whilst Fort-du-Quebec surrendered to Brigadier Forbes.

In the following year A. D. 1759, the success of the British army was complete; and General Wolfe reduced the whole of North America under the British dominions, by the taking of Quebec. About the same time the Island of Guadaloupe was reduced by the British naval power.

George III.  
A. D. 1760. In the midst of successes by sea and land; in America, Asia and Europe, King George III, succeeded his grandfather, October the twenty-fifth, A. D. 1760, to commence a career of conquest and glory unrivalled in the annals of the world. It seemed as if GOD had inspired an invincible spirit into the fleets and armies of England. The efforts of Britain, in every part of the world, were incredible. The King of Prussia was assisted with fresh subsidies, and reinforced with a body of thirty thousand men—the extensive Peninsula of India, was occupied by a large body of forces—another army of twenty thousand men proceeded to confirm their conquests in North America, whilst vast numbers were dispersed in garrisons in all parts of the world. But all this was surpassed by the astonishing naval force, which, carried conquest wherever it came. The courage and conduct of the English Admirals surpassed all former example. Nothing could intimidate them. Superior force only excited

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
their desire for action. Difficulties, however formidable, only inspired them with fresh resolution; and the fury of the tempest was braved as if it was the element in which they delighted to move. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over a French fleet, equal to him in number, in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, during a dark night, in the midst of a furious storm, and in the neighbourhood of a rocky shore. The Island of Belleisle, on the very coast of France, was taken by the desperate valour of the British, with the loss of one thousand eight hundred men, under Commodore Keppel and General Hodgson.

All this time an appearance of negotiation had been carried on between France and England for a general peace. But the French acted with insincerity, and were engaged in a secret negotiation with Spain. Having brought their designs with that Court to a conclusion, a memorial was presented by the French Ambassador, containing propositions derogatory to the honour and dignity of the nation. The paper was returned by Mr. Pitt, as wholly inadmissible; he declared it to be an insult to him, and proposed immediately to declare war against Spain. But this proposal being rejected, he resigned his employment of Secretary of State—was created Earl of Chatham, and a pension of £3,000 was settled upon him for three lives.

## SECTION

IV.  
CHAP. V.Conquests of  
Britain.

A. D. 1762.

But his successors in office were soon obliged to adopt his suggestion; and the whole world was again lighted up with the torch of war. Portugal, the ally of Great Britain, was invaded by the allied armies of France and Spain. Three immense armies entered that devoted country, and spread consternation and ruin in their path; but, contrary to all human expectation, they were checked; and, eventually, driven back by a very inferior army of British and Portuguese.

Like success attended the efforts of Great Britain in America and Asia. The French were despoiled of the Islands of Martinico, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, by which the British acquired the sole possession of all the Caribees—a magnificent chain of islands, which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern limit of Hispaniola to the continent of South America. From Spain was taken the almost invaluable fortress called Havannah, in the Island of Cuba. The acquisition of this place was of the highest military importance; and in plunder it equalled a national subsidy, amounting to three millions sterling, whilst the capture of the Spanish register ship, called *Hermione*, by the *Active* and *Favourite*, king's ships, did not fall short of one million sterling.

But all these conquests were surpassed by that, of the Phillipine Islands, under Colonel Draper. The expedition was conducted with the greatest celerity and judgment, and by its successful termi-

## SECTION

IV.  
CHAP. V.Peace with  
France and  
Spain.  
A. D. 1763.

nation fourteen considerable Islands fell under the power of the British, which, for their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furnished the materials of a great kingdom. Spain had brought on this war by its treachery and insincerity, and it was, by a just retribution, to lay the foundation for the overthrow of its vast and unconnected Empire. The occupation of Havannah secured all the avenues of the Spanish trade, and interrupted the intercourse of their wealthy colonies with Europe. The reduction of the Phillipines excluded them from Asia.

These wide-extended conquests induced France and Spain eagerly to sue for peace, which was at length concluded at Paris, on the tenth of February, seventeen hundred and sixty-three. The Havannah was restored to Spain, on condition that Florida, St. Augustine, and Pensacola should be ceded to Britain, who, during the war, by sea or land, had gained twelve battles, reduced nine fortified cities, taken near forty castles and forts, destroyed or captured one hundred ships of war, and acquired, at least, £10,000,000 of plunder.

But these splendid achievements were far from producing contentment and happiness at home. It was necessary to raise taxes to meet the expenditure which had been incurred, and the proposal of a tax on cider, raised such murmuring and discontent throughout the country, and such factious opposition in Parliament, that the Earl of Bute,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

East India  
Company's  
Charter.

A. D. 1773.

the Prime Minister, was compelled to retire. But though no reasonable objection could be made to his successor, Mr. Grenville, and those who acted with him, the popular ferment still continued. Lord Bute was supposed to influence the counsels of the Administration, and the disposition to libel and invective grew beyond all bounds. Amongst the libellers, Mr. Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, made himself most conspicuous by the daring virulence and indecency of his writings. His prosecution only increased the popular clamour, and the contending parties were so exasperated, that the nation seemed on the point of a civil war. But the King was firm, and the popular party were discouraged. These were only the beginnings of trouble; and a long and tedious night impended over the ungrateful nation.

This period was preceded by the re-modelling of the East India Company's Charter, a work of prodigious labour and difficulty, and which met with great opposition from the Company. But on the third of May, A. D. 1773, the Prime Minister carried through the House, the fundamental principles of his plan for the future government of that extensive part of the British Empire. By these regulations, whilst the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of the Company, the territorial supremacy was vested in the Crown; and an effectual controul over their acts, secured to the British Legislature.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

American

war.

A. D. 1775.

This great work was no sooner achieved, than the American colonial war broke out with portentous fury, drawing the whole world into the vortex of war. The English Administration, at this time, carried every thing, with a high hand, under the dignified rule of George III. They acted with great spirit and firmness in the commencement of this struggle, the object of which was to uphold the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament, and its right to impose taxes on the dependencies and colonies of the Empire. And there can be no doubt but their energy and firmness would have been successful, had it not been thwarted by the vehemence of the opposition, at home, and the espousing of the American cause by France and Holland. Party spirit was revived with greater animosity than ever, which laid the foundation of an enmity between the Whig and Tory never to be extinguished, except in their mutual destruction—an event which now seems on the eve of accomplishment, A. D. 1841.

The high principles of the Administration prevailed. The war commenced by the destruction of Boston. Vast operations and expenditure followed. The French entered the field of action: but the British fleet was every where successful, and the British arms triumphant; whilst Spain, thinking it a favourable moment to revenge her past defeats, entered the confederacy against England. This was a trying moment. The com-

SECTION IV. CHAP. V. Mr. Burke's Reform. A. D. 1780. bined fleet consisted of sixty sail of the line, and threatened an invasion of the British shore. The appearance of this formidable armament roused the energy of the whole nation; and the universal wish was, to put an end to the American war, and exert the whole national strength against their old and inveterate enemies.

Large sums were subscribed in the counties for the purpose of raising volunteers, and associations were formed in the towns for the same patriotic object. Enthusiasm everywhere prevailed. But in the House of Commons the virulence of opposition continued; and, to add to the embarrassments of the Government, the discontent and miserable state of Ireland, and the enormous expenditure of the war, began to create alarm in the nation. Parliament was accused of corruption; and it was alleged that, nothing short of a change in its constitution, could remedy the existing evil.

It was in the beginning of February A. D. 1780, that Mr. Burke introduced a plan for securing the independence of Parliament, and introducing economy into the various departments of the State. But the proposals of this wise and moderate statesman were rejected: the Administration, however, were shortly to meet with a formidable check. A day having been appointed for taking into consideration the petition, which had been presented from one half of the kingdom, it was carried, after a long and violent debate, "that the influence of

SECTION IV. CHAP. V. Lord Gordon's Riots. A. D. 1780. the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." And this was followed by another, that it was the duty of the House to provide an immediate and effectual remedy. It was even carried, that there should, every session, seven days after the meeting of Parliament, be laid before the House "an account of all sums issued out of the Civil List, or any other branch of the Revenue, since the last recess, in favour of any of its members:" a regulation of the first importance in preventing the corruption of Parliament.

In carrying these resolutions the Whig party discovered the strength they were acquiring in Parliament; but their attention was diverted by domestic alarms. In the midst of the public distraction, and the dangers of war, the Roman Catholics thought it a suitable opportunity to prefer their grievances to the notice of the Legislature. Nor were their claims rejected; the penal statutes, which prevented them from the open exercise of their religion, were abrogated. But when the same thing was attempted for Scotland, the populace rose in opposition to it. Great disturbances and tumults prevailed, and the infection reached to the lower orders of England. London was disgraced with riots, burnings, and threatenings; and, for two days, the metropolis was in possession of a lawless multitude. At length, however, by the energy of the Monarch, these dangerous in-

SECTION surrections were quelled; but his order for the  
 IV. troops to act without the intervention of the civil  
 CHAP. V. magistrates, was thought a departure from the  
 The armed strict letter of the Constitution, although justified  
 neutrality. by necessity.  
 A. D. 1781.

In the mean time, the war was prosecuted with unabated vigour; and Admirals Parker and Rodney carried triumph and victory into every quarter of the globe. But at this moment, when the British nation was making the most successful efforts, a formidable confederacy, under the title of the "armed neutrality," was formed, evidently with a design to crush the power of Great Britain. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, were the principal powers engaged in this deep political movement. The pretence was to protect their commercial interests, in the midst of the ravages of war, but, in reality, to overthrow the power of Great Britain,—but all in vain. It was discovered that Holland, in spite of existing treaties, had actually concluded a secret commercial treaty with America, and war was immediately declared against the States.

The vast efforts of Great Britain, at this period, were inconceivable. An ALMIGHTY POWER seemed to animate her counsels—to fight her battles—and to convince her enemies of the impossibility of crushing that power which it was His intention to establish. The invincible spirit which pervaded the fleets and armies of the Empire, seemed

also to inspire the King and his Ministers: they SECTION  
 assumed a high and commanding tone, unbecom- IV.  
 ing the condition of mortal man, and it seemed CHAP. V.  
 to have been adopted as a kind of maxim by the Admiral  
 Administration, at this period, to reject and disre- Rodney's vic-  
 gard all complaints from the people and distant tory.  
 subjects of the realm. A. D. 1782.

But a speedy retribution was at hand, and their power was to be shaken to its very foundation. The capture of the army, under Lord Cornwallis, and other disasters in America and the West Indies, once more inspired the hopes of opposition; and, after long and strenuous debates, a motion of censure was rejected by so small a majority, that the Prime Minister, Lord North, thought proper to retire. But, as if victory was to attend even their defeat, their retirement was attended by one of the most splendid naval victories ever achieved. The French Admiral, the Count de Grasse, was taken prisoner, and delivered up his sword to the English Admiral, the Earl of Rodney.

On the thirtieth of March the Marquis of Rockingham was appointed Prime Minister, and Mr. Fox, one of the principal Secretaries of State, to the great disgust of the King, who highly resented the necessity of making this change in his counsels. Peace was now the order of the day, and immediate negotiations for that purpose were commenced at Paris. During the pacification, the Marquis of Rockingham died, and was succeeded

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

American  
Independence.  
A. D. 1783.

by the Earl of Shelburne. Mr. Fox, and many of his friends, retired from office; but the negotiation proceeded, and, before the end of the year, a provisional treaty was signed between Britain and America; and, in January, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, with France and Spain.

The national affairs, under the conduct of the Shelburne Administration, could not fail to have been well conducted; and, with the return of peace, the tranquillity and prosperity of the country might have been secured. But by a formidable and dangerous combination, in one branch of the Legislature, the whole Government was thrown into confusion; and even the stability of the Monarchy endangered. This was an unprincipled and flagitious coalition between two powerful parties of the Commons, who, finding themselves, hopelessly, excluded from power, determined to gratify their ambition and avarice by uniting their forces, and compelling the Monarch to place in their hands the administration of public affairs.

Lord North, the late Minister, who had been the uncompromising supporter of the Royal Prerogative and the strenuous advocate of the American war, was the leader of one faction, and the Right Honourable C. J. Fox, the great champion of the people's privileges, and the great opposer of the war, was the leader of the other. Their united efforts became irresistible, and the King was under the necessity of placing them at the head of his

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Mr. Fox's  
India Bill.

affairs. The Duke of Portland was made Prime Minister, and Lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed Secretaries of State. The celebrated Mr. Pitt and Mr. Jenkinson afterwards Earl of Liverpool, now first appeared in opposition; and by their instrumentality, it pleased God, to grant deliverance to the nation. The Ministers carried every thing by large majorities; and, at length, Mr. Fox brought in his famous India Bill, which was intended to place the whole territorial government of India in the hands of seven Commissioners, nominated by themselves—a measure which would have rendered them independent both of the Crown and the people! But this proposed stratagem, for gaining political ascendancy, was discovered and frustrated by the resolution and firmness of the King. The Bill passed the House of Commons, but, through the personal interference of the King, it was rejected by the Lords; and the next day the King demanded from them the seals of office, without a private interview, which, he said, would be “disagreeable.”

A new Administration was now formed under the “IMMORTAL PITT.” He fought the battle of the Constitution, and of the Royal Prerogative in the free election of its Ministers, against the “coalition,” which carried their opposition with an immense majority. They raged—they threatened—they addressed the Throne—they remonstrated. But the King was firm. The people

SECTION IV. saw the nature of this unparalleled contest, and supported the Monarch and his Ministers. Addresses flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, filled with sentiments of admiration and loyalty. The heroic Minister held on his way, and the majority of the Opposition at last dwindled to one. The Parliament was then dissolved, and the triumph was complete. But it was not for England only, that this triumph was achieved, but for the interests of Europe and the world. By this remarkable change, England was placed in a situation successfully to contend with the difficulties which lay in her course. Her whole strength was concentrated, and an enthusiastic admiration of their King and Constitution was created in the breasts of all ranks of the people.

The new Parliament, in which one hundred and sixty of the coalition members had been displaced, was chiefly employed in settling the national affairs. Mr. Pitt enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the people; and several Bills which he introduced, for the regulation of the East India Company's affairs, passed the Houses without opposition. In the following Session, he even introduced a plan of Parliamentary Reform, but it was rejected by a vast majority, a measure which was thus left to throw the nation, at a later period, into convulsion and alarm. The whole state of European politics were, at this period, in a state of great activity and excitement. Commercial treaties were every

CHAP. V.  
The immortal Pitt.  
A. D. 1783.

where negotiating, and new combinations of the continental powers were formed. In England, the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth were completed; new laws respecting the militia were enacted; and the celebrated measure of the Sinking Fund, for the payment of the national debt, introduced.

It was at this time of profound tranquillity, when England, having recovered from the effects of the late war, was proceeding in a course of steady prosperity, and the administration of affairs, conducted in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, produced its usual natural results, that the celebrated Mr. Burke acquired for himself immortal reputation, as an orator and a statesman. By his mighty efforts in behalf of the population of India, which led to the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq., governor-general of Bengal, his name will deserve to live in the annals of his country. Still nothing seemed to threaten the tranquillity of the Empire. The life of the King, indeed, was threatened by a maniac, named Margaret Nicholson, who aimed a deadly blow, and struck him with a knife, but without inflicting any injury on the royal person; whilst his constancy, his patriotism, and his domestic virtues drew forth the love and admiration of his subjects.

But amidst these bright scenes of national prosperity a dark cloud was impending, and a secret volcano was preparing, which, in its hideous ex-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
Trial of Warren Hastings.  
A. D. 1786.

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
French Revolution.  
A. D. 1789.

plosion, convulsed the whole European continent, and threatened to overwhelm and bury, in one common ruin, all the establishments of the old world. The scene of this horrible convulsion was France. Since the time of Louis XIV. this country had been sinking into a state of weakness and decrepitude, and the whole society of the kingdom was reduced to the lowest state of moral depravity; and it was now to be made the instrument of its own fearful punishment. The profligacy and corruption of the Court had given rise to a vast expenditure, which, at length, brought it into great financial difficulties. The King, who had hitherto governed as an absolute Monarch, was obliged to assemble the Parliaments. In consequence of their debates, the spirit of freedom was again revived, and these awakenings of the public mind were hailed, by all the statesmen of the day, as a favourable omen for France. Mr. Pitt, in his place in Parliament, in this year, expressed his favourable opinion with respect to the French movement. But these enlivening appearances were soon overclouded. The democratic power of the nation, influenced and directed by the Infidel party, burst through all the restraints of society—ravaged the city of Paris—assaulted the royal Palace, and took the Monarch and his family prisoners. To avenge this outrage, Austria and Prussia were instantly in arms, and threatened France with invasion. England was agitated

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
The Reign of Terror.  
A. D. 1793.

with the revolutionary mania. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan gave it their powerful support in the British Parliament, and the disaffected and virulent part of the nation, espoused the Republican cause. France, armed with a maniacal fury, sprung to arms. Her nobles were massacred—her King beheaded—her citizens murdered. Her streets *literally* ran with human blood. Amidst the infuriate orgies of their rebellion, Religion was abolished—the Sabbath was blotted out from the calendar—the Most High God was rejected, and a prostitute, dressed as a heathen goddess, was set up as the ensign of their divinity. All Europe was now in a flame. England, in her own defence, was obliged to enter the field of carnage, and a declaration of war was made. During the demoniacal and revolutionary fury, Robespierre bore the chief sway, and exercised every species of the most remorseless cruelty and barbarity, in consequence of which this period has been called “The Reign of Terror.”

Nor could any thing resist the impetuosity of the French armies. They overran the Austrian Netherlands and Holland, and made desperate inroads upon Germany, Spain, and Italy. It was only at sea that Lord Howe, the British Admiral, put some check to their daring fury. The whole French nation was seized with a military ardour; and their ambition would permit no bounds to be fixed to their future empire, but the limits of the

SECTION world. This martial spirit gave birth to great  
 IV. military leaders, and one arose of sublime military  
 CHAP. V. genius, who was destined, in the providence of  
 Rise of God, to curb the lawless licentiousness of his own  
 Buonaparte. country, and to punish the kings and nations of  
 A. D. 1796. the earth for their ambition, treachery, and impiety. This was Napoleon Buonaparte.

The French, disdaining all thoughts of peace, had compelled Spain and Holland into the sanguinary struggle. Spain suffered a dreadful loss in a naval engagement with Admirals Jervis and Nelson; and Holland, besides being defeated by Admiral Duncan, was deprived of the Cape of Good Hope, of their possessions in Ceylon, and of the islands of Amboyna and Banda. Nor was British valour less conspicuous by land. Buonaparte, now First Consul, who had invaded Egypt with a powerful army, was successfully encountered by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, whilst, by the defeat of the French fleet, in the Bay of Aboukir, Nelson established, beyond all competition, the maritime fame of England.

Whilst Buonaparte, on his return from Egypt, was preparing, as First Consul, to organize vast armies, for the purpose of universal conquest, another military leader, endued, if not with equal enthusiasm, yet with greater powers of judgment, arose in England; and, whilst the former possessed all the fire and daring of the soldier, the latter was wanting in no qualification necessary for a

consummate general. But it was long before SECTION  
 these two chieftains were to meet; and, in the IV.  
 mean time, England had to contend against CHAP. V.  
 difficulties, almost insurmountable—a mutiny in Popish re-  
 her fleet; a rebellion in Ireland, which raged in bellion in Ire-  
 the summer of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, land.  
 in which the Papists were assisted by the French. A. D. 1798.  
 The Irish rebels were overcome by the Marquis of Cornwallis, and the revolt itself was productive of the consolidation of the Empire, by leading to the legislative incorporation of Ireland with Great Britain. Strenuous efforts were made by the Romanists to obtain the repeal of all the civil disabilities under which they laboured, arising from their adhesion to the Popedom. But the King was firm; and Mr. Pitt, who favoured their claims, was obliged to retire from office.

Still the war raged; and the Emperor Paul, of Russia, having proclaimed a renewal of the “armed neutrality,” in which he was joined by the Swedes and Danes, Lord Nelson was sent to bombard Copenhagen, which produced their submission, in the terms of which, Alexander, who succeeded to the throne of Russia, acquiesced.

Mr. Addington, who succeeded Mr. Pitt, made peace with Buonaparte, which was of short duration, and Mr. Pitt was again restored to the helm of power. He saw that a prodigious effort was necessary, and that the power of France was, at all events, to be checked. He organised the internal

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Battle of  
Trafalgar.  
A. D. 1805.

strength of the kingdom—quelled the factious and rebellious spirit of Ireland—fortified the kingdom—and made proposals for a systematic concert amongst the European Powers, to withstand the aggression of Napoleon, who had been anointed Emperor of France, by the Pope.

But his tide of prosperity was yet in its advance. He crossed the Rhine with an immense army, and, at Austerlitz, obtained a signal victory over the combined forces of Russia and Austria—a disaster which was scarcely remedied by one of the most splendid naval victories recorded in our annals. This action was fought between the combined fleets of France and Spain and the British fleet, October twenty-first, near Cape Trafalgar. And, although the English were gratified with the tidings of such a decisive triumph, they had to lament the fall of their invincible Admiral. He was buried at St. Paul's, with public honours, and the grief which it excited, extended itself to every breast. It was, as if each had lost his dearest friend; and his name will be remembered by every generation, to whom he has bequeathed the maxim—"England expects every man to do his duty." Nor did he fall alone. The cup of national grief was full, when Pitt, the incomparable statesman, sunk under the arduous struggle, at the age of forty-six. The unsuccessful termination of the continental campaign, in the disastrous battle of Austerlitz, hastened his end; and,

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Invasion of  
Spain.  
A. D. 1808.

whilst his patriotic spirit was disentangling itself from the body, this brief and expressive prayer escaped from his lips: "O! save my country, Heaven."

Lord Grenville now came into power, and brought with him the Honourable Charles James Fox, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, but who, after a short career, was succeeded by Mr. Grey. The strenuous policy of Pitt was retarded by their ineffectual negotiations for peace; and Buonaparte made gigantic strides towards universal dominion, whilst his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, was placed on the throne of Naples.

The Grenville Administration lost their places for again suggesting to the King the granting of the "Catholic Claims;" and were succeeded in office by the Duke of Portland, Mr. Percival, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning.

The Emperor of the French still triumphed. At Eylau and Friedland he defeated the confederates. But England stood firm to the interests of Europe, when all the continental powers, humbled and overawed by the conquests and military genius of Buonaparte, seemed willing to submit to his authority. The conqueror of so many States now turned his ambition to Spain, which soon submitted to his arms, and received his brother Joseph as King, whilst Murat, one of his marshals, succeeded to the crown of Naples.

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Battle of  
Corunna.

A. D. 1809.

Portugal was now threatened with immediate subjugation; and the British Cabinet, firm to the principles and policy of Pitt, continued their opposition to the ambitious power of France. They despatched an army into Spain, under Sir John Moore, who gloriously fell at Corunna. But the "Great Captain of the Age" was at hand; and Sir Arthur Wellesley entered Portugal, and drove the French army, under their most experienced generals, from that kingdom; and, pursuing them from victory to victory, by prodigious efforts of skill and courage, laid the foundation for their future overthrow. But the great and good King of England ceased any longer to rejoice at the tidings of victory: worn out with the toils of state, his anxious spirit was too powerfully acted upon by the death of his beloved daughter, Amelia, and the sensations of grief ended in the subversion of reason.

He was succeeded by the Prince of Wales, as Regent, who, contrary to the expectations of his friends, pursued the same line of policy adopted by his father. It was at this time, A. D. 1812, that the Prime Minister, Mr. Percival, was shot by Bellingham, a discontented trader, and was succeeded by the Earl of Liverpool. Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, commenced his fifth victorious campaign in Spain, whilst Buonaparte, leaving the conduct of the war to his generals, with an immense army invaded Russia; but the inhabitants

## SECTION

## IV.

## CHAP. V.

Abdication of  
Buonaparte.  
A. D. 1814.

having set fire to Moscow, he was obliged to retreat, amidst the horrors of a Russian winter, and he reached France with the almost total loss of his army. On his return, such was his energy and influence, that he was soon at the head of another army, sufficient to contend with all the power of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. But his career was advancing to its close. Wellington, after reconquering Spain, A. D. 1813, prepared to enter France itself, at the head of his victorious troops. At the same time the confederate powers, under the Austrian general, the Prince of Swartzenbourg, had driven Buonaparte from Leipzig, and pursued their advantage to the Rhine, in spite of the rigour of the season. Nor was Wellington behind. Having passed the Adour, which was deemed impracticable, he advanced in the direction of Paris to attack Marshal Soult, who had taken up a most advantageous position at Orthes. The assault was irresistible, and the enemy fled with precipitation. Buonaparte, distracted between the two armies, retired behind them, with a view of drawing them from the capital, but the allies were not to be diverted: they rapidly advanced, and, after a slight opposition, entered the metropolis of France, in triumph. Such was the fall and disgrace of the most corrupt city of the modern world; and its occupation by foreign troops filled Europe with joy.

The rage and despair of Buonaparte were exercised in vain. He was obliged to abdicate the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
Return of Buonaparte.  
A. D. 1815.

throne; and Louis Xavier, the brother of their murdered King, was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Bounaparte retired in exile to Elba.

At the same time, the war which had been carried on between Canada and the United States, was brought to a termination. But the short calm which followed the raging storm in Europe was delusive. The *Prince of Elba*, having well concerted his schemes, landed, with twelve hundred of his boldest followers, in the south of France. His veteran soldiers every where hailed his presence. He entered Paris in triumph, and once more took possession of the Palace, from which Louis had just fled with precipitation.

By a kind of miraculous agency, Buonaparte instantly assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, and advanced to meet the Prussian and British forces, which were already in the field. On his arrival at the Sambre, he attacked some Prussian posts, and, elate with his success, he advanced to meet Blucher, who, after a desperate conflict at Ligny, was obliged to fall back. The Duke of Wellington, in the mean time, had posted the British army near Brussels, with the village of Waterloo behind, in a position which enabled him to secure a communication with the Prussian army. His close embattled ranks consisted of sixty-five thousand men. The battle was begun by a furious assault on the right wing of the British line, by Jerome Buonaparte: the attack

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
Battle of Waterloo.  
A. D. 1815.

soon became general, and the British, with steady courage, for six hours, repelled all the efforts of the French, till at length the Prussians, under Blucher, reached the scene of action. The Duke of Wellington saw the decisive moment was arrived, and, at the word of command, the whole British line rushed forward to certain victory. Irremediable confusion instantly spread through the ranks of the enemy. Never was there a more disorderly, or disgraceful retreat. The British soldiers were too much fatigued to continue the pursuit, a duty which devolved on the Prussians, who sacrificed vast numbers of the unhappy fugitives. Hope was not yet extinct in the bosom of Napoleon; and he endeavoured to rally his dispersed troops, but an Austrian force had now entered his frontiers, and all opposition was fruitless. He surrendered himself to a British man-of-war; and was soon after conveyed to the Island of St. Helena, where his ambitious spirit was destined to be lashed by the stings of remorse, and tormented by the upbraidings of a guilty conscience; affording to mankind a striking and monitory lesson of the vanity of all sublunary glory, and the retributory justice of an overruling Providence.

His perpetual banishment from all connexion with the busy world, was followed by the congress of Vienna, and arrangements were made for the security of the balance of power in Europe; in which the policy of William III, of glorious me-

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
 Death of the Princess Charlotte.  
 A. D. 1817.

mory, and his successor in political wisdom, the immortal Pitt, were fully accomplished. France was subjected to a great loss of territory, and disgraced by heavy pecuniary demands. Hanover and Holland were raised to the dignity of kingdoms; and to the latter was added the Netherlands, which would enable the Prince of Orange to withstand, with more probable chance of success, any future encroachments of the power of France. This mighty event brought to a termination, that long and arduous struggle which had engaged the attention of successive statesmen from the time of William III, and gave birth to a new and splendid era of commercial, political, and religious enterprise, which is conducting the world to a more enlarged and enlightened period of its existence.

On the return of peace, the minds of men were agitated and absorbed in the great concerns of domestic policy, which caused great debates in Parliament, and violent commotions amongst the people. Whilst thus engaged in unavailing complaints and mutual reproaches, the heaviest calamity that a nation ever experienced fell upon the whole people. The desire of their eyes was taken from them at a stroke. The Princess Charlotte, their future Queen, who, inheriting all the noble qualities of her House, had, by her conduct, drawn to herself the affections of all, was suddenly removed in giving birth to a son. The double bereavement filled the nation with the

SECTION IV.  
CHAP. V.  
 Death of George III.  
 A. D. 1820.

deepest sorrow. Every house was clad with mourning—every breast was the seat of sorrow. On the day of her burial, funeral sermons were preached in every church of the kingdom, to crowded audiences, attired in the emblems of real, not fictitious sorrow. Never was there such a day of national lamentation. But the tide of the world's affairs stopped not. The congress of Aix-la-Chappelle had already assembled, to make its final arrangements respecting the affairs of Europe; and on the fourth of November, eighteen hundred and eighteen, it was notified to the French Minister, that the allied powers thought it no longer necessary to occupy their territory, and had resolved on withdrawing their troops beyond the frontiers of that kingdom.

And, as if to mark this epoch of history with greater distinctness, it was closed by the death of George III, the GREAT and the GOOD, who had been raised up as the grand instrument of its accomplishment. His high conservative and constitutional principle towered over all opposition. His integrity, uprightness, and patriotism were a wall of adamant around his throne. His piety and christian charity endeared him to his subjects; and his native courage and resolution made him the dread of their enemies: and he will live in the records of posterity as the "Father of his People, and the Friend of the Poor."

SECTION Nor was his death alone. It was preceded, a

IV.

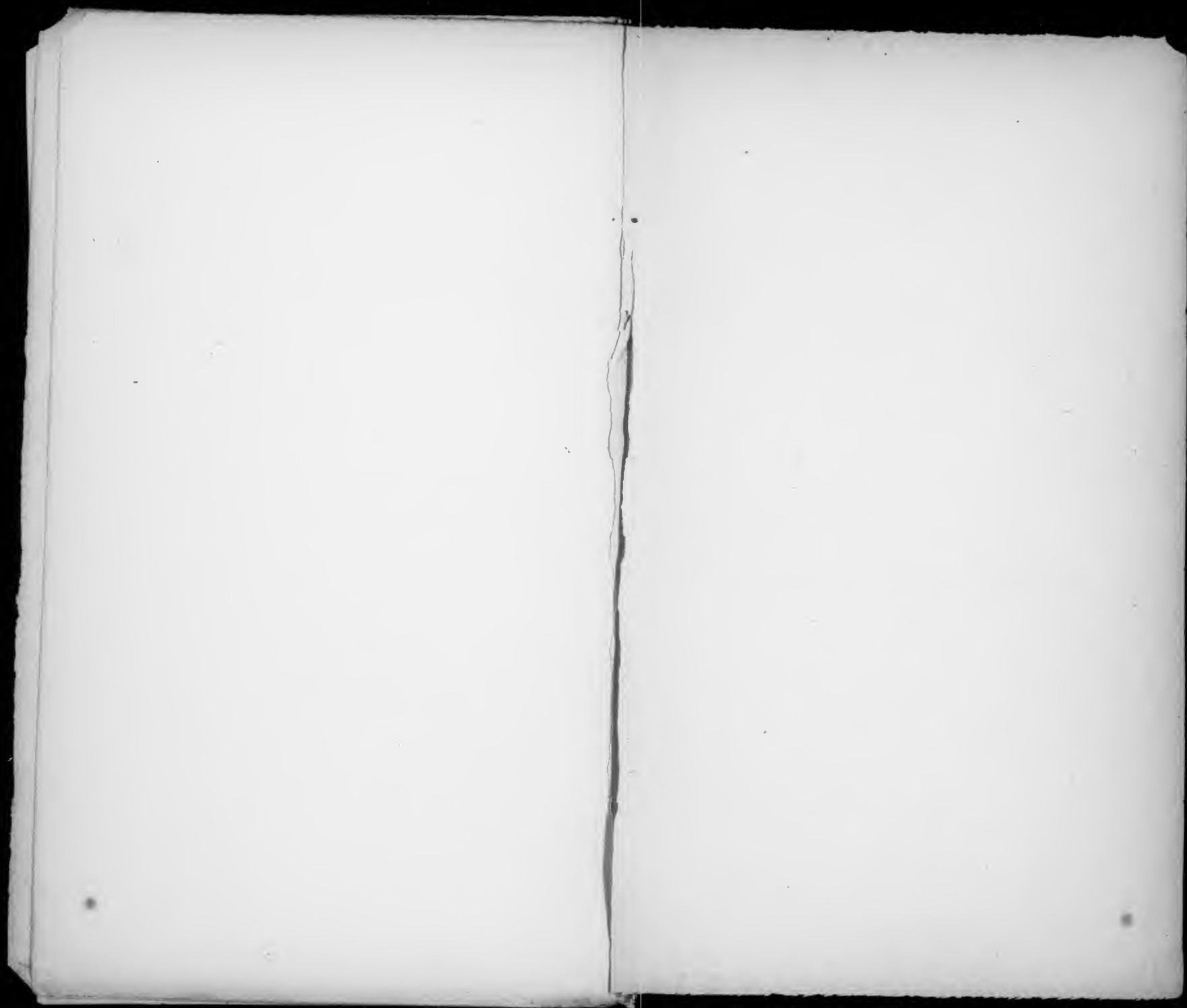
CHAP. V.

Death of the  
Duke of Kent.  
A. D. 1820.

few days only, by that of one of the most illustrious Princes in Christendom—the ornament of his country, and the friend of humanity. This was his son the Duke of Kent, the father of our gracious Queen. “*Regnat, diuque regnet;*” and may she tread in the steps and follow in the bright example of her noble father, adhere to the principles of the constitution, and win a record as lasting and glorious as that of her grandsire, of SACRED MEMORY! \*

\* Prophecy of Isaiah xxvi., v. 17.—Jeremiah xxxii., v. 17, 18, 19.

FINIS.



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



0021064059

